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'No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.'—MILTON.

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THE new commander, Thomas Arthur, Count de Lally and Baron de Tollendal, upon whom the hopes of France in her struggle with England for supremacy in the East now rested, was regarded at the time of his appointment as the most eminent and promising of all the younger officers of the armies of Louis XV. The son of an Irish exile, Sir Gerard O'Lally, who had entered the service of France after the capture of Limerick in 1691, Lally, born nine years later, had, from his earliest days, been initiated in war. When a mere youth he had served under his father at Gerona and Barcelona, and he was not yet nineteen when he obtained the command of a company in the regiment of Dillon, one of the regiments of the Irish Brigade. During the French-Austrian war of 1734, he distinguished himself greatly at Kehl and Philippsburg. Nor, when peace followed, did he show himself less capable of achieving diplomatic success. Sent into Russia to negotiate a secret alliance between France and that country, he acquitted himself so well as to gain the favour of the Czarina, though the timid policy of Cardinal Fleury rendered his mission resultless. On the breaking out of the war of the Succession, Lally served with distinction, but it was at Fontenoy that he gained his spurs. To him, it is said, was due the idea of that famous charge on the flank of the English column, terribly galled by the artillery in its front, which decided the day. Certain it is that for his conduct on this occasion he was appointed by Louis XV., on the field of battle, Colonel of the regiment of Dillon, and that he was personally thanked by Marshal Saxe. From this time his reputation was made. Passing over to England after Fontenoy, he exerted himself to the utmost to aid the cause of Charles Edward, but, sent to the south after the battle of Falkirk, in which he had served on the Prince's staff, he was compelled, mainly in consequence of the despair and denunciations that followed Culloden, to return to France. He there rejoined the army in the Netherlands; was present at Laffeldt, and at Bergen-op-Zoom where he was taken prisoner. He was, however, soon released, and was rewarded by his Sovereign for his services in that campaign with the rank of Major-General.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored peace to Europe, and deprived Lally of any further opportunity of distinction on the field of battle. He was nevertheless regarded as a

man destined to a brilliant career; as certain to occupy a very prominent position in the event of future complications. He was looked upon as a man with respect to whom "it needed only that success should be possible for him to succeed." Voltaire, who recorded this opinion regarding him, added that he had worked with him by the desire of the Minister for nearly a month, and had "found in him a stubborn fierceness of soul, accompanied by great gentleness of manners." It is beyond question that his reputation at this period was very great, that his influence with the Ministry on military questions was unbounded; that to him the Government looked for suggestions as to the conduct they should pursue in case of war.

When, seven years after the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, complications of no ordinary character ensued between France and England: when in reprisal for French aggression in Canada, the English captured two French merchantmen off Newfoundland, and persistently refused to restore them: it appeared to the French Ministry that war was inevitable. Lally was, therefore, called upon for his opinion. His advice was characteristic. "There are," he said, "three courses open to you:—the first, to fit out a sufficient fleet and army, and taking Charles Edward on board, to make a descent upon England; the second, to chase the English out of Canada; the third, to drive them out of India; but," he added, "whatever course you adopt, it is primarily necessary that you should think and act at the same time." The French Ministry did not at the time accept this advice, but when, a year later, they saw three-fourths of their merchant navy swept from the seas, they concluded an alliance with Austria, Russia, and Sweden, and on the 17th May, 1756, the King of France declared war against England. Very soon after the issue of this declaration of war, it was resolved to make a great effort to drive the English from India, and Lally was appointed to the command of the expedition destined for this purpose.

It had been originally intended that this expedition should consist of three thousand men and three ships of war; but before it could set sail, it had become evident to the French Ministry that the English, more ready and more vigorous in action than they were, had appropriated to themselves one of Lally's plans, and were bent upon making a great effort to drive the French out of Canada. Almost at the last moment, therefore, they withdrew from Lally one-third of the force intended to act under him, and deprived him of two of his men-of-war. The order for the diminution of his force would, however, have arrived too late,—for the expedition had already sailed,—but that Count

d' Aché, who commanded the fleet, insisted, against the advice of all his captains, on returning to the port of Brest on account of some trifling repairs he considered necessary for two of his vessels. Whilst he was lying there, the order for the reduction reached him. It happened, therefore, that whilst one half the force, under Chevalier de Soupire, left L'Orient on the 30th December, 1756, the other half, under Lally in person, was not able to sail till the 2nd May of the following year.

Those who have accompanied us thus far in our history of the attempts of the French to form an empire in India, cannot fail to have been struck by the remarkable fact of the incongruous character of the various leaders who ought to have acted together. There is, perhaps, in the entire story, no more striking example of this peculiarity than that afforded by Lally and his associates. He himself was apparently a man of hasty temper, yet possessing a ready mind, fertile in resources, and quick to apprehend; one who feared no responsibility, prompt in action, a daring soldier, fully impressed with the conviction, that in Eastern warfare he wins who strikes quickly and with all his force; he had too a proper idea of the point at which his blows should be directed,—the expulsion of the English from the Coromandel. He was a man, who, had he enjoyed the advantage of some slight Indian training and experience, would have been invaluable as a leader at Pondichery; but, not having had that, and having imbibed a supreme contempt for all who had acquired that experience, he was destined to fall into errors more than sufficient to neutralise his other many shining qualities. The second in command, de Soupire, was a man the very opposite of his chief. Indolent, unenterprising, and incapable, he was just the man to waste the time which Lally would have employed, and to lose opportunities which the other would have eagerly seized. D'Aché was even worse. It is impossible to assert that if the French armament which accompanied Lally had been commanded by a Suffren it might not have achieved a temporary success. Suffren himself, some five and twenty years later, did maintain on the seas the superiority which, in 1758, would have enabled Lally to carry out his designs on shore. But d'Aché was the feeblest, the weakest, the most nerveless of men; the very last officer to whom the command of a fleet should have been intrusted, the most unfit man in the world to be the colleague of Lally.

The Chevalier de Soupire, sailing with nearly a thousand men of the regiment of Lorraine and 50 artillerymen, and two millions of livres (about £80,000), on the 30th December, 1756, anchored off Pondichery on the 9th September of the following year. He arrived at a moment, which, had he been a man of action, might

have been made decisive. It was at the time when the English had retired from all their conquests in southern India—Trichinopoly, Arcot, Chingleput and Conjeveram alone excepted; when Madras was still unfortified; when Fort St. David, almost in ruins, was garrisoned by but sixty invalids; when Saubinet was retaking the places which his predecessors had lost, unopposed by the English in the field, and caring little for the undisciplined levies of Mahomed Ali. It was just such a moment which Duplex, or La Bourdonnais, or Bussy, or Lally himself, would have used to the complete expulsion of the British from the Carnatic. For the French were not only masters on land: they were, up to the end of the month of April of the following year, masters also at sea.

The obvious course for the Government of Pondichery to have followed in such a crisis was to have directed the combined forces of Saubinet and de Soupire to proceed against the cardinal points of the English possessions—Fort St. David and Fort St. George. The first would most certainly have fallen without a blow, and its fall would have so shaken English influence in the Carnatic that it would not have been difficult—in fact under an efficient leader it would have been easy—to strike a decisive blow at Madras itself. For, all the English troops, except those actually necessary for purposes of defence, had been despatched to assist Clive in Bengal, whilst the English fleet still remained in the waters of the Hooghly.

But neither de Leyrit, nor de Soupire, nor Saubinet, was equal to the occasion. De Soupire indeed was a stranger to the country, and being a man of weak and facile character, he suffered himself to be guided by the Governor. Saubinet was simply a brave soldier in the field, and he too was entirely under the authority of de Leyrit. At this important crisis, therefore, of the fortunes of France, everything depended upon the decision arrived at regarding military operations by the civil Governor, a man sufficiently well-meaning, but utterly deficient in those higher qualities which mark the practical statesman. To de Leyrit, indeed, it occurred, as it occurred to all around him, that in the advantageous position in which he found himself, consequent upon the arrival of de Soupire's reinforcements,* an expedition against Fort St. David presented the most tempting opportunity. But other considerations crowded themselves at the same time into his mind. He could

* Major Lawrence, in his *Memoirs*, states that the English authorities were "surprised that they (the French) should remain inactive for so many months after the taking of Chittaput."

not forget that Fort St. David had successfully resisted all the attacks made upon it by Dupleix, and that the repulses received before that place had given to the English the encouragement which had enabled them gradually to attain a position of at least equality in the Carnatic. Then again, the reported character of Lally, described as haughty, imperious, violently prejudiced against all Franco-Indians, influenced him not a little. He could not foresee that Lally would be nearly twelve months on his way; he did not even know that he had put back; he believed, on the contrary, that he had left France six weeks after de Soupire, and he thought therefore that it might be regarded as presumptuous on his part, and that it would certainly be rash, were he to attempt any considerable object before the arrival of the Commander-in-chief. A third reason* likewise weighed with him: he dreaded lest the English fleet in the Hooghly should at any moment bear down upon the Coromandel coast and regain the superiority at sea. He could not then know the great things to which the conquest of Chandernagore had given birth in the heart of Clive.

Instead, therefore, of attempting to strike at either of the vital points of the English position, de Leyrit resolved to content himself with the reduction of the various forts in the Carnatic, and with subjecting the country under the influence of those forts to the sway of men devoted to the Pondichery Government. In this view he joined the soldiers of de Soupire to Saubinet, and employed them, in the interval between the arrival of the former and the close of the year, in the capture of Trinomalee and other places in the vicinity of Chittaput and Gingee,† But from the beginning of the following year till the arrival of Lally on the 28th of April, the precious moments were frittered away in inactivity, in delusive negotiations with Hyder Ali, or in abortive attempts to induce a rising amongst the French prisoners in Trichinopoly.

Meanwhile d'Aché's squadron had been slowly pursuing its course. Throughout the whole voyage the admiral himself had never ceased to display his weakness and folly, to show how utterly unfit he was for such a command. He had picked up on the way a small English merchant ship, and, to preserve this ship; which was not worth £1,600, he had not hesitated, despite the remonstrances and even the threats of Lally, to lie to every night. More than that, arriving at Rio de Janeiro, he actually remained six weeks in port in order to dispose of the cargo of that

* Orme.

† *Calcutta Review*, No. LXXXIX., page 24.

vessel, and to re-load her; to avoid the Cape during the equinox, he steered for six weeks out of his course; to avoid the second equinox he took the longest course from the Isle of France to Pondichery. So timid was he, that on the appearance of a sail in the daytime he altered his course by night, and took in his sails whenever there was the smallest gust of wind. He took a course, in fact, which,—to use Mr. Orme's graphic expression,—it would be useful to know, in order to avoid it. And this, whilst the English fleet was following in his wake; whilst the possession of India depended upon the rapid movements of those ships whose course he was thus hindering. If, indeed, there is one person than another more responsible for the fatal result of Lally's expedition, that individual is undoubtedly Count d' Aché. A little more haste on his part, the curtailment of the delays with the merchant ship and of the long sojourn in Rio de Janeiro, and Lally, with the cold weather before him, with d' Aché's squadron unopposed to aid him, could not have failed to capture both Fort St. David and Madras. He himself was sanguine that under such circumstances he would have been able to expel the English from Bengal.

At length, on the 28th of April, the fleet anchored off Pondichery, and Lally with some of his principal officers arrived. Amongst these were the representatives of some of the great aristocratic families of monarchical France. There were under his command a "d'Estaing, descended from him who saved the life of Philip Augustus at the battle of Bovine, and who transmitted to his family the coat of arms used by the Kings of France; a Crillon, great grandson of Crillon, surnamed the brave, worthy of the love of the great Henry IV.; a Montmorency; a Conflans, of ancient and illustrious family; a La Fare, and "many others of the first rank."* Besides these there were Breteuil, Verdière, Landivisiau, and other officers of good family and of the highest merit. A singular circumstance which occurred before the landing, did not fail to be regarded by many, especially by the sailors, as of very evil omen. On the arrival of Lally in the Pondichery roads becoming known to the authorities of that city, it was directed that a salute should be fired in his honour. By accident,—it could hardly have been by design,—some of the guns set apart for firing the salute were loaded; by a greater chance still, five shots fired struck the *Comte de Provence*, the vessel on board of which was Lally, three of which went right through the hull and two damaged the rigging. It was a strange greeting for the new

Commander-in-chief, and gave him, it would appear, some impression of the hostility he might expect to meet from the authorities.

Lally had come out armed with very extensive powers. He was appointed Commander-in-chief and Commissary of the King for all French possessions in the East; he was to command as well the inhabitants of Pondichery and the other French settlements as the officers and clerks of the Company; "likewise the governors, commanders, officers of the land and sea forces of the Company who now are, or who hereafter may be there, to preside in all the Councils, as well superior and provincial, both those that are already, and those that may be hereafter, without making any innovation, however, in the settled order for collecting the votes." All the governors, counsellors, commanders, officers, soldiers, land and sea forces, all servants of the Company, and all the inhabitants of the French settlements, were directed to recognise Lally as Commissary of the King and Commander-in-chief, "and to obey him in every thing he may command, without any contravention what-ever."* It will thus be seen that Lally in a way superseded de Leyrit, the latter, however, still retaining the rank and position of Governor. This position, combined with his local influence, and added to the restriction relative to the votes, gave him, as Lally was destined soon to discover, very considerable power.

Lally had left France prepared to find fault. Before he sailed, the Directors had themselves placed in his hands a memorandum, in which their principal officers on the Coromandel coast, Bussy alone excepted, were painted in the most unfavourable colours. But this was not all. It had been likewise intimated to him, as well by the Directors as by the Ministers of the Crown, that corruption was rampant at Pondichery, and that they looked to him to check it. He had been informed that the farming out of lands, the supply of artillery cattle, the provisioning of the sepoys, the purchase and re-sale of goods drawn from the magazines of the Company, and,—the most important of all,—the conducting of treaties with native princes, were matters which required thorough and searching investigation, inasmuch as it was believed that they were made the means of enriching private individuals to the great injury of the shareholders of the Company. To such an extent had these points been pressed upon his attention whilst in Paris; so incontestable apparently were the proofs that had been placed

* This order is dated the 31st December, 1756; signed by Louis XV., and counter-signed by the Minister, Machault.

before him ;—that Lally had left France with the conscientious conviction on his mind that he was coming out to uproot a nest of robbers and extortioners. He had, he believed, a double mission—to root out those robbers, and to throw the English into the sea.

He landed, as we have stated, with a few of his officers, on the 28th April. He at once set himself to work to inquire as to the condition of Madras and of Fort St. David, regarding the fortifications of Cuddalore, and the number of English troops on the coast of Coromandel. To his surprise, de Leyrit could give him precise answers to none of these questions ; nor could he even afford him any definite information as to the route to Cuddalore or the number of rivers to be crossed ; he could only offer guides. Lally, impatient for action, was not, however, deterred by this ignorance and apparent want of interest from following the policy, which, in his belief, ought to have been attempted eight months earlier, but sent off, that same evening, a detachment of 750 Europeans and some sepoys, under the command of the Count d'Estaing, to Cuddalore, following himself the next day. Whilst on his way to join, he learned to his mortification one of the first results of the slowness and unfitness for command of his naval colleague. Commodore Stevens, who had left England three months after d'Aché had left France, had, by pursuing a direct course, arrived at Madras five weeks before d'Aché reached Pondichery. Uniting himself there to Admiral Pocock, who had returned from Bengal on the 24th February, the two squadrons had sailed from Madras on the 17th April to intercept the French fleet, and had come up with it at noon on the 28th April off Negapatam.

The English fleet consisted of seven ships of war* ranging from 50 to 66 guns each. These ships all belonging to the Royal Navy, had just been placed in the best condition possible for sea,† and were unencumbered by troops. In this respect they had a considerable advantage over the French squadron, which had arrived that very day after a long voyage, crowded

* These were :	The	<i>Yarmouth</i>	64 guns,	Captain	John Harrison.
		<i>Elizabeth</i>	64	"	Kempenfelt,
		<i>Cumberland</i>	66	"	Brereton,
		<i>Weymouth</i>	60	"	Vincent,
		<i>Tiger</i>	60	"	Latham,
		<i>Newcastle</i>	50	"	Legge,
		<i>Salisbury</i>	50	"	Somerset,

and two store ships.

† Colonel Lawrence's narrative.

with soldiers, and but one of the ships composing which belonged to the Royal Navy of France. At the time he was seen by the English admiral, d'Aché* was standing up towards Pondichery from Negapatam, seven of his ships being in line, and two cruising in the offing. The English admiral at once formed his line, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon bore down on the *Zodiaque*, and, as soon as he came within half musket shot, made the signal to his captains for close action. Meanwhile the ships of d'Aché's squadron had opened a hot fire on the approaching enemy, without, however, receiving any in return. About four o'clock, however, the English succeeded in forming their line, and the action became general, the two admirals sailing close to, and directing their fire at, one another. But the French ships experienced in this sort of engagement all the disadvantage of want of regular training and of overcrowding. Their fire was slow and badly directed, whilst the well-aimed discharges of the English made terrible havoc on their crowded decks. It is due, however, to d'Aché to state that he fought his ship, the *Zodiaque*, with great skill and gallantry, and it was only after the *Sylphide*, the *Condé*, the *Duc de Bourgogne*, the *Bien Aimé*, and the *Moras*, had been forced to quit the line, that d'Aché, with the remainder of the squadron, bore up to follow them. Meanwhile the *Comte de Provence*† and the *Diligente* had come out from Pondichery to assist the French. Towards them therefore d'Aché directed his course, intending with their aid, to renew the engagement. But the rigging of the English ships had been so shattered by the ill-directed fire of the French, that Admiral Pocock, anxious as he was to complete his victory, was forced to renounce the pursuit, and to haul down the signal for action. The French squadron, thereupon, with the exception of the *Bien Aimé*, which, by the parting of her cable, was driven on shore, ran into the roadstead of Alumparva, and five or six days later reached Pondichery. The English admiral bore up to Madras to refit.

* His ships were: *Le Zodiaque* 74 guns—of the French Navy.
Le Vengeur 54 „
Le Bien Aimé 58 „
Le Condé 44 „
Le Saint Louis 50 „
Le Moras 44 „
Le Sylphide 36 „
Le Duc d'Orléans 50 „
Le Duc de Bourgogne 60 „
† Carrying 74 guns, the *Diligente*, 24. } belonging to the Company of the Indies, and built to serve, when required, as men-of-war.

Such was the intelligence that reached Lally on the 29th April, whilst on his way to join the detachment he had sent towards Cuddalore, the previous evening, under Count d'Estaing. He was little, if at all, daunted by it, resolving to atone, so far as was possible, for a defeat at sea, by the celerity of his movements on land. The detachment under d'Estaing, though misled by its guides, appeared before Cuddalore on the 29th; it was followed the next day by a portion of the regiment de Lorraine and some heavy guns: on the 1st of May, Lally himself appeared before the place, and summoned it to surrender.

To such an extent had the spirit of neglect and unconcern made way in the Pondichery Government since the departure of Dupleix, that, although a year and more had elapsed since it was known that war between France and England had been declared; although the question of attacking Cuddalore and Fort St. David had, in that interval, been considered by de Leyrit and his colleagues, not one of them had taken the trouble to ascertain the military condition of those places, or the provision, if any, that had been made for defending them. Lally was compelled, by this culpable indifference on the part of the Franco-Indian authorities,—strongly confirmatory as it was in his mind of the character he had received of them from their own directors in Europe,—to find out everything through his own officers. Count d'Estaing, who first appeared before Cuddalore, found it fortified on three sides; he did not know, nor did any one in the force know, although the Pondichery authorities ought to have known, that it was open towards the sea. Lally, on his arrival, was no better informed. He agreed therefore to accept the capitulation offered by the garrison for the third day, although had intimation been given him of its defenceless state on the fourth side, he would probably have forced its surrender at once.*

* Still, on the 4th May, Cuddalore surrendered. With that surrender began Lally's first difficulties—none of them, it is proper to observe, of his own creation. Surely he had a right to expect that de Leyrit, who for eight months had postponed the expedition against Fort St. David on the main plea that it was proper to await the arrival of the Commander-in-chief, would in the meanwhile have taken the precaution to procure carriage for movements he must have known to be inevitable. The two finest regiments of the French army, still less

* Cuddalore was garrisoned by 30 European infantry, 25 European artillerymen, 400 sepoys, and some lascars. The garrison was allowed to retire to Fort St. David.

the most rising of all the generals in the French service, had not come out to Pondichery, merely to sit there at their ease. De Leyrit was well aware of this, yet up to the hour of the landing of the new General he had not made a single preparation. Although large sums were charged in the Pondichery accounts for carriage cattle, none were available; there were no coolies, no means of transport, not even guides. The difficulty was not so much felt in the first march to Cuddalore, though even then, Lally, determined to move, and left entirely unaided by de Leyrit, had not hesitated to impress the native inhabitants of the town. It was when Cuddalore was taken, when the siege of Fort St. David was imminent, when it had become necessary for the army to sit down before that place, dependent upon Pondichery for supplies, and for the carriage of supplies, that the culpable indifference of de Leyrit and his colleagues began to make itself keenly felt.

Lally, seeing the utter impossibility of carrying on a siege until he had first organised a system of supply, aware also, in consequence of the presence of the victorious English fleet at Madras, of the absolute necessity of promptitude, returned, immediately after the taking of Cuddalore, to Pondichery, with a view to rouse the authorities there to a sense of their duties and of their position, and to make, at all costs, proper arrangements for supplies. At Pondichery, however, Lally found nought but apathy and indifference. To every request that he preferred he was answered by an "impossible." He did not find there, although he had sent them 100,000 francs to make preparations, resources that were worth an hundred pence.* It can scarcely be wondered at if Lally attributed this conduct to something more than indolence or apathy. He says himself, in his memoirs, that he saw very clearly how ill-will lay at the bottom of it all. It is little marvellous then, if he, ignorant of India, knowing nothing of the distinction between castes, left to himself by those who should have aided him, and whose duty it was to have prevented this necessity, should, rather than abandon his enterprise, have insisted on a wholesale conscription of the native inhabitants to carry the loads necessary for his army.

* The extent, to which Lally felt this is shown by the following extract of a letter he addressed to de Leyrit, dated the 15th May, and which runs thus:—"The Minister (at Paris) will find it difficult to believe that you awaited the disembarkation of the troops on board the first vessel of our squadron, before you employed the money at your disposal in preparations for an enterprise of which you had had eight months' warning. I sent you 100,000 francs of my money to aid in the necessary expenses; I have not found on my arrival, resources of 100 pence in your purse or in that of your council."—*Official Correspondence.*

True it is, that such a course was a blunder no less than a crime; true it is, that it would have been wiser far to have abandoned his enterprise, to have re-embarked even for Europe, than to adopt a line of action so repugnant to the feelings and the ideas of the class without whose hearty co-operation nothing of permanent importance could be achieved; but whilst we blame him for that, let not us forget the wilful neglect of the Pondichery authorities, his own ignorance of Indian customs, the grounds he had for disbelieving all the assertions of the Franco-Indians. He was doubtless culpable, but they were ten thousand times more so.

Some sort of a system having been established by these unwise means, and by others, more legitimate, to which the employment of these compelled de Leyrit and his colleagues to have recourse, Lally returned to Cuddalore; and on the 16th May opened fire on Fort St. David. This fort is situated at the southern angle of an island nearly three quarters of a mile long and about half the breadth. On two sides of that angle it was guarded by the river of Tripopalore and the sea. On the third side it was protected by four small masonry forts, nearly a quarter of a mile from the covered way, each supporting the other. It was necessary to take these before trenches could be opened. The garrison of the fort consisted of 619 Europeans, of whom 83 were pensioners, and of about 1600 Sepoys and lascars. The fortifications, especially those of the two exterior forts, had been repaired and greatly strengthened during the eight months that had intervened between the arrival of de Soupire and the investment. The troops under the command of Lally consisted of 1,600 Europeans, and 600 natives of all arms. The four forts already alluded to were the first objects of Lally's attack. These were stormed,—notwithstanding that the guns and mortars sent him from Pondichery, and on which he depended for success, unaccountably failed him,—sword in hand, on the night of the 17th. On the evening of the following day trenches were opened at a distance of less than four hundred yards from the glacis. From this date to the 2nd June the siege continued, under great difficulties on both sides. In the French camp there was a scarcity of money, of provisions, of guns, of ammunition and of carriage: the most angry letters passed between Lally and de Leyrit, the one accusing and threatening, the other constantly asserting that his resources were exhausted. In the fort, on the other hand, discipline was relaxed, desertions were frequent, and defence had become hopeless, unless it were from the English fleet. Under these circumstances the feelings of Lally may be imagined when on the

28th May he received intimation that the English fleet had appeared before Pondichery, making apparently for Fort St. David, whilst the French sailors had unanimously refused to embark on board their ships, on the pretext that faith had not been kept with them regarding their pay, and that d'Aché had thereupon announced his intention to moor his ships in the roadstead of Pondichery under the protection of the place.

However much Lally felt that his presence before Fort St. David was necessary for the carrying on of the siege, this intelligence of the determination to yield the sea to the English forced him to return at once to Pondichery, taking with him 400 Europeans and 200 'sepoys'. Assembling, on arrival, a council, he ordered 60,000 francs to be paid out of his own funds to the sailors, embarked them and the 600 men he had brought with him on board the ships of the fleet, and persuaded d'Aché to proceed at once to sea. He then returned to his post before Fort St. David. The result corresponded to his anticipations. The French fleet, putting to sea, effectually prevented any communication between the English Admiral and the besieged fort; the latter, thus left to itself, and hardly pushed by Lally, capitulated on the 2nd June, the garrison surrendering as prisoners of war. The fortifications were immediately rased to the ground.

Thus, in less than five weeks after his landing, had Lally, notwithstanding difficulties unheard of and almost inconceivable, certainly entirely unexpected, carried out one part of his programme. He had driven the English from one of their principal settlements,—from that one indeed which for a long time had remained their seat of government, which had defied the efforts of Duplex, and whence Lawrence and Clive had sallied to baffle the French arms at Trichinopoly. But he did not stop here. The very day of the surrender, the Count d'Estaing was detached to Devicotta, which the English garrison, counting only 30 Europeans and 600 sepoy, did not care to defend, but abandoned on his approach. Whilst this expedition was in course of progress, d'Aché landed at Fort St. David, and dined with Lally, who seized the occasion to open to him his new designs. Now was the time, he said, to attack Madras. The place was unfortified, the garrison weak, the Council discouraged by the capture of Fort St. David. Let but d'Aché agree to act with him, to take his army on board, and to land it either at Madras itself, or at least on the high land of Alumparva, already occupied by the French, and success, he said, was certain. But, to his chagrin, d'Aché refused him his support. Acting in the same spirit which had animated him when he had delayed his voyage to India in order to keep and dispose

of the little merchant ship which he had captured, d'Aché now alleged that it devolved upon him to cruise off Ceylon to intercept the stray merchant ships of England. To all the remonstrances of Lally he replied only by urging the deficiency of provisions and the sickness of his crews,—reasons which appeared equally to apply to their cruising off Ceylon. Unable to shake his resolution, Lally, rejoined by the detachment under d'Estaing, returned to Pondichery, into which he made a triumphant entry,—a *Te Deum* being celebrated in honour of the capture of Fort St. David. Still, however, bent more than ever on the practical, he lost no time in vain rejoicing, but summoned a council to which he invited d'Aché. Again he urged his reasons for instant action against Madras, but again was he met by the dogged and obstinate refusal of his naval colleague. It was a hard trial to see the fruits of his victory thus snatched from his grasp by the stolid stupidity of the man whose indecision and delays had already cost him so much, and who happened to be the only official not subjected to his orders. But hard as it was, Lally was forced to bear it, and to see the fleet that might, he believed, have carried him in triumph to Madras, leave the roadstead of Pondichery on an uncertain and profitless cruise, carrying with it the 600 troops he had lent its commander.

Still, notwithstanding the defection of d'Aché, Lally was very unwilling to renounce his designs on Madras. With the *coup d'œil* of a real soldier he saw, as La Bourdonnais had seen before him, that there the decisive blow was to be struck. Yet he was helpless. He had not the money to equip his army, and de Leyrit and his colleagues persisted in declaring that it was impossible for them to raise it. Out of this difficulty, the local chief of the Jesuits, by name Father Lavour, one of the most influential of the residents at Pondichery, suggested an escape. It so happened that amongst the prisoners taken at Fort St. David was that same Sahoojee, ex-rajah of Tanjore, who had been twice expelled from that country in 1739, and who, taken up by the English for their own purposes in 1749, and thrown aside when no longer of use to them, had continued ever since a pensioner on their bounty.* The arrival of Sahoojee in Pondichery suggested to the mind of the Jesuit that he might be made use of to frighten the Rajah of Tanjore, his nephew, upon whom the French had a claim for fifty-five lakhs of rupees in consequence of a bond given to Chunda Sahib, and made over by his son, Raja Sahib, to Dupleix. "Thus," added Lavour, to Lally, "you will obtain, at easy cost, the means of equipping

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“your force for Madras, and gaining at the same time a considerable augmentation of influence.” Lally did not like the plan. His mind was bent upon Madras. Any object that would delay the movement against that place was to him unpalatable. The Tanjore expedition was a diversion from the direct line he had marked out for himself, and of which he never once lost sight,—the expulsion of the English from India. But he was helpless. Unsupported by the authorities of Pondichery and by d’Aché he could not march towards Madras. Unwillingly, therefore, and solely as a means whereby he could eventually carry out his own plans, he consented to move upon Tanjore.

Meanwhile d’Aché had sailed on his projected cruise, and had arrived on the 16th (June) off Karikal, which it had been his intention to leave the next day. But a curious fatality attended all the counsels of the French at this epoch. Had d’Aché left Karikal, as he intended, on the 17th June, he would almost certainly have intercepted two English ships which were conveying to Madras a portion of the annual supplies of *specie* from England. This supply would have been more than sufficient to enable Lally to equip his army and to march to Madras. Unfortunately for him, however, and for the French cause, the members of the Council of Pondichery were so alarmed at the idea of being left exposed, by the contemplated absence of Lally, to an attack from the English fleet, that they sent a pressing message to d’Aché to return. This message reached him on the 16th. More pliable to the wishes of the Council than to those of Lally, he suffered himself to be persuaded, renounced his intended cruise, and returned to Pondichery. The two English vessels, which could not have escaped him had he proceeded in a southerly direction, arrived safely at Madras.

On the following day Lally started for Tanjore, at the head of 1,600 European troops and a proportion of sepoys, leaving 600 Europeans and 200 sepoys under de Soupire in an entrenched camp between Alamparva and Pondichery. So powerful a force in point of numbers had never before invaded the dominions of a native prince, but it was deficient in every particular which tends to make an army useful and efficient.

It marched without organised carriage, without provisions, without money, without even a sufficiency of ammunition. All these supplies were to be obtained on the road, an arrangement which could not be carried into effect without relaxing to a dangerous extent the discipline of the army, and, what was of even more importance, alienating the people of the country.

It is difficult to exaggerate the sufferings the soldiers endured.* At Devicotta they had nothing to eat but rice in the husk, and it was not till they reached Karical, 100 miles by the road from Pondichery, that they really had a meal. Even here, Lally found only twenty-eight oxen and a small quantity of meal, the remainder of the supplies having been consumed by the squadron. But he received the next day from the Dutch at Tranquebar and Negapatam both ammunition and food.

The difficulties of his march, the suffering of his troops, and the obstacles thrown in his way upon every occasion, had affected the disposition of Lally to such an extent, that, from the moment of his entering into the Tanjore territory, he began to indulge in acts of harsh and unreasoning severity, most detrimental to his cause. He plundered the town of Nagore, ransacked all the Brahminical temples he met with on his route, and finding six Brahmins lingering about his camp, he blew them away from guns. Such was the license he allowed his army, and so wide was the terror caused by this approach, that we cannot wonder that he met with scarcely an inhabitant on his route, and that the country through which he marched was "like a barren desert."†

At length, on the 18th July, the French army found itself close to Tanjore. Lally had previously sent a requisition to the king requiring payment of the fifty-five lakhs of rupees, but to this he had received an evasive reply, it being the object of the Rajah to delay him until assistance could be obtained from the English. In the negotiations that followed it is probable that Lally might eventually have reaped some advantage had he conducted himself with ordinary prudence. But the violence of his temper ruined him. When he had brought the Rajah to an undertaking to pay five lakhs of rupees and the value of three or four lakhs in the shape of supplies, his suspicions induced him to regard an accidental failure in the fulfillment of one of the stipulations into a deliberate breach of faith. Carried away by his violence, he at once sent the Rajah a message in which he threatened to transport him and all his family as slaves to the

* From Devicotta, which they reached on the second day, without finding wherewith to satisfy their hunger, Lally wrote thus to de Leyrit: "J'attends
" dans la nuit les bœufs qui traînent l'Artillerie afin de les faire tuer. * * *
" J'ai envoyé à Trinquebar pour y acheter tous les chiens marrons et
" bœufs que l'on pourra rencontrer, ainsi que la Raque à quelque prix
" que ce soit : voilà, à la lettre, l'horreur de la situation dans laquelle vous
" nous avez mis, et le danger auquel vous exposez une armée, que je ne
" serais point surpris de voir passer à l'ennemie pour chercher à manger."—
Lally's correspondence with Pondichery.

† *Mémoire de Lally*, page 67.

Isle of France. This was too great an indignity to be endured, and the Rajah, supported by the promises of the English and some trained sepoy sent him by Captain Calliaud from Trichinopoly, bade defiance to his enemy. Lally upon this determined to try the effect of an assault. Two batteries were opened on the 2nd August, a breach was effected on the 7th, and the attack ordered for the 8th. On the morning of that day however, intelligence reached the camp that d'Aché had been attacked by the English, been beaten and driven off the coast, and that the English were threatening Karical, which formed the base of the French operations against Tanjore. At the same time advices were received from de Soupire to the effect that Pondichery was threatened by a corps of 800 English from Madras, and that he, having only 600, was preparing to evacuate his position.

When this intelligence reached Lally, he had in camp but supplies for two days, and the Tanjorean cavalry effectually prevented him from procuring any more; his small arm ammunition was almost entirely exhausted, and for cannon shot he depended on those fired by the enemy. Still the breach had been effected, and both d'Estaing and Saubinet were eager that the assault should be delivered. But the consideration that after the fort was taken it would be necessary to attack the town, which was itself strongly defended, that the attack upon the fort would exhaust all his ammunition, and, if that attack were unsuccessful, his men would be, as it were, an unarmed multitude, determined Lally, on the advice of the council of war he assembled, to retreat. Instead, therefore, of delivering the assault on the 8th, he sent off a detachment of a hundred and fifty men, escorting the sick, the wounded, and the siege stores, in the direction of Karical, on the 9th, intending to follow himself with the main body on the evening of the 10th.

Early on that morning however, the Tanjoreans, gaining courage from the reported intentions of Lally, attacked his camp suddenly. They were repulsed, indeed, with considerable loss on their side, but, meanwhile, a Jemadar and fifty horsemen had ridden up to the pagoda in which Lally, had been sleeping, giving that they were deserters. Lally, who was still in his night-dress, went, on hearing of their approach, to the door of the pagoda, but they had no sooner come up, than their leader, instead of making his submission, struck at Lally with his sabre. The French General warded off the blow with a stick, but it was about to be repeated when the Jemadar was shot dead by one of Lally's followers. The conspirators then made successive charges on the French guard, which had turned out on witnessing these events, but they were each time repulsed, twenty-eight of their number being killed. Dishheartened by this loss,

the remainder endeavoured to escape, but galloping by mistake into a tank, they were destroyed to a man. The general attack made on the other part of the camp was, as we have said, easily repulsed.

That night Lally broke up from before Tanjore, having subsisted for two months on the country. Of *specie*, his great want, he had succeeded in wringing from the Rajah but little. The three pieces of heavy cannon which had constituted his siege battery he spiked, breaking up their carriages for want of cattle to drag them. He then marched in two columns, the baggage and carriage for the sick being in the interval between them, two pieces of artillery preceding, and two being in rear of, the force. The retreat was executed in the finest order. Lally left nothing behind him but the three spiked guns. Unfortunately, however, hunger was the constant attendant of his camp. He had exhausted all his supplies, and the Tanjorean cavalry effectually prevented him from gaining any from the country. Arriving at his first halting-place, after marching from midnight till 9 o'clock in the morning, he could serve out to his soldiers nothing but water. Hungry and faint, they marched on to Trivalore where provisions had been sent for them from Karical. From this place the enemy, abandoning the pursuit, returned to Tanjore; from here, too, Count d'Estaing was sent to Pondichery to endeavour once more to persuade d'Aché, who had signified his intention of returning to the Isle of France, to make a combined attack on Madras. After a halt of three days at Trivalore, the army continued its retreat, and arrived on the 18th at Karical, which they found blockaded by the English fleet. A few days later Lally marched with part of his force to Pondichery, arriving there on the 28th.

Meanwhile d'Aché, leaving the Pondichery roadstead on the 28th July, had encountered the English fleet off Tranquebar on the 1st August, and after a severe engagement of about two hours, in which he lost many men and was himself wounded, had been completely worsted, and had saved himself only by the superior sailing qualities of his ships. Bearing up for Pondichery he arrived there the next day, and learning that the Dutch at Negapafam had allowed a French ship to be captured in their roadstead by the English squadron, he seized, in reprisal, a Dutch vessel lying in the Pondichery roads, on board of which were three lakhs of rupees in gold and merchandise. He then brought to his squadron under the guns of the town, apprehensive of an attack from the English.

He was in this position when Lally, on the 28th August, arrived. Great was the indignation of the French General at

what he considered the pusillanimous position taken up by his naval colleague; greater still his fury, when he found that all the remonstrances of d'Estaing had availed nothing, and that d'Aché was resolute, not only to decline all further contests with the English, but to abandon the coast. In vain did Lally offer to strengthen his fleet with as many of his soldiers as he might require, with a view to his again encountering the English, whilst Lally himself should march upon Madras: in vain did the Council, for once unanimous, urge upon him the necessity of at least remaining some time longer on the coast. He was obstinate to run no further risk; the utmost he would do and that he did, was to land 500 of his sailors to augment the land forces of the settlement. He then,—on the 2nd September,—sailed for the Isle of France. The English squadron, now without an opponent, remained for three weeks longer before Pondichery, and then sailed for Bombay.

The capture of the Dutch vessel, however indefensible in itself, had at least supplied Lally with money. He employed the time, therefore, after his return to Pondichery in making preparations for his darling design upon Madras. As a preliminary to this expedition he despatched Sawbinet to retake Trinomalee,—which had been recaptured by the adherents of the English,—de Soupire against Carangoly, de Crillon against Trivalore, appointing all these detachments to meet him at Wandewash. Here too, Bussy, to whom, as we have seen, he had written on the 13th June,* joined him, having preceded his troops left under the orders of Moracin. The three expeditions having been successful and the troops having reunited, Lally marched towards Arcot, which the native commandant, who had been gained over, surrendered to him at once. There now remained between the French and Madras, in occupation of the English, the posts of Chingleput and Conjeveram, neither of them adequately garrisoned, and both almost inviting attack. Upon these, more especially upon Chingleput, the position of which on the Palaur made it of great importance to the English, it was his obvious duty to have marched without delay. He himself declares that he could not move because his money was exhausted and the sepoy refused to march unless they were paid. But it is difficult to believe that he could not have detached the

* In that letter Lally had opened his whole heart to Bussy. After stating his designs upon Madras he had added—"I will not conceal "from you, that, Madras once taken, I am determined to proceed to "the Ganges, either by land or by sea. * * * I confine myself now "to indicate to you my policy in these five words; *no more English in "India (plus d'Anglais dans la Péninsule).*"

divisions of Saubinet or d'Estaing to besiege a place which, at the time of his entry into Arcot (4th October), was guarded only by two companies of sepoys, and the capture of which would have ensured him at least supplies. It would appear that it was not until the English had strengthened the place considerably, and supplied it with an adequate garrison, that he became sensible of its importance. But it was just at that moment that, in the view of the chance of a protracted siege, the absolute necessity for a further supply of money came home to him. Unable to procure that supply by means of a letter to the council, he left his army in cantonments, and proceeded with Bussy and other of his officers to Pondichery, in the hope to be able to come to some definite arrangement by means of which the expedition, not only against Chingleput, but against Madras itself, might be made feasible.

The deliberations at Pondichery succeeded better than Lally had dared to hope. At a meeting of a mixed council the expedition against Madras was resolved upon, the military and some of the civil members expressing their opinion that it was better to encounter the risk of dying from a musket ball on the glacis of Madras than of hunger in Pondichery. De Leyrit alone dissented, alleging that he had no money whatever. But this article was not altogether wanting. Moracin had brought with him not only 250 European troops, and 500 sepoys, but 100,000 rupees; the superior officers and members of council, instigated by the example of Lally himself,* added contributions from their private purses. Still, notwithstanding the considerable sum thus raised, it was very much reduced by the necessary preparations, and when, on the 2nd November, Lally started to join his army, his treasure-chest contained but 94,000 rupees, whilst the monthly expenses of the army alone were not less than 40,000.

The meeting between Lally and Bussy had been apparently friendly, and Lally had not only expressed his sense of the advantage he would derive from the great Indian experience of his subordinate, but on their arrival at Pondichery, had paid him the compliment of inviting him to a seat in the Supreme Council. Nevertheless the secret feelings of the two men for one another were far from cordial. Lally, whose one great idea was the expulsion of the English, could not enter into the plan of a French Empire in the heart of the Dekkan, dependent on English weakness and English forbearance. Aware besides

* Lally subscribed 144,000 livres, Count d'Estaing and others 80,000 livres in plate. According to Lally, Bussy gave nothing.

that Bussy, whilst maintaining the fortunes of France at Hyderabad, had gained not only a great name but an enormous fortune, he could not forbear from connecting the one circumstance with the other, nor from secretly including Bussy amongst the self-seekers* whom he had found so numerous at Pondichery. On the other hand, Bussy, distrusting Lally's capacity from the first, and noticing the dislike which the other could not conceal, bound too by ties of friendship and long service with the de Leyrits and Desvaux and other councillors of Pondichery, gradually and insensibly fell into opposition. Nor were his first proceedings calculated to make matters better. He used every effort in his power to induce Lally to send him back to the Dekkan with increased forces; every day he presented to him letters from the Subadar to the same effect. This was the course best calculated to confirm the suspicions and sharpen the indignation of Lally. A mind constituted as was his, bent eagerly upon one point, could not tolerate a proposition, which so far from tending to aid him, went precisely in the opposite direction, and instead of strengthening, would have weakened, his force. He came therefore to regard the requests of Bussy and Moracin as part of the general plan to thwart him, as sure and certain proofs that they too regarded only their own interests and not the interests of France. So far from giving in to them he the more firmly insisted that Bussy should accompany him. All this time he treated him with outward politeness, but in reality he regarded him as a most ordinary and over-rated man.

But if Lally had this opinion of Bussy, far different was the impression made by the trusted lieutenant of Dupleix on the officers under his command. They were not slow in recognising his ability, his large views, his acquaintance with the country and the true mode of managing the people. To such an extent did they display their confidence in his talents and his devotedness, that on the eve of the expedition to Madras, six of their number,† including the chivalrous d'Estaing, who had already made a reputation, signed a request to the Commander-in-chief, that Bussy, the Company's general, might be placed over their heads, and occupy the position next to de Soupire. Lally was unwilling to comply; he attributed even this request

* The Jesuit, Father Lavour, had more than once impressed upon Lally, that, in India, the officials worked for something more than the glory of the King.

† These were MM. d'Estaing, Crillon, de la Fare, Verdière, Breteuil, and de Landivisiau.

to the effect of Bussy's money;* but he could not well refuse, and the order was issued accordingly.

At length, in the beginning of November, Lally collected his forces, amounting to 2,700 European infantry, 300 cavalry, and 5,000 sepoys, and marched upon Madras. These were divided into four brigades, commanded by de Soupire, d'Estaing, Crillon, and Saubinet. Bussy held no actual command, but he was present with the force as Brigadier, with an authority superior to that of all the other officers, de Soupire and Lally excepted. Taking possession of Conjeveram on the 27th, the army marched from that on the 29th, and reached the plain in front of Madras on the 12th December. The strong position of Chingleput, which, two months before, Lally might have taken with little loss, he now, with regret, left in his rear. Retaining that, the English had been, and were still, able to procure abundant supplies from the surrounding country.

The English garrison of Madras consisted of 1,758 Europeans, 2,220 sepoys and 200 horse; there were besides within the walls 150 Europeans who were employed in various ways in the defence. The Governor was Mr. George Pigott, afterwards Lord Pigott, a man of ability and discrimination, and who had the good sense to make over all the arrangements of the defence to the veteran Colonel Lawrence, who found himself within the walls. Under Lawrence were Lieutenant Colonel Draper, the conqueror of Manila,† Major Calliaud of Trichinopoly renown, Major Brereton, and other good officers. It will thus be seen that in the number of Europeans,—the backbone of an army in India, the French did not possess a very overwhelming advantage over the enemy that they had come to besiege. The defence was confined mainly to Fort St. George, although three fortified posts were left in the Black Town.

Lally, as we have seen, reached the plain in front of Madras on the 12th. The van of his little force was commanded by the chivalrous d'Estaing, and consisted of 300 European infantry, 300 cavalry and two guns, he himself following with the main body. On the 13th the army encamped in the plain, whilst Lally employed the day in reconnoitring the

* Lally asserts that to secure the good offices of some of these noblemen Bussy lent or gave or offered to them the following sums:—To Count d'Estaing, 100,000 crowns; to the Chevalier de Crillon, 2,000 louis d'ors. Crillon, however, refused them. Lally adds that Bussy offered him 460,000 livres to be sent back to the Dekkan, and stated that he was ready to advance 240,000 livres for the service of the Company, provided Lally would be his surety. Lally declined both offers.—*Mémoire pour Lally*.

† The same who engaged in a controversy with Junius.

Fort and the Black Town. Having done this to his satisfaction, he detached the Chevalier de Crillon with the regiment of Lally to take possession of the Black Town, an enterprise which succeeded with but little loss on the side of the French, the posts being evacuated as they advanced. The conquest, however, gave rise to great relaxation of discipline, for the town was rich, and the camp-followers, of whom there were ten thousand, would not be restrained, nor had Lally a sufficient number of troops to enforce obedience, in this respect, to his orders. An indiscriminate pillage was consequently the result; the value of the property seized being computed at fifteen millions of francs (£600,000.) To the military chest, however, there resulted from the capture of the town a gain of but 92,000 francs or less than £3,700, being the contributions of an Armenian whom Lally had saved from plunder, and of the Hindoo chief of Arnee.

The town having being occupied, the Lorraine brigade and the brigade of Company's troops were posted on its right near the sea, the brigade of Lally and the sailor brigade establishing themselves in some buildings belonging to the Capuchins on the rising ground on the left of the town. About ten o'clock of the following morning, whilst Lally, accompanied by Bussy and d'Estaing, was engaged in reconnoitring on the left of the Black Town, intimation was brought him that the English were making a strong demonstration against his right,—an intimation quickly confirmed by the firing of small arms. Though separated from the brigades which formed the right by a marshy plain about 200 yards in width and by a little stream, d'Estaing at once started in full haste to join in the combat. He had approached the scene of action, when, noticing some troops dressed in scarlet, he rode up to put himself at their head, believing them to be the volunteers of Bourbon, who wore uniform of that colour. It was not until he found himself a prisoner amongst them that he discovered them to be English. Bussy, who had followed him, returned on noticing his misfortune to the regiment of Lally, whilst the General, accompanied by his aide-de-camp and orderly officer, succeeded in gaining the scene of action. They found that the officers of the regiment of Lorraine had duly noticed the approach of a body of 500 men under Colonel Draper, supported by 150 under Major Brereton, with two guns, but, mistaking them, as d'Estaing afterwards did, for their own men, had made no dispositions to oppose them. They had only become aware of their error when the English guns opened on their left flank. Completely surprised, they had fallen into confusion, and abandoning their guns, had sought refuge under cover of some houses that were near. Had the English then advanced

the guns might have been carried off and the siege ended that very day. But their troops likewise fell into confusion amongst the houses, and their native buglers having run away, a part of the force became separated from the rest. Two officers of the regiment of Lorraine, Captains Guillermin and Sécati, noticing this, rallied their men with great spirit, and advanced with fixed bayonets to support their guns. It was now the turn of the English to fall back. Their position was a dangerous one; not only were they in the presence of a superior force, recovered from its surprise, but to regain the fort they had to cross the marshy plain and the small bridge of which we have spoken, and to which the regiment of Lally, burning for action, was nearer than they were. It will thus be seen that the fate of the English depended on the conduct of the officer who commanded that regiment.

There are some critical moments decisive of the fate and fortunes of individuals and nations; moments which offer golden opportunities not to be flirited with, but to be seized at once if success is to be achieved. This was one of them. The regiment of Lally had but to advance, and the fate of Madras would have been sealed. For not only would these 650 men have been slain or captured, but the effect upon their comrades within the walls would, according to the testimony of their commandant, have been decisive.* It was a great opportunity,—let us see now how the French used it.

We have said that after the capture of d'Estaing, Lally had proceeded to the right of the position, where the action was going on, whilst Bussy galloped back to his former post on the left. Lally arrived at the scene of action after Guillermin and Sécati had rallied their men, and the English in their turn had begun to retreat. He at once directed a movement whereby 80 of the latter were cut off from their main body and made prisoners. On the other side the Chevalier de Crillon, who commanded the Lally brigade, saw the English retreating towards the bridge, in disorder, and pursued by the Lorraine and Indian brigades. The thought at once came into his mind that by occupying the bridge on which that detachment was retreating, he might cut it off to a man.

* Colonel Lawrence states in his memoirs that the previous retrograde movements of the English had greatly discouraged his men, and that this sortie had been determined upon, because "it appeared necessary to do something immediately to restore the spirits of the garrison." Had the men composing the sortie-party been killed or taken, it would undoubtedly have tended to the still further discouragement of those remaining within the walls.

As, however, he did not command in that part of the field, Bussy being on the spot, he went up to that officer, and asked his permission to make the movement with his corps. To his intense mortification Bussy refused. In vain did other officers crowd round him; he was obstinate and obdurate.* So sensible however, was Crillon of the immense value of the opportunity, that he started forward himself with fifty volunteers and gained the bridge. Such a force was not however, sufficiently strong to prevent the passage of the enemy, which soon became an accomplished fact, though with a loss at the bridge itself of several killed and thirty-three prisoners.

Thus was the opportunity suffered to escape, and the remains of the English party succeeded in regaining the fort. Their loss however was heavy. It amounted, by their own statement, to more than 200 men and six officers, 103 of whom were taken prisoners. The loss of the French was, however, even more severe. It is true that in actual killed and wounded they did not lose more than 200 men; but two of their best officers were placed *hors de combat*. One of these, as we have seen, was the gallant d'Estaing, the other the no less daring Saubinet,

* The conduct of Bussy on this occasion has been hotly contested. The following points, however, are clear. 1st:—that if the bridge had been occupied by the regiment of Lally, the retreat of the English would have been cut off; 2nd, that the regiment of Lally could easily have occupied the bridge; 3rd that Bussy was with that regiment or near it at the time. We have adopted in the text the account given by Lally himself. To this account, Bussy, in his lifetime, demurred, stating, 1st, that he had no command, being a simple volunteer; 2ndly that he was thanked for his conduct by the Pondichery Government; 3rdly that on the field of battle Lally conferred on him the command of the Lorraine Brigade vacant by the capture of d'Estaing. He also added that he remembered on passing by the Lally Brigade, after the capture of d'Estaing, he recommended them to bring up two pieces of field artillery, as the enemy had none, that he then passed on to the Brigade, commanded by the Chevalier de Pöete to whom he said that having neither rank nor command, he had come to fight with him; further that he had never heard of the story until after he had left India.

The statement of Bussy seems, however, inconsistent with the facts that he had rank in the army next to de Soupire, that rank having been conferred upon him before leaving Pondichery; that having that rank, it became his duty to exercise its functions; that the statement of Lally was confirmed, on his trial, by the Chevalier de Crillon, the witness who was best qualified to speak. In the state of feeling between Lally and the Pondichery Council the thanks of the latter are of little weight; whereas the conferring the command of the Regiment on the field of battle may be accounted for on other grounds. Certainly the balance of evidence is against Bussy.

Mr. Orme states that Bussy gave other reasons for his conduct. Bussy does not, however, state them in his memoirs. Mr. Orme gives them. They are, however, so little satisfactory, that were they really Bussy's, they would but confirm our opinion of his conduct on this occasion.

who was mortally wounded. He was an officer in the service of the Company of the Indies, of great and improving talents, ever foremost in danger. The loss of these two able officers far outweighed in importance the loss of the rank and file.

The same day Lally established his head quarters in the Black Town, and waited impatiently for his heavy guns. But before they arrived the expenses of the campaign had begun to exhaust the sums raised by the capture of the town. At this crisis, however, the frigate *La Fidèle* arrived at Pondichery having on board one million of francs (£40,000). She ought to have brought to Pondichery two millions, but, having touched at the Isle of France about the time of the arrival there of d'Aché from Pondichery, that unpatriotic and inefficient officer had appropriated one million for the service of his squadron, sending the frigate on with the remainder. She arrived at her destination on the 21st December, just in time to determine Lally, not merely to content himself with devastating the country round Madras, but to besiege that place in form. The arrival of his heavy guns about the same time enabled him to complete his arrangements. His artillery, then consisted of twenty pieces of 12, 18, and 24-pounders, and of ten mortars, 8 and 12-pounders. These were soon placed in position, and a fresh parallel opened at a distance of 400 yards from the place. He had decided to attack the Fort on the side immediately opposite the position he had taken up, although in appearance it was the strongest. He satisfied himself partly on the ground that though the Fort might be the stronger on that side, the approaches to it could be more easily made; and partly, because, as had been proved on the 14th, the intricacies of the Black Town afforded a means of defence against sorties, such as bade defiance to an enemy.

But Lally soon found how impossible it was to effect anything great with officers the majority of whom were bad, and with an army disorganised and disaffected. The difficulties and obstacles which he had to encounter during the first twenty days of the siege were sufficient to break the spirit of any ordinary man. Very many of the soldiers, instead of working in the trenches, employed themselves in searching for treasure in the deserted houses of the Black Town and in making themselves drunk with the proceeds. Several of the officers, far from checking their men, or doing their duty in the field, were themselves engaged in guarding the contents of the shops which they had appropriated. Multitudes from Pondichery swarmed into the Black Town, many of them forging the General's signature in order to obtain boats wherewith to carry off their plunder.

Even the artillery cattle were employed by some officers in conveying furniture and property to Pondichery. It was impossible for Lally alone to put a stop to this state of things. In fact, the paucity of skilled officers rendered it necessary for him to be always in the trenches. Of five engineer officers who had come out with him from France but two remained; one of these, the senior, was idle and useless; the other had, under Lally, the charge of the trenches. Of six officers of artillery, three were killed in the first three weeks of the siege; of the others, two were with the artillery park, and the third was a boy. The superior officers of the army were engaged with their several brigades. Upon Lally, therefore, devolved the main charge of directing the operations of the siege, and he devoted himself to it with a zeal and energy that could not have been surpassed. For he had, it must be remembered, other matters to attract and engage his attention. The English had not been slow to use the advantages offered to them by the possession of Chingleput. The force that guarded that post issued frequently into the field to attack the French in their flanks and rear, and to disturb their communications with Pondichery; and not only this, but Major Calliaud, sent to Tanjore, succeeded in obtaining from the Rajah, and bringing into the field, 600 men, one half of whom were cavalry. Mahomed Isoof, a partisan, brought 2,000 more. These various parties, hovering about Lally's position, kept him in a continual state of alarm. They might be driven away, but, like wasps, they returned to annoy. What added to Lally's difficulties was the fact that even the powder necessary for carrying on the siege had to be brought from Pondichery, through a country swarming with partisans, who carried their depredations to the very gates of that city. Besides these outer enemies there were within the walls of Madras 200 French deserters. These constantly mounted the ramparts, holding in the one hand a bottle of wine, and in the other a purse, and calling out to the French soldiers to follow their example. Scarcely a day passed but missives from these men were discharged by arrows into the besieging camp, all tempting the soldiers to desert. At length, on the 2nd January, after overcoming innumerable trials and conquering difficulties seemingly insuperable, two batteries, called from the brigades to which they belonged, the Lally and the Lorraine, opened their fire. This they continued almost incessantly for forty-two days, a great portion of the army being at the same time engaged with varying success almost daily with the enemy's partisans, with the troops under Calliaud from Tanjore and under Preston from Chingleput, and with the numerous sorties from the garrison.

At length the crisis approached. The garrison received intimation, early in February, that Admiral Pocock's fleet was on its way from Bombay, and would infallibly arrive off Madras in a few days. On the other hand, a breach had been effected in the walls, and Lally, who knew how much depended upon the promptitude of his proceedings, determined to deliver the assault. At this moment, however, he found all his designs shattered by the backwardness of his officers. Those of the engineers and artillery declared that although the breach was quite practicable, yet that, "having regard to the situation of things, to our force compared with that of the enemy" an assault would cause the destruction of a great many soldiers, and would end in nothing. These officers, not content with writing this to the General, made no secret of their opinion in the camp, intimating that to try an assault would be to march to certain death. But Lally, though disappointed at this opinion, sensible how great was the responsibility of acting on such an occasion against the written advice of his scientific officers, yet feeling persuaded that they were wrong, and that his soldiers would follow him, did not renounce his determination. He waited only for the wane of the moon to deliver the assault, and had intimated to Crillon, charged with the chief attack, that he was to hold himself in readiness to make it on the evening of the 16th February, when, to his intense disappointment, he saw Admiral Pocock's squadron sail into the roadstead on the afternoon of that very day.

The situation of the besieging army was now desperate. For the past twenty days the troops had had no pay, and the officers had been on soldiers' rations; there remained but 20,000 lbs. of powder in the Artillery park, and only a similar supply at Pondichery. For three weeks not a single bomb had been fired, that species of ammunition having been exhausted; the native troops, unpaid, had melted away, and even the European cavalry threatened to go over to the enemy. Pondichery too had, but 300 Invalids left to guard it. Under these circumstances, the arrival of the English fleet, at once relieving Madras and threatening Pondichery, made the raising of the siege inevitable.

On the night of the 17th February, this operation took place. Sending all the wounded who could be moved from St. Thomé by sea, and burying his cannon shot, he left in the trenches, from want of cattle to take them away, five pieces of cannon, and in the pagoda used as a hospital, thirty-three wounded incapable of being moved, and a surgeon in charge of them. These he commended in a letter to the care of the Governor of Madras, then, taking with him all his baggage, he retired.

unmolested, but full of rage* and mortification, by way of St. Thomé to Conjeveram.

Thus failed the great enterprise on which Lally had set his heart,—to which he had devoted every energy of mind and body. It has been said indeed that that failure was owing as much to his own infirmities of temper, to the manner in which he trampled on the cherished feelings of others, as to any other cause. But, after a careful examination of the facts of the case, as shewn in the correspondence between himself and de Leyrit, we cannot resist the conclusion, that great as were those infirmities of temper, violent and excitable as was his manner towards others, those who allowed themselves to be betrayed by that behaviour on his part into a neglect of their duty towards France, were, infinitely more than Lally, the authors of the failure. Lally at least behaved like a soldier; he gave every thought, every exertion to his country. But the Council of Pondichery did the reverse. Mortified and enraged at the rough hand with which Lally had unveiled and exposed abuses, as well as at the style in which he had pointed out to them that their first duty was to their country, they gave him no assistance; the money sent out to them for the purpose of the war, they squandered on themselves. More than that, they took a pleasure, which they scarcely attempted to conceal, in thwarting his designs. To such an extent did they carry their ill-feeling, that they allowed their hatred of the individual so far to conquer the remnants of their patriotism, that the retreat from Madras was the signal for the manifestation in Pondichery of the most indecent joy. Is it credible that men who thus rejoiced over the reverses of the French arms, because those reverses humiliated Lally, would have made the smallest self-sacrifice to attain an opposite result? On them

*The rage of Lally was directed against those whose self-seeking and corruption, by hindering and altogether keeping back the supplies of which he stood in need, had contributed to the unfortunate result of his expedition. In a letter to de Leyrit, dated the 14th February, he thus recounted some of the iniquities that were taking place under his eyes, and forcibly expressed his own opinion of the conduct of some of his officers: "Of 1,500 sepoys," he said, "who are with our army, I calculate that nearly 800 are employed on the road to Pondichery, laden with sugar, pepper, and other goods; as for the coolies they have been employed on the same account ever since we have been here." In concluding the letter he renounced all interference with the civil administration of Pondichery, "for" he added, "I would rather go and command the Caffres of Madagascar, than to remain in that Sodom (Pondichery), which the fire of the English in default of the fire of Heaven, will, sooner or later, inevitably destroy."

therefore, mainly, and not on Lally, must rest the responsibility of the failure of the siege.

Meanwhile in another part of the coast reverses had also attended the French arms. We have seen how Lally, immediately after his arrival in Pondichery, had recalled Bussy and Moracin from the Dekkan and the ceded provinces, and how these two, unwillingly obeying, had made over the government of Masulipatam and the ceded provinces to the Marquis de Conflans in the month of August, 1758. The troops left with Conflans consisted of about 500 men, a number which under a commander so experienced as Bussy would have been sufficient to keep the entire country in subjection. But Conflans had neither the ability, the tact, nor the knowledge, of his predecessor. He was ignorant of the country, and of the mode of dealing with its feudal lords. Many of these latter, no longer sensible of a master's hand, and noting the diminution in the number of European troops, determined to strike a blow to rid themselves of the French yoke, not calculating that by so doing they would in all probability exchange it for the English. It is possible, indeed, that looking at the balanced state of both powers in the Carnatic, they deemed it might not be an impracticable policy to play one against the other. However this may have been, it is certain, that three months after the departure of Bussy from the Dekkan, Rajah Anunderaj, ruler of Chicacole and Rajamundry, raising the standard of revolt, took possession of Vizagapatam, plundered the factory, confined the French agent, hoisted English colours, and wrote to Madras for assistance. Threatened as Madras then was by Lally, aid from it was impossible; whereupon the Rajah appealed in despair to Clive. No one knew better than Clive how to seize an opportunity, no one was more acquainted than he with the advantages which the possession of the Circars would infallibly bring in its train. Overruling the advice of his Council, who regarded interference in that quarter as little short of madness, he wrote to the Rajah promising speedy support, and despatched by sea, on the 12th October, Colonel Forde at the head of 500 Europeans, 2,000 sepoys, and eighteen guns. The fact that by the despatch of this force, he left himself in B ngal with little more than 300 Europeans at a time when a hostile feeling had risen in the court of Meer Jaffier, and when Behar was threatened by the united forces of the son of the Emperor of Delhi and by the Nawab of Oudh, testifies in no slight degree to the strong, fearless, and intrepid character of the founder of the British empire in India.

Meanwhile, Conflans was acting in such a manner as to facilitate the plans of the English. Instead of marching rapidly

upon Vizagapatam and crushing the rebellion in its bud, before the rebels could receive assistance from outside, he contented himself with sending repeated applications to Lally for support, whilst he moved leisurely against Rajamundry. He occupied that town, and was still encamped on the northern bank of the river of the same name, when intelligence reached him that an English force had, on the 20th October, landed at Vizagapatam. To him intelligence of that nature ought not to have been very alarming. The troops under his command were the most seasoned and the best disciplined of all who served the French Company in Southern India. They were the men before whom the famed Mahratta cavalry had been scattered, and who, but a short year before, had forced their way through opposing hosts to relieve Bussy at Hyderabad. They had never yet shown their backs to a foe, and they might well have been counted upon, under efficient leadership, to defend the ceded provinces against even a larger force than that which then threatened it. Under these circumstances, and as they were supported by about 4,000 trained sepoys, and by many of the native princes of the country, it would seem that it should have been the policy of Conflans to advance, to give to his men that spirit of self-confidence which a movement to the front always inspires. By the same course he would undoubtedly have encouraged his native allies. It is the more strange that he did not do this, as a rumour had reached him, in which he entirely believed, that Colonel Forde's force was composed of raw troops, whom therefore it would be good policy to attack. He preferred, however, to adopt the course, which, in India, has but rarely proved successful,—of waiting the attack of the enemy in the position he had chosen. He accordingly moved his force to the village of Condore, forty miles north Rajamundry. Near this he was encountered, on the 8th December, by Colonel Forde, enticed out of his strong position, out-manceuvred, and completely defeated,—losing his camp, his guns, and several of his men. He himself, fleeing on horseback, found refuge in Masulipatam that same night. * Forde, pursuing his victory, occupied Rajamundry with a part of his force on the 10th.

* A detailed account of this gallant, and, on the side of the English, skilfully conducted action, is to be found in Colonel Broome's "History of the Bengal Army,"—a work, which, whether we regard its clear and vigorous style, the mass of information it has collected and arranged, the professional knowledge by which it is marked, we do not hesitate to pronounce to be the most valuable contribution to Anglo-Indian historical literature of the present century.

His difficulties, however, were not over. The long connexion of the French with Salabut Jung, the intelligence that the principal settlement of the English was being besieged, combined to render the position of Forde dangerous and difficult. To the incapacity of his adversary was it alone due that it was not made fatal. Though virtually abandoned by his native allies, Forde, who thoroughly understood the conditions of Indian warfare, continued to advance towards Conflans, and notwithstanding that the French leader was enabled, by recalling troops from his garrisons, to bring a superior force of Europeans into the field, he actually besieged him in Masulipatam. Rightly judging of the importance of moral force in war, he would not allow himself to be moved from this position, even by the recapture of Rajamundry, nor by the intelligence, that Salabut Jung was marching with 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot, to overwhelm him. Nevertheless, as time advanced, his position became such as would have tried the nerves of the strongest leader. In the beginning of April it even seemed desperate. Before him was Conflans with a superior force, occupying Masulipatam, which he himself was besieging; on his right, at Beizwarra, forty miles distant, was the army of the Subadar, ready to overwhelm him: on his right rear, a French corps of 200 men under M. du Rocher, ready to cut off his communications. Under such circumstances, a weak leader would probably have endeavoured to retreat, though retreat would have been disgraceful and fatal; but Forde, being a strong man, preferred the chance of death in the attempt at assault to such a movement. Not knowing even that the breaches were practicable, but only in the hope that they might be so, he ordered his troops under arms at 10 o'clock on the night of the 7th, and delivered the assault in three divisions at midnight. He met with the success which a daring dashing leader can always look forward to over an unenterprising and hesitating adversary, for, after a fierce struggle, he not only captured the fort, but forced Conflans with his whole army to surrender.

The consequences of this unsurpassed act of cool and resolute daring were most important. Less than a week after, Moracin,* ordered to Masulipatam by Lally on receiving the first message from Conflans, arrived with 300 troops off the place. Finding it

* Moracin was indeed at once ordered to Musalipatam, and had he obeyed, he would have arrived in time to have placed Forde in a position from which even his skill and daring could with difficulty have extricated his force; but, the ally of the French intriguers at Pondichery, he endeavoured for a long time to evade the order, and did actually delay so long, that he only arrived in time to share in the ruin in which the force of Conflans was involved.

occupied by the English, he proceeded to Ganjam. There, however, he effected nothing : indeed the place was abandoned, and his whole party dispersed by the end of the year. But the most important result was the treaty concluded with Salabut Jung. Struck by the unexpected defeat of the French, and annoyed at the time by the pretensions of Nizam Ali, that protégé of Bussy and of Dupleix hastened to conclude with Forde a treaty whereby he renounced the French alliance, agreed never to allow a French contingent in the Dekkan, and ceded to the English a territory yielding an annual revenue of four lakhs of rupces. Before the end of the year, those ceded districts, the possession of which constituted one of the triumphs of the administration of Dupleix, passed entirely into the hands of the English, and thenceforth the fate of French India was sealed.

Meanwhile Lally, retreating from Madras, had taken post at Conjeveram. Thence, leaving his troops under the command of de Soupire, he set out for Arcot to arrange for the provisioning of the army. At Arcot, he received a strange account of the proceedings of de Leyrit. Profiting by the absence of Lally with the army, de Leyrit had summarily, and against the protest of four members of his Council,* put a stop to an inquiry ordered to be instituted by Lally into the accounts of M. Desvaux, the head of the department of excise at Pondichery, and who had been accused of embezzlement. Other abuses, tending to the individual profit of the servants of the Company,† to the great detriment of the Company itself,—which Lally had ordered to be abolished, had been restored. On the 8th March, therefore, he left Arcot for Pondichery with a view to put a stop to these disorders as well as to make new plans for a campaign.

During his absence, the French army under de Soupire had been followed to Conjeveram by an English force of about equal numbers, under Major Brereton, who had succeeded to the command which the gallant Lawrence had but then resigned. De Soupire's orders restricted him to fight only if attacked, and as he occupied a strong position, the English leader was careful not to risk a defeat by assailing him at a disadvantage. For three weeks, the armies remained in face of one another, when Brereton,

* The names of the protesters were MM. Barthélemy, Boileau, La Selle, and Nicholas.

† For instance: the members of the administration were in the habit of issuing treasury bills, instead of cash, in payment of their liabilities; but they purposely issued these in such numbers, that they became greatly depreciated in value, and a bill for 100 francs was purchaseable for 20 francs in cash. The members of the administration, after paying the troops and the subordinate functionaries in these notes, set to work to buy them up for their own profit, thus realising more than eighty per cent.—*Mémoire pour Lally.*

rightly conjecturing, that the surest mode of dislodging the enemy was to threaten his communications, broke up from before Conjeveram, and passing it, moved on Wandewash, and opened ground before it. De Soupire, pressed for money and supplies, marched then to Arcot, twenty miles from Wandewash, and took up a position on the Palaur. This was the opportunity Brereton had wished for. He hastily decamped from Wandewash, marched rapidly on Conjeveram, and stormed it before de Soupire had any idea that it was in danger.

This was the intelligence that reached Lally, whilst, after a stormy altercation with the Council of Pondichery, he was on his way at the head of 350 men to rejoin his army. It was his desire to proceed at once to retake Conjeveram, but the low state of his military chest, the absolute want of all resources, and the bad spirit evinced by many of his officers, would not permit him to attempt any forward movement. He was compelled therefore, to place his army in cantonments on the Palaur, until the arrival of d'Aché, then shortly expected with supplies of money and stores, should place him in a position to resume the offensive. The English army followed his example. Lally himself returned to Pondichery, but he had scarcely arrived there, when the fatigue and excitement to which he had been exposed combined with the disappointment he had suffered to bring on a serious illness. This however, did not prevent him from carrying out an enterprise he had designed against Elmiseram; succeeding in this, the leader of the party, M. Mariol, moved suddenly against Thiagar, a strong fortress about fifteen miles distant. The English guarding this were surprised, and the fort was captured on the 14th July. Amongst the prisoners were forty English soldiers:

But although planning such petty enterprises as these, Lally was unable from the state of his army to undertake anything really great. No doubt his soldiers had to submit to very great hardships, but these they would readily have borne, had they been left alone. The spirit of personal dislike to Lally, however, which prevailed in the Council Chamber of Pondichery, had penetrated to the Franco-Indian section of his forces,—those in the immediate service of the Company of the Indies,—and the example set by these had not been without its effect on the royal troops. Matters, were brought to a very dangerous crisis by a measure which in itself was a matter of the most ordinary detail. It happened, that after the raising of the siege of Madras, the English and French Governments agreed upon an exchange of 500 soldiers on each side. Most of those received by the French, in virtue of this agreement, were the men belonging to the French Company's forces, who had been taken

before Trichinopoly when serving under Astruc, Brennier, Mainville, and Maissin. Some of these had been five years in confinement, well fed and well cared for. To fill up the gaps in the regiment bearing his name, Lally transferred to it 200 of these men. But, by them, the scanty fare, the rigorous discipline, and the hard work of camp-life, were, after their five years of idleness and inaction, scarcely to be borne. They made no secret of their discontent, and even endeavoured to spread it among their comrades. The first result of this baneful influence appeared on the 7th July, when the small French force occupying the stone fort of Covrepauk, well capable of being defended, evacuated it on the first summons of the English army. But, four weeks later, the grand explosion took place. Instigated by the 200 ransomed prisoners, the Regiment de Lally, with the exception of its officers, its sergeants and corporals, and about fifty old soldiers, suddenly mutinied, and marching out of Chittaput, declared that they were going over to the English. On hearing this, their officers instantly went after them, and by threats, entreaties, by the payment of some of their arrears, and the promise of more, persuaded all but sixty to return to their allegiance. These sixty, all belonging to the Trichinopoly prisoners, persisted in going over to the enemy.* Lally meanwhile, was making every possible exertion to collect provisions and stores. Despairing of every other means, he had despatched one of the Pondichery councillors to Karical with 36,000 francs belonging to himself to purchase rice for the troops. When, however, his hopes were at the lowest, his spirits were cheered by the arrival of the frigate, *La Gracieuse*, conveying the hopeful intelligence, that she was but the herald of the arrival of Count d'Aché's fleet, reinforced by three ships which had joined him at the Isle of France. The frigate also brought instructions to the French commander to exercise a still tighter hand over the financial administration of Pondichery,—instructions which had the ill effect of still more embittering the feeling between himself on the one side, and de Leyrit and the other members of the Council on the other.

At length, on the 10th September, d'Aché arrived. Since leaving the coast on the 3rd September of the previous year, this officer had been to the Isle of France, had there met the three ships under M. d'Eguille, from whom, as we have seen, he had taken, for the service of his own squadron, one million of the two million francs he was bringing out for the colony. The

* We have preferred Lally's own account of this mutiny to that given by Orme.

rest of the time d'Aché had employed in re-fitting, re-arming, and re-victualling the ships of his squadron. Having accomplished this, he sailed from the Isle of France on the 17th July, and arriving on the 10th September off Fort St. David, found himself suddenly in sight of the English fleet, which likewise had been strengthened and reinforced.

D'Aché, who possessed at least the merit of physical courage, shewed no inclination to decline the combat which Admiral Pocock at once offered him. He had eleven ships, though but four of them belonged to the French navy, whilst Pocock had nine ships of the Royal navy, two Company's vessels, and a fire-ship.* About a quarter past 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the action took place, the crews of both fleets standing manfully to their guns and cannonading one another with great fury. For two hours the battle was undecided. By that time several of the ships on both sides were greatly crippled, and some of those of the French leaving the line for the purpose of refitting, the officer who commanded the *Zodiaque*, her captain having been killed, put his helm up to follow them. D'Aché, running to rebuke him, was struck in the thigh by a grape shot and fell senseless. There was no one left to correct the error, and the other ships of the French squadron, following what they believed to be their Admiral's order, hauled out of action, and made sail to rejoin their consorts, the English being too crippled to

* The English squadron consisted of,				
<i>The Yarmouth</i>	66	Guns.	Capt. Harrison.	} All King's ships.
<i>The Grafton</i>	68	"	" Kempenfelt.	
<i>The Elizabeth</i>	64	"	" Tiddeman.	
<i>The Tiger</i>	60	"	" Brereton.	
<i>The Sunderland</i>	60	"	" Colville.	
<i>The Weymouth</i>	60	"	" Sir W. Baird.	
<i>The Cumberland</i>	66	"	" Somerset.	
<i>The Newcastle</i>	50	"	" Michie.	
<i>The Salisbury</i>	50	"	" Dept.	

and two Company's ships the number of whose guns is not given. 2

The French had—

<i>Le Zodiaque</i>	74	Guns	(name unknown, killed.)	} French Royal Navy.
<i>L'Illustre</i>	64	"	M. de Ruis.	
<i>L'Actif</i>	64	"	M. Beauchaire.	
<i>La Fortune</i>	64	"	M. Lobry.	
<i>Le Centaur</i>	74	"	M. Surville.	} Company's Ships.
<i>Le Comte de Provence</i>	74	"	M. La Chaise.	
<i>Le Vengeur</i>	54	"	M. Palliere.	
<i>Le Duc d'Orléans</i>	50	"	M. Surville Jr.	
<i>Le Saint Louis</i>	50	"	M. Johanne.	
<i>Le Duc de Bourgogne</i>	60	"	M. Beuvet.	
<i>Le Minotaure</i>	74	"	M. d'Eguille.	

follow them. On the 16th, d'Aché anchored in the Pondichery roadstead. He had brought with him a seasonable supply of between three and four lakhs of rupees in diamonds and piastres, but he sensibly diminished the pleasure which his arrival had caused by the startling announcement of his intention to return at once to the Isle of France. Knowing well what must result from such a desertion, the English fleet being still on the coast, Lally, unable from sickness to move himself, sent MM. de Leyrit, de Bussy, and de Laudivisiau, accompanied by other councillors, to remonstrate with the admiral. But d'Aché, brave in action, had neither moral courage nor strength of character. He could not dismiss from his mind the idea that he had been beaten in the late action, and that he would infallibly be beaten again. He had done, he believed, his duty, by bringing to Pondichery the supplies of which it stood in need, and he would do no more. It was in vain that the Commissioners, that Lally himself, pointed out to him in writing that the English fleet had suffered more than his, and that his departure would inevitably lead to the fall of Pondichery; in vain did they beg him to stay at least till the movements then going on in the neighbourhood of Wandewash should have been concluded; in vain did the Council send to him a protest signed by every one of its members, fixing upon him the responsibility for the loss of Pondichery, and threatening to make his conduct the subject of a special representation to the Crown. In vain. D'Aché, usually so irresolute and doubting, was firm on this point, and despite their representations, sailed, never to return.* Meanwhile, the English, reinforced by the arrival of 300 men belonging to the battalion of Colonel Eyre Coote, then being conveyed out in four ships commanded by Rear Admiral Cornish, determined to beat up the French cantonments on the Palaur. With this object, Major Brereton, massing about 2,000 Europeans, made a dash on the 16th September at Tripatore, captured in it thirty men, and then moved quickly on Wandewash. M. Geoghegan, an officer of Irish extraction who commanded there, on learning the first movements of Brereton, hastily collected 1,100 men, and posted them in such a manner as best to meet any attack that might be delivered. On the night of the 29th, Brereton, bringing up his men, made a gallant

* He sailed, as he said he would, on the 17th, but the protest was sent after him, and reached him at sea. Upon this, he returned to Pondichery, but after staying there five days, he again set off as stated in the text. Lally mentions, that, the day after his return, the English fleet passed, Pondichery in disorder, giving d'Aché a good opportunity of attacking it, but that he abstained.

attempt to carry the place, and had at first some success. Soon, however, as Geoghegan had anticipated, his troops became entangled in the narrow streets which lay between the town and the fort, and were exposed to a heavy fire from the latter, as well as from the French troops under cover. They being thus checked, Geoghegan determined to turn the repulse into a defeat. At daybreak, therefore, he assaulted the English in the positions they had gained in the night time, and after a fight of two hours' duration, drove them completely out, with a loss of eleven officers and 200 men. The French loss was scarcely less severe in point of numbers; amongst their dead was M. de Mainville, the whilom commander before Trichinopoly. The victory might have had important results, but the illness of Lally, the indiscipline of the army, the absence of d'Aché, not less than the early arrival of Colonel Coote with the remainder of his regiment, combined to render it abortive. After the repulse, the English cantoned themselves in the neighbourhood of Conjeveram, there to wait the expected reinforcements.

Meanwhile Lally, hopeless of aid from any other quarter, had felt himself impelled to seek alliances in the quarter in which he had at first laughed them to scorn. Ever since the departure of Bussy from the Dekkan, affairs had taken a turn in that locality most unfavourable to French interests. In the first instance, Nizam Ali, the brother next in order to Salabut Jung, had once more resumed his pretensions, and was again grasping at supreme power. Salabut Jung, faithful, so long as the French possessed the ability to aid him, to his old alliances, had, as we have seen, marched into the ceded provinces to assist them, only on their defeat to transfer the right to those provinces to the English, and to conclude with them a solid treaty. Nizam Ali, having ever shewn himself a hater of the French, and the force of circumstances neutralising more and more the power of Salabut Jung, the importance of endeavouring to attach the third surviving brother, Bussalut Jung, to French interests was not overlooked by Lally. Bussy therefore, who, by the recent orders from Europe, had received a commission as second in command of the army, proposed to Lally to tempt Bussalut by the offer of the Nawabship of the Carnatic. Lally was at first unwilling, as he had already conferred the appointment on the son of Chunda Sahib, but, very desirous not to lose a chance in his then distressed circumstances, he directed Bussy to proceed at once to Wandewash, and to make the best arrangement in his power with Bussalut Jung.

Ever since the siege of Madras, Bussy had remained at Pondichery, suffering from various disorders. On receiving, however,

Lally's instructions, he started for Wandewash, where he arrived the day after the repulse of the English. His orders were to cause himself to be received at Wandewash as second in command of the forces, to remain there only four and twenty hours, then, taking with him all the European cavalry and three companies of infantry, to go to the camp of Bussalut Jung, there to arrange with him the terms of an alliance. But the account of the repulse of the English reached him on arrival, and caused him to deviate somewhat from these instructions. He thought that the English might possibly be disposed to meet him in the open plain, and he hailed the prospect of thus operating against them on his own account. Collecting then all his forces, he marched, the third day after his arrival, on Tripatore, and took it. But as he soon discovered that the English had retired to Conjeveram, he sent back the army to Wandewash, and proceeded with his appointed escort to Arcot. But here, the rains and other causes detained him another week, and when, at last, he did set out for the camp of Bussalut Jung, who all this time had been anxiously awaiting his arrival, it was only to be recalled by the distressing intelligence that the army at Wandewash had mutinied. It was too true. At daybreak on the 17th October, the European portion of the French army, at a given signal, took possession of the field artillery, and leaving their officers and colours, marched six miles in the direction of Madras. Here they halted, and elected officers from amongst their sergeants, in the place of those they had abandoned, one La Joie, Sergeant Major of the regiment of Lorraine, being appointed Commander-in-chief. The new officers, having first made every disposition for the order and defence of the camp, then drew up and despatched a letter to Lally, in which they expressed their willingness to allow him four days for reflexion, and for the payment of the arrears due to them; on the expiration of that time, should these demands not be complied with, they would proceed to extremities.

The fact was, that the soldiers, themselves ten months in arrear, had been deceived by the reports, industriously circulated, as to the amount hoarded by Lally himself, and despatched by him in a frigate to France. It fortunately happened, however, that the Sergeant Major La Joie was himself thoroughly well disposed towards his general, and had only accepted the office with a view to bring the revolt promptly to their duty. His endeavours in this respect were seconded by the prudent conduct of Lally. As soon as the intelligence of the revolt reached him, he assembled the Council and appealed to the patriotism of its members, to assist him in this urgent need by their subscriptions, he himself heading the list with a donation of 20,000 rupees. Many of

those present, including Father Lavour, M. Boileau, and the Chevalier de Crillon, responded heartily to the call. De Leyrit, not content with holding back himself, affirmed that the public funds could supply nothing, because the diamonds and piastres, brought by d'Aché, had not then been converted into silver. Nevertheless, a sufficient sum to distribute six months' pay was collected, and with this sum the Adjutant General of the army, Viscount de Fumel, was sent to negotiate with the troops. As, however, the revolted soldiers would not listen to this officer, Lally sent Crillon, whose influence over them had always been very great, in his place. After some conversation, the soldiers agreed to accept six months' pay down, and the balance on the 10th November; they demanded at the same time a complete amnesty for the past, and requested that their officers would come and place themselves once again at their head; they added that "they were one and all imbued with sentiments entirely French, and that they were ever ready to fight for their country and for the honour of their King, and to submit to their superiors." Thus did the troops return to their duty. Their revolt, however, had had the effect of dissipating any hopes that might have been formed from the combined action of Bussalut Jung. For this chieftain, already impatient of waiting for Bussy, retreated, on hearing of the revolt, in the direction whence he had come. Bussy indeed followed him, after appeasing the discontent which had already arisen amongst his own troops, but, by the time he arrived in his camp, the turn French affairs had taken had entirely indisposed Bussalut Jung to the alliance. Bussy therefore, contented himself with raising money and troops amongst his former friends, and with these he returned on the 10th December to Arcot, with what effect will be seen.

Meanwhile Lally, on the mutiny being quelled, determined to put in force a project which nothing but the direst necessity could have justified. This was, to divide his force and to send a portion of it to alarm the English for Trichinopoly. It seemed indeed a rash measure to weaken the force with which he would have to encounter, in the then ensuing cold weather, the re-inforced army of the English, and as such it was considered by de Leyrit and others of the Council. But Lally was in very great perplexity. He had not money enough to pay all his troops, and he had a very strong idea, that a certain portion of them,—the Europeans in the service of the Company,—were not worth paying. He conceived, then, that he would facilitate his own movements by sending away troops in whom he had no confidence, and would at the same time alarm the English

for the safety of a city they had held so long, and have at least the satisfaction of confining their garrison within its walls. Taking advantage of a repulse sustained by the English before Devicotta, he despatched Crillon at the head of the battalion of India, and three companies of grenadiers, to Seringham. Crillon carried this island by assault on the 21st November, then leaving the battalion of India to keep the garrison in alarm, he rejoined Lally with his grenadiers.

Whilst Crillon was engaged on this expedition, Lally, recovered from his illness, had proceeded to Wandewash, and had marched thence with his army to Arcot. Here, on the 10th December, he was joined by Bussy, at the head of 350 Europeans and 2,000 native irregulars. The commandant of these last had, however, fortified himself with claims upon the French Government for considerable sums of arrears of pay. These he lost no opportunity of presenting, and did so to such an extent,—that, to use the expression of Lally, he and his followers resembled more a troop of creditors than a troop of auxiliaries. To provide himself with native cavalry indispensable to his campaign, Lally succeeded, after some negotiation, in making an arrangement with Morari Rao for 2,000 horse.*

The campaign on which the rival nations were now about to enter, promised to decide for a time the possession of the Carnatic. A defeat in the field would be fraught with disaster to either, but more especially to the French, who had not the command of the sea, and whose resources were almost exhausted, whilst it was in the power of the English to fall back upon Bengal, or at all events to await the certain return of their fleet after the monsoon. Under these circumstances, it would have seemed to be the policy of Lally to wait; to avoid an engagement; and to harass the communications of the English, compelling them, if they were determined to fight, to fight at a disadvantage. This at least was the opinion of Bussy. But Lally was scarcely in circumstances to act according to the rules of war. Owing to the absence of many of his men at Seringham, he had been compelled to witness, without being able to prevent it, the capture of Carangoly and Wandewash by the English. This inaction had produced its natural effect on the minds of his men. To follow, too, the other course, it was necessary that he should have supplies and money, and he had neither. It was absolutely indispensable, it appeared to him, that he should act with decision and vigour. No sooner then had he been joined by Crillon from Seringham, on the 10th January, than feigning a retiring movement in the

* These men were engaged at the rate of Rs. 25 each, per mensem.

direction of Pondichery, he divided his army into two columns. Placing himself at the head of one, he changed its direction during the night, crossed the Palaur, and moved rapidly upon Conjeveram. Without attempting the pagoda, he plundered the town, captured 2,000 bullocks and other stores, and rejoining the other column, which had moved to support him, marched the next day to Tripatore. Having by this movement drawn Colonel Coote and a portion of his army to Conjeveram, and obtained supplies for his men, he set out on the 14th at the head of 600 Europeans and some native troops to recover Wandewash, leaving the bulk of the army under Bussy at Tripatore.

The fort of Wandewash was surrounded by the town of the same name, and this was protected by a wall flanked by small towers, and bordered by a hedge, a great part of it being further protected by a ditch. It was Lally's plan to surprise and gain the town, then, under cover of the narrow streets, to plant a battery within a short distance of the fort, so that it might be breached and carried, before the English, whom he had lured off to Conjeveram, could come up. It was a plan, bold, well-considered, and feasible, but it required in its execution the utmost promptitude and daring. These qualities, it will be seen, were not exhibited. On the night of the 12th, he divided his troops into two columns, one under M. de Genlis to make a false attack, whilst he should make a real one. But de Genlis' party, consisting mostly of sailors, having been seized with a panic, fell back upon the other column, the soldiers of which, mistaking them for enemies, fired into them. The night attack thus failed. Its failure however, only made Lally more furious. "Since," he said, "they had failed in the night, he would teach them to carry it by day." Replacing de Genlis by de Verdière, he ordered the same dispositions as on the previous evening. One party he despatched close to the wall, and made them lie on their faces, whilst Colonels de Crillon et de Poëte ran in front to fathom the water in the ditch. The fire, however, was so hot, that the men of the column hesitated to follow them, until Lally, who came up at the moment, waving his sword and telling them that now was the time to shew their good will towards him, dashed forward into the ditch. His soldiers followed him and carried the town.

Now was the time for despatch. To establish a battery *en barbette*, and to open a fire as soon as it should be constructed,—this was Lally's design. But his chief engineer, M. Durre, insisted on proceeding as if he had been engaged in a regular siege. "The soldiers," wrote Lally, "said openly, that it seemed as though they were about to attack Luxemburg." It resulted

from these methodical tactics that four days were wasted in the construction of batteries; two more in rectifying its defects; on the seventh day, the English appeared advancing to the relief of the place.

The great blow, well contrived, having thus failed in consequence of the absence of the two qualities essential to its success, there but remained now to Lally the chances of a battle. By the arrival of Bussy, who joined him on the evening of the 20th, he was able, after leaving 150 Europeans and 300 sepoys in the batteries, to bring into the field 1,350 European infantry, about 200 of whom were sailors, and 150 cavalry. He had besides about 1,800 sepoys, and 2,000 Mahratta cavalry; but of the former all but 300 refused to be led into the field, whilst but 60 of the Mahrattas were present, the remainder being engaged in foraging for the army. The force led by Colonel Coote on the other hand, consisted of 1,900 Europeans, of whom 80 only were cavalry, and 3,350 natives.* On hearing from the Mahratta scouts that the English were approaching, Lally hastened to draw up his men in a single line. His left, thrown forward, resting on a tank, and supported by an intrenchment on the other side of it, formed an obtuse angle with his line, and commanded the ground over which the enemy must pass. This intrenchment was manned by the sailors and armed with a couple of guns. His centre rested on nothing, but about four hundred yards in its rear, were two defiles, protected by a dyke, and guarded by fifty men and two guns. These fifty men were drawn up in front of the head of the defiles, so as to have the appearance of a reserve destined to support the first line. Between the intervals of the regiments, were posted the guns, 16 in number. The cavalry were on the right. Lally himself commanded in the centre, and Bussy on the left.

Meanwhile Coote, who by a series of able manœuvres, had obtained a position which enabled him to force an action, no sooner beheld the disposition made by the French, than he drew up his men in order of battle and advanced. He himself led the first line, consisting of his own regiment, and a battalion of sepoys; the two Company's regiments came next, Colonel Draper's regiment on the left. As he approached the French, to whose position his own was oblique, the guns from the intrenchment near the tank opened upon him, and Lally, thinking he noticed some confusion in the English left, in consequence of this fire, deemed the moment opportune to charge with his cavalry.

* The number of the French here given has been adopted from Lally's reports: that of the English has been taken from Orme.

He galloped up, therefore, to the right of the line, and placing himself at the head of his horse, gave the order to charge. Not a man, however, stirred. Attributing this to the ill-feeling of the commanding officer, Lally displaced him on the spot, and ordered the second in command, M. d'Aumont, to follow him. But d'Aumont having likewise refused, Lally placed him under arrest, and addressing himself to the men in a body, ordered them to charge. M. d'Heguerly with the left squadron at once advanced, and Cornet Bonnessay calling out that it would be shameful thus to abandon their general, the others followed. Lally, having thus induced them to move, made a *détour* so as to sweep down on the left flank of the English force. He had already arrived within an hundred yards of it, driving the English horse before him, when Draper, whom the *délai* caused by the refusal of the French cavalry to charge had warned of the danger, brought up two pieces of cannon loaded with grape, and opened them on the French horse. The fire was so well directed, that about fifteen men in the front line were disabled, and, although had the enemy persisted, the English would not have had time to reload, the effect was to infuse a panic amongst them. They therefore fled, leaving their leader alone. Lally, thus deserted, galloped towards the infantry in the centre, upon which the English guns in the other part of their line had already opened. He found them eager for an advance. Placing himself at their head, he formed them in column and marched against the English line. Regardless of the fire which thinned its ranks as it advanced, the French column charged, and by its superior weight broke that part of the English line which it attacked. The unbroken part of the English line, however, immediately formed up on its flank, and threw the column into disorder. The men on both sides becoming then mingled together, a hand to hand contest ensued, which was yet undecided, when a fatal occurrence on the left of the French line decided the fate of the day.

The extreme left of the French constituted the *point d'appui* of Lally's position. It rested, as we have said, on a tank, in front of which and forming an obtuse angle with his line, was an intrenchment, from which two pieces of cannon played on the advancing English. So long as Lally held this firmly, the occurrences in the other part of the line were of secondary importance, for the English, even if successful, could not follow up an advance, without exposing their flank. But, it happened, unfortunately for him, that whilst his centre was engaged in desperate conflict with the English centre, a shot from the artillery on the enemy's right blew up a tumbril in the intrenchment, killing the Chevalier de Poëte, and placing

eighty men *hors de combat*. Nor was this the extent of the damage it occasioned; for, such was the panic caused by the explosion, that the sailors ran out of the intrenchment, abandoning the guns, and not stopping till they had taken refuge behind the right. Coote, noticing this, ordered Brereton to carry the intrenchment. But, before he could reach it, Bussy, who commanded on the French left, hastily collected some fifty or sixty men of Lally's regiment, and led them into the intrenchment. They reached it just in time to fire a volley at the advancing English, which mortally wounded Brereton, but did not stop his men, who coming on with a rush, carried the post. Whilst the key of the French position was thus carried, the English left, freed from the hostile cavalry, had marched to the aid of its centre and fallen on the right of the Lorraine brigade. This body, attacked in front and on both flanks, and noticing the loss on the left of the position, fell back in disorder, not, however, till it had lost its commandant and many officers, and had covered itself with glory. Bussy, meanwhile, after the loss of the intrenchment, had brought up the Lally brigade to recover it, and if possible to restore the battle. But whilst leading on his men to a bayonet charge, his horse was shot, and he, falling to the ground, was taken prisoner. The brigade, having thus lost its leader, opposed in front by a superior force, whose artillery then played upon it, threatened also on its right flank by the victorious centre and left of the enemy, fell back in its turn, and abandoned the field. At this conjuncture, the cavalry, recovered from its panic, advanced to the front, and interposing itself between the retiring infantry and the advancing English, effectually put a stop to pursuit. The French were thus enabled to rally at a distance of less than a mile from the field of battle, and to carry off also the party they had left before the fort of Wandewash.

Such was the battle of Wandewash,—a battle which, though the numbers on each side were comparatively small, must yet be classed amongst the decisive battles of the world, for it dealt a fatal and decisive blow to French domination in India. It shattered to the ground the mighty fabric which Martin, Dumas, and Dupleix had contributed to erect; it dissipated all the hopes of Lally; it sealed the fate of Pondichery. By it, the superiority in the field, which during that war had rested mainly with the French in the Carnatic, was transferred entirely to the English. It was the proximate cause why Lally, who had himself acted as besieger before Madras, should, in his turn, suffer the misfortune of being himself besieged in Pondichery.

The conduct of Lally in this action, the dispositions that he made, the fact of his fighting a battle, at all, have been

severely condemned by his enemies. The candid military critic is, however, bound to do him justice on all these points. His plan was the best he could have adopted. Drawing Coote by a skilful manœuvre from the line of the Palaur, he assaulted Wandewash, took the town, and had he been well served, would have taken the fort also. Baffled in this, he determined to accept a battle on ground which he had reconnoitred and chosen. No doubt to deliver a battle, defeat in which must be ruin, is very dangerous policy. But with Lally it was unavoidable. He had not the means of attempting a war of manœuvres. Straitened as were his resources, such a policy must have resulted in a retreat to Pondichery to be followed by a siege there. This result being unavoidable, he was surely right in attempting to ward it off by a direct blow.

Then again, as to his conduct in the action. He, at least, is not to be blamed for the behaviour of his cavalry. Had they followed him, he would, he says, have thrown the left of the English force into disorder so great that an advance of the infantry must have changed it into an overthrow. He is not to be blamed for, he could not have foreseen, the accident in the intrenchment which caused its evacuation, and lost him the battle. His dispositions were good. The intrenchment served as the pivot whereon to move his army; had that been held, he could not have been beaten. Accidents not dissimilar have before this decided the fate of greater battles, without that prejudice and passion have fixed the blame on the commander!

The remainder of the campaign may be told in a few words. The next day Lally fell back to Chittaput, taking with him all his wounded; then, sending the Mahrattas and native troops to Arcot, he retreated to Gingee, but as at that point the English were nearer than himself to Pondichery, he made a cross-march to Valdaur, fifteen miles from that city. In this position, he was able to cover Pondichery, and to receive supplies from the south. He was fortunate in being able to do so much, for had the English only followed up their victory with vigour, they would have reached Pondichery before Lally, and that place, destitute of provisions and of troops, would probably have surrendered on the first summons. The English leader, however, preferred the slower method of reducing the subordinate places held by the French,—a policy which the absence of d'Aché and the utter abandonment of Pondichery by the mother-country allowed him to carry out unmolested. In pursuance of this resolution, Coote carried Chittaput on the 28th January, and Arcot on the 9th of the following month. Timery, Devicotta, Trinomalee, and Alamparva fell about the same time; Karical surrendered

on the 5th April; on the 15th Lally was constrained to retreat from Valdaur to within the hedge that bounded Pondichery, and on the 20th, Chillumbrum, and a few days later, Cuddalore,—the last important place except Thiagar and Gingee held by the French in the Carnatic—fell into the hands of the English. It is not to be supposed that all these places were lightly given up. Some of them, indeed, Lally would have done well to evacuate, so as to carry with him the garrisons; but Karical, so long in the possession of the French, their second seaport, he made a great effort to preserve.* But what could he do? He found the enemies he met with inside the walls of Pondichery worse than those he had to combat without; he found self-interest everywhere, patriotism nowhere. The inhabitants refused even to don the soldiers' uniform, though only for the purpose of making a show before the enemy. Sedition, cabals, and intrigues,—everyone striving to cast upon Lally the discredit of the inevitable ruin that awaited them,—everyone thwarting his wishes, and secretly counteracting his orders,—each man still bent on saving for himself what he could out of the wreck,—this was the internal condition of Pondichery,—these the men with respect to whom it might be said that an appeal to patriotism was an appeal to a feeling that, long deadened, had now ceased entirely to exist. "From this time," says Lally, "Pondichery, without money, without ships, and without "even provisions, might be given up for lost." Yet though he could not be blind to the impending result, Lally himself used every effort to avert the catastrophe. He treated with the famous Hyder Ali, then commander of the Mysore armies, for the services of 10,000 men, one-half of them horse, transferring at once to Hyder the fortress of Thiagar, and promising him in case of a favourable issue of the war, to make over to him Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinivelly, and all the places he might conquer in the Carnatic. In pursuance of this agreement, Mukhdoom Ali arrived at Thiagar on the 4th June, and at Pondichery a few days later. The intrigues of the councillors rendered this treaty partially abortive, but this did not prevent Mukhdoom Ali from attacking, on the 18th July, a corps of 180 English infantry, 50 hussars, and nearly 3,000 native troops, inflicting upon them a severe defeat, and forcing the survivors to take refuge in Tiruvadi.† But it was not alone by such attempts at native alliances that Lally endeavoured to turn the tide of misfortune setting in so

* The commandant at Karical was M. Renault de St. Germain, the same who had surrendered Chandernagore to Clive. At Karical he made so poor and faint a resistance, that he was brought to trial and sentenced to be cashiered. Lally says he deserved death.

† Wilks. Orme.

strongly against him. Weak as he was in European infantry, he determined to make one bold stroke to rid himself of the besieging enemy. To understand the plan he adopted it will be necessary to state that after the retirement of the French within the bound hedge which forms the limits of Pondichery, the English had taken up a position, their right resting on the Fort of Villenour, and their left at the base of the hill of Perimbé, the space between covering an extent of about a mile and a half. In front of Perimbé they had, moreover, thrown up a redoubt, armed with three pieces of cannon, whilst the centre was covered by a house in a garden, surrounded by a hedge, connected by a tree avenue with the town. The plan which Lally arranged, and which was so skilfully devised as to deserve success,—provided, that whilst his right column should surprise the redoubt in front of Perimbé, and the centre the hedge-bound house, the left, which was stationed on the other side of the river Ariancopan, should cross that river, and fall upon the rear of the enemy, who, it was calculated, would be thrown into the utter confusion by the diversity of the attacks. To guard against mistakes, Lally the day previous accompanied the commander of the left column, M. d'Arambure, over the ground he was to take, indicating the point at which he was to cross the river, and the exact direction he was then to pursue.

But a fatality seemed to attend all the operations of Lally. The surprise indeed was complete,—for having given no intimation of the intended movement to his councillors they were unable to betray him:—the right assault completely succeeded, the redoubt being quickly carried; the centre attack was desperately contested. The French never fought better. Colonel Coote, on his side, seeing the importance of the place, brought up his best troops to defend it. But, notwithstanding all his efforts, the French, though in the regiment of Lally alone they had lost eight sergeants besides several privates, still persisted, hoping to hear every minute the sounds of the assault on the enemy's rear. Just as these hopes were at their highest, d'Arambure and his men appeared, not in the rear of the enemy, but between the assaulting columns and the town! This officer, who on other occasions had behaved so well, would appear to have lost his head; he crossed the river at a far lower point than had been pointed out to him, and brought his men to the attack in exactly the opposite direction to that indicated by Lally. By this false move, he rendered impossible a success which, if attained, would have deferred, if it had not altogether prevented, the catastrophe that was to follow.

The end was now near at hand. On the 16th September, Monson, who had succeeded Coote in the command of the English force, delivered an assault on the Oulgarel post, and compelled the French to quit the defence of the bound hedge, and to retire under the walls of the place. This attack, however, cost the English many men, and Monson was so severely wounded, that Colonel Coote returned to take up his command. Notwithstanding this movement, which shut out all supplies from Pondichery, Lally determined to continue the defence, and prohibited all mention of surrender. Every measure that could be adopted to procure sustenance for the troops was taken; contributions were levied; grain was dug out of places where it had been buried for concealment; taxes were imposed;* the idle portion of the native inhabitants were turned adrift: no precaution in fact was neglected to prolong the defence of the town till the arrival of d'Aché, whose squadron was even then daily expected.

But on the 24th December, there remained in the magazines but eight days' full rations for the soldiers. It had become necessary to reconsider the position. Under these circumstances, Lally, who for the three weeks preceding had been confined to his bed by sickness, directed the assembly of a mixed council to take into consideration the terms which should be offered to the English. The members of the party opposed to Lally, unwilling to take upon themselves any share in the responsibility of a capitulation, evaded this order. But an event occurred which rendered their evasion of the less consequence. On the 31st, the roadstead of Pondichery was visited by one of those storms not uncommon at that season on the Coromandel coast. The effect of this on the English fleet was most disastrous. Three large ships were driven on shore two miles below Pondichery; three others, having on board 1,100 Europeans, foundered; all the remainder were severely injured. Nor did the siege works escape. All the batteries and redoubts raised by the army were destroyed. Soldiers, unable to carry their muskets, had thrown them away in despair; all the ammunition, except that in store, was rendered useless; every tent had been blown down; so great was the confusion that had a sortie been made by the garrison, not an hundred men could have been collected to resist it. The question of a sortie was indeed mooted in Pondichery, and though such a movement would, owing to the still raging

* From the operation of these latter the European inhabitants of the town were specially exempted by the council; de Leyrit presiding.

wind and the inundation caused by the storm, have been attended with great difficulties, it ought certainly, even as a last despairing blow, to have been attempted. But who was there to organise such a movement? Lally lay helpless in his bed; his orders canvassed and cavilled at rather than obeyed. With the enemy at their gates, the citizens of Pondichery thought more of combining to thwart the General they hated, than of effectually opposing the foe, who threatened them with destruction. No sortie, therefore, was made.

Nevertheless, the storm had at least the effect of re-opening the door of hope to Lally and the garrison. If d'Aché, or failing d'Aché, if even five French ships were to arrive, the damaged English fleet could be destroyed. With the destruction of that fleet, deliverance, and with it the command of the seas for at least twelve months, could be obtained.* It became, therefore, an object with Lally to provide subsistence for his men for another fortnight longer. To effect this, he sent to the Jesuit, Lavour, and informed him of his intention to search his convent for grain, which he had reason to believe was stored there. The reply to this was an agreement on the part of Lavour to subsist the garrison till the 13th of January.

How terribly each day passed, how the expectation of the arrival of d'Aché, eager and stimulating to action at the outset, became gradually more and more faint, till it finally disappeared, can be better imagined than described. The English on their part were not idle. One week after the storm, they had nine ships in the roadstead ready for action, and they had erected new batteries in the place of those that had been destroyed. Further defence was then impossible. The French had but one day's supplies of food remaining. On the 14th January, therefore, Lally summoned a council of war to debate regarding the terms of surrender; whilst de Leyrit, though invited to that council, assembled in opposition the council of Pondichery to draw up articles of capitulation for the inhabitants.

On the following day, the 15th, a deputation from Pondichery was sent to the English camp. The terms proposed by Lally were virtually terms of unconditional surrender, for although he

* There is no stronger proof of the incapacity of the Government of Louis XV., than that offered by the idleness of d'Aché at this conjuncture. On the mere rumour that the English Government were debating a plan for an attack upon Bourbon, the Cabinet of Versailles sent orders to d'Aché not to leave that island, or should he have left it, to return to it instantly. Thus, on the strength of a mere rumour, the French Ministry did not hesitate deliberately to sacrifice India. They withheld the fleet from the point threatened by an army and ships of war, to keep it in the quarter that was menaced only by report. ,

declined to give up the town, as not having authority to do so, and because arrangements between the two Crowns placed Pondichery, as he pretended, out of risk of capture; yet he declined further to defend it, and agreed to yield himself and his troops as prisoners of war, stipulating only for the proper treatment of the inhabitants, the religious houses, and for the safety of the mother and sister of Raja Sahib. In reply to these propositions, Colonel Coote, declining to discuss the question of the agreement between the two Crowns, offered the French commander terms identical with those offered by Admiral Watson to M. Renault at Chandernagore, and by Lally himself to the commandant of Fort St. David. These provided that the garrison and inhabitants should surrender, unconditionally, as prisoners of war. Coote would only promise, in addition, to give the family of Raja Sahib a safe escort to Madras, and to treat the garrison favourably.

On the following morning, the English troops entered the Villenour gate of the town, and in the evening took possession of the citadel. The scene immediately preceding that last act is thus described by the English historian of the war,—himself a contemporary and a member of the Madras Council. "In the afternoon," writes Mr. Orme, "the garrison drew up under arms on the parade before the citadel, the English troops facing them; Colonel Coote then reviewed the line, which, exclusive of commissioned officers, invalids, and others who had hid themselves, amounted to 1,100, all wearing the face of famine, fatigue, or disease. The grenadiers of Lally and Lorraine, once the ablest-bodied men in the army, appeared the most impaired, having constantly put themselves forward to every service; and it was recollected that from their first landing, throughout all the services of the field, and all the distresses of the blockade, not a man of them had ever deserted to the English army. The victor soldier gave his sigh (which none but banditti could refuse) to this solemn contemplation of the fate of war, which might have been his own."

The scenes that followed the surrender were little creditable to the Franco-Indian officials of Pondichery. When Lally, directed by the victorious General to proceed under an escort of English soldiers to Madras, was leaving the town in a palanquin, he was insulted by a mob of some eighty of the principal adherents of de Leyrit, two of them members of his Council. These ruffians, who had openly avowed their wish to despatch him, were only prevented from executing their design by the presence of the escort. But when two minutes later, Dubois, the intendant of the French General, and who had in possession some most

valuable documents, proving the corruption that had reigned within the town, attempted to follow his chief, he was assailed with the most furious menaces. Dubois, who, though almost seventy years old, and nearly blind, was a man of spirit, turned round to reply to these invectives, drawing his sword as he did so. He was immediately attacked by one Defer, and run through the body. His papers were at once secured by the conspirators. Well might the French historian,* relating this incident,—this crossing of the two French swords on the threshold of the city that had been lost to France by French dissensions,—forcibly describe it as “a fit image and striking *résumé*” of the history of the last three years of the French in India.”

We may be pardoned if for a few short sentences we leave the direct thread of our history to follow Lally to his last end. Sent from Madras to England, he found on arrival there, that the hatred and fury with which he had been regarded in India had followed him to France. Allowed by the English Government to proceed to Paris on his parole, he attempted to bring home against de Leyrit and his councillors the charges with which he had threatened them in India. This movement on his part had the effect of uniting against him all the different parties criminated by his statement. Bussy and d’Aché, de Leyrit and Moracin, Father Lavour and the Councillors,—all made common cause against him. So great was the effect of the converging assertions of these different partisans, that even the Duc de Choiseul, one of the most powerful noblemen in France, advised Lally to seek safety in flight. But he, conscious of innocence, preferred to meet all the charges against him before the tribunals of his country. The proceedings were yet languishing, when, in 1763, Father Lavour died. This intriguing monk, to make sure of his own position, had written two memoirs of the events that had happened at Pondichery, the one favourable, the other inveterately hostile, to Lally. His papers, however, having fallen into the hands of the promoters of the accusation against the General, the favourable memoir was suppressed, and the other given to the world.† Strange as it may seem in the present day, this memoir was actually received by the Parlement of Paris as evidence against Lally, and was mainly decisive of his fate. Refused all legal aid by his judges, he was, after three years of lingering agony,—fit sequel to his struggles in India,—convicted, by a majority, of having betrayed the interests

* M. Xavier Raymond.

† Voltaire. Orme.

of the King and of the Company, and sentenced to be beheaded. A request, made by Marshal de Sonbise "in the name of the Army" for commutation of the sentence, was coldly refused, and on the 9th of May, 1766, transferred from his prison to a dung-cart, gagged and guarded, Lally was led forth to the scaffold,—a striking example of the fate which, in the France of Louis XV., awaited those, who, though they had given all their energies to their country,* though their faults were faults natural to humanity, had the misfortune to be unsuccessful. Revolutionary France annulled the sentence which the France of the Bourbons passed upon Lally, and restored to him his place in the annals of his country. Whilst there are few who do not regret a fate so untimely and so undeserved, and recognise the justice of the reversal of the sentence pronounced upon him, none care to inquire after those whose combined incapacity, corruption, and malevolence forged the bolt by which he was struck down. No memoir records the last hours of the palsied de Leyrit, or of the irresolute, mindless d'Aché. Of Bussy,—Bussy who promised so well, whose performances up to a certain point were so splendid,—yet, who deserted Dupleix in his misfortunes, and who joined in the cabal against Lally,—of Bussy it is only known that after living luxuriously† on the enormous wealth he had acquired in India,—he returned twenty years later, at the head of a fine army to the Carnatic, there to lose his reputation and to die! The very Company which had connived at his fate,—which had shown itself on every occasion timorous, narrow-minded, and unjust,—which had ruined and persecuted to death the most illustrious of the proconsuls it had sent out to India,—the Company did not long survive the execution of Lally. It died in 1769!

The fall of Pondichery was the natural precursor of the capture of the other places, yet remaining to the French in Southern India. On the 4th February, Thiagar surrendered to Major Preston, and on the 13th, Mahé to Major Munro. Gingée

* "No one," wrote Colonel Coote after the capture, "has a higher opinion of Lally than myself. He has fought against obstacles which I believed invincible, and he has conquered them. There is not another man in all India, who could have kept on foot for the same length of time an army without pay, and receiving no assistance from any quarter."

Another English officer wrote at the time from Madras.—"It is a convincing proof of his abilities, the managing so long and vigorous a defence in a place, where he was held in universal detestation."

† Not only Bussy, but de Leyrit and all the Councillors of Pondichery took home with them large fortunes. Even that arch-intriguer, the Jesuit Lavaur, carried off with him 1,25,000 francs, besides diamonds and bills of exchange to a large amount. Yet to such an extent did he carry his duplicity, that he pretended poverty, and actually petitioned to the Government for a small pension for his subsistence.—*Voltaire, Orme.*

presented greater difficulties than either of those places to an attacking force, but on the 5th April, the garrison, seeing the helplessness of its condition, surrendered on favourable terms to Captain Stephen Smith. Of the French troops in the service of the Company, 300 who were on detached duty at the time of the siege, under MM Alain and Hugel, took service with Hyder Ali; 100 were embodied in the English army,* in which, however, they showed themselves as mutinously disposed as when commanded by their own countrymen; the remainder became prisoners of war.

We have now brought to a conclusion the history of that stirring episode, adorned with so many brilliant names, and boasting of some of the most original and striking achievements ever performed on Eastern soil. Beginning with small means, then suddenly astonishing the world by its dazzling promise, the venture of the French in India was destined to end, thus early, in humiliation and failure. It was the sad fate of France, in this, the most unfortunate of her wars, to be disgraced on the Continent, and to lose simultaneously her possessions in the East and in the West. First, in endeavouring to save Canada, she lost the best chance she ever had of conquering Southern India, for it cannot be doubted, but that the troops, the ships, and the money, which the French Government diverted at the last moment from Lally's expedition, would have sufficed to render him victorious everywhere on the Coromandel coast, might possibly even have enabled him to carry out his meditated designs upon Bengal. The diversion, whilst it caused the failure of the blow struck at English India, did not save Canada. After Canada had fallen sound policy would have dictated the strengthening of Lally's hands in the Carnatic, but the troops and the money which might still have enabled him to carry out his original designs, were frittered upon the armies of the nominees of Madame de Pompadour,—the Soubises, the Richelieus, the Contades, and the Broglies, with their legions of opera dancers and hairdressers.† To keep up those costly armies,—which nevertheless were barely able to make head against a Lieutenant of the King of Prussia,—and their more costly contingents, French India was left without money sufficient to carry on a campaign, without reinforcements, without even the few ships that might have sufficed to save her. However much, then, the candid Frenchman of the present day

* Amongst these was Claud Martine, afterwards Major-General in the service of the Nawab of Oudh, and founder of the Martinière.

† The reader is referred to Carlyle's graphic description of the followers of the armies of Soubise and Richelieu, given in his "Frederick the Great."

may lament the corruption that was rampant amongst the officials of Pondichery,—however he may mourn over the want of unanimity in her Council, and the intrigues of her Councillors,—however much he may condemn the absence of patriotic devotion that contributed to her fall,—he will still be forced to lay the chief blame at the door of France, on the shoulders of the sensual monarch under whose rule the resources of the kingdom were so lavishly wasted and misdirected. Whilst English India received plentiful supplies of men, and ships in abundance, and thought herself hardly used, because, in the last year of the war, she did not also receive her annual supply of money, French India, after the arrival of Lally's troops, received from the mother-country scarcely more than two millions of francs ! There could be but one result to such a mode of supporting a colony, and that result appeared on the 16th January, 1761.

We do not hesitate thus to fix the date of the final failure to establish a French Empire in India, because, up to the moment of the actual capitulation, it was always possible that the fall of Pondichery might be delayed, and a chance afforded to the French of again asserting their supremacy. United counsels and energetic action so late even as the 1st January, 1761, might have caused the annihilation of the besieging army; the arrival of d'Aché up to the 6th would have forced the English to raise the siege, and might even have ensured the destruction of their fleet. But the events of the 16th January made French supremacy in the Carnatic for ever impossible. It is true that the Peace of Paris restored to France, in 1763, Pondichery and her other dependencies in Southern India; but they were restored dismantled and defenceless, with their trade annihilated, with their influence gone, with the curse of defeat and failure stamped upon their habitations; they were restored at a time, when England, using well the precious moments, had rooted herself firmly in the soil. The difference in the power and position of the rival settlements was shown clearly in 1778, when on the breaking out of war between France and England, Pondichery was at once invested and captured by a British army.* It is true, indeed, that during that war, the French made a desperate effort to profit by the misfortunes of England in America, by sending out 3,000 men under Bussy and a fleet under Suffren to assist Hyder Ali, then alone almost a match for the few English in Madras. But whilst, on sea,

* Pondichery was restored to France by the Peace of 1763, captured again in 1793, restored by the Peace of Amiens, captured again in 1803, and finally restored in 1814 and 1815.

the splendid achievements of the greatest of French admirals covered with a halo of glory this last effort on the part of France to expel the English from the Carnatic, on land the campaign was productive of little but disaster. Thenceforth the attempt was renounced, and partisans and adventurers represented France at the courts of native princes, and endeavoured, though in vain, to accomplish by their means the result, which, at the period we have described, had been indeed possible, but which, after the 16th January, 1761, was for ever illusory and hopeless.

But was there not, it may be asked, something due to the different characters of the rival nations, that contributed to a result so disastrous to France? Much, very much, in our opinion. England, doubtless, in the greater wealth of her East India Company, in the greater influence of its Directors with the Government, and in its free Parliamentary system, possessed advantages which were denied to France. We believe that the fact that the Directors of the East India Company were often members of Parliament, and as such possessed considerable influence with the Ministry of the day, tended not a little to that prompt action of the latter, to that despatch of royal fleets to defend the Company's possessions, which acted so favourably for English interests. Under the despotic system of France such action was rare; the Company was, except in rare instances, left to defend its possessions with its own ships alone. Whilst England, working in unison with its East India Company, saw clearly that imperial interests required her to use imperial means to defend the settlements of the Company, the France of Louis XV., throughout the epoch of which we have written, but once raised herself to the height of regarding India from an imperial point of view, and then, as we have seen, from her own want of a resolute and decided policy, with the very worst success. But, though this circumstance mainly caused the fall of French India, there were other circumstances dependent on the character of the agents on the spot, that contributed much to the same result. We confess that before we had studied the public documents which form the basis of these articles, we could not understand how it was that characters so brilliant, so energetic, so enterprising, as Dupleix, La Bourdonnais, Bussy, and Lally, should have failed, opposed as they were by men, who, with the exception of Clive, must be regarded as inferior to them in capacity. But the solution of the question becomes after examination easy. Those four French names shine out as bright lights from among a crowd of flickering satellites. It is they, or rather,—for he stands out far above the others,—it is Dupleix, who

reflects the lustre of his great name upon the struggles of his countrymen for Empire in the East. He did it all. He was unsupported except by Bussy. He it was who caused the fame of the French nation to resound in the palaces of Delhi, who carved out a policy which his rivals seized and followed. He did not succeed, because he was not properly supported at home, because he was alone amongst his countrymen in India. Those contests for the possession of Trichinopoly showed that, even under the most favourable circumstances, his soldiers would not win battles. He could do everything but imbue them with his own spirit. He was in fact alone,—in everything supreme, except as a soldier in the field.

If we examine, on the other hand, the conduct of the English, we shall see numberless instances of the dogged character of the nation. Not counting Clive, who was but for a short time on the scene, there was not a man in the English settlements equal in genius to Dupleix. But again, there were many, very many among them, far superior to any of the subordinates of Dupleix, Bussy alone excepted. The daring of Lawrence, the dogged pertinacity of Saunders and his council, the vigour and ability of Forde, of Calliaud, of Joseph Smith, of Dalton, and of many others, stand out in striking contrast to the feebleness, the incapacity, the indecision, of the Laws, the d'Auteuils, the Brenniers, the Maissons, and others whom Dupleix was forced to employ. Never was England better served than during that struggle. Never was there more apparent, alike amongst her civil and military agents, that patriotic devotion to duty, which ought to be the highest aim of every servant of his country. In the French settlement this feeling burned far less brightly. The efforts of the greatest amongst her leaders were marred and thwarted by the bickerings and jealousies of subordinates. We see La Bourdonnais sacrificing the best interests of France to his jealousy of Dupleix; Godeheu, owing to the same feeling, undoing the brilliant work of his predecessor; Maissin refusing to annihilate the English at Trichinopoly; de Leyrit and his council thwarting Lally; the very councillors scrambling for illegal gains, and dabbling in speculation; those energies which should have been united against a common enemy employed to ruin one another. Under such circumstances, the result could not have been long deferred; sooner or later it was inevitable. But for one man the stake for which the two countries played would never have been so great. It was Dupleix who made French India, it was France who lost it. If, in the present day, there exist amongst her citizens regrets for the loss of an Empire so vast, so powerful, so important, inhabited by a people who were civilised when we were naked

savages, and who possess so many claims to the sympathy and attachment of every intelligent European, it will be impossible for France herself,—however much she may condemn the action of her Government of those days, and may lament the infatuation and misconduct of her countrymen,—to suppress a glow of pride at the recollection, that it was a child of her soil who dared first to aspire to that great dominion, and that by means of the impulse which he gave, though followed out by his rivals, the inhabitants of Hindostan have become permanently united to their long parted kinsmen,—the members of the great family of Europe.

BENGAL MILITARY ORPHAN SOCIETY (*Continued.*)

ART. II.—1. *Unpublished Records of the Military Orphan Society.*

2. *Calcutta Gazettes.*

WE resume the history of the Military Orphan Society at the point at which we left it.* The two schools had been separated in 1790: the wards of the "Upper" portion brought over to Kidderpore; those of the "Lower" left at Howrah. The immediate pressure arising from overcrowding was for the time relieved; but much more had to be done before all should be brought into a healthy state. Perplexity still sat at the committee table of the Managers; and now, too, on both sides of the Hooghly. But we shall for the present confine ourselves to the task of chronicling the difficulties and doings of the Management on the southern bank.

Kidderpore House was at first rented for Rs. 450 a month, and was occupied on these terms for some eight years. In 1798 the whole estate being offered for sale,† the Society purchased it for Rs. 75,000. But the possession of even such a property, the opportunities which the large funds at their disposal afforded them of carrying out the grand work of giving to their wards—and through their wards to hundreds of homes in India—the benefits of a really sound, high-toned education, seem never to have appeared to the minds of the Managers of that day as involving a great and solemn duty and responsibility. It is painful to trace, in the voluminous records and elaborate minutes of the Society that old bias we have already deplored, the low standard of *mind-moulding*, and marriage as the ulterior aim, the one object, of life. It prompts every measure proposed

* No. LXXXVII. page 182.

† The Estate was advertised for sale in the *Calcutta Gazette* of October 4th, 1798, as "the property of Richard Barwell, Esquire; the capital "large upper-roomed house of Kidderpore, at present rented by the Managers of the Orphan Society, with all the out-houses and grounds thereunto "belonging, containing 275 biggahs, 10 cottaks more or less."

by the Managers; it runs through all their deliberations; it is the burden of all their minutes. Project after project was brought forward, which, as we look back on them from a distance of above seventy years, would be simply ludicrous, were they not discreditable to the Managers who proposed them, and degrading to the character of the Society of the operations of which the School formed a part. In all, the ulterior object was avowedly the same—to bring the wards before the public, and so to expedite their marrying. Happily all these miserable make-shifts fell to the ground; and the Society was spared the indignity involved in them.

Not that it is to be inferred from this that the system adopted in the Military Orphan School was worse than that which prevailed in other educational establishments then existing in Calcutta. On the contrary, the Managers seem really to have been in advance of the current system of that day! Anything more lamentable, more hollow in its principles, more disastrous in its consequences, than the plan then adopted in the other schools of Calcutta it is impossible to conceive. One has only to turn to publications of that period,—say for instance, “Indian Recreations,” by the Rev. W. Teunant, a Calcutta Chaplain, whose first chapter, dated 1793, gives a full account of the system, the object, and the consequences of the then prevailing education of young ladies in Calcutta,—to arrive at the very consolatory conclusion that the Managers of the Military Orphan School, defective as we feel their views were, really desired to take higher ground, and to aim at a higher standard than seemed to satisfy the projectors of the private educational speculations which disgraced Calcutta seventy or eighty years ago. One proof of this may be seen in the fact that married officers, not only at stations “in the Provinces,” but at the Presidency, were so eager to have their daughters admitted at Kidderpore House for education, that the Managers were more than once obliged to fix a limit to the number of such admissions, lest they should not have room for the orphans.

Yet it does seem deplorable that all the Managers should have been so long alienated from their English homes, and have lost so much of their English feeling, as not to remember that marriage is not the *summum bonum* of life, the *ultimatum* of existence; that some of the brightest characters among their own country-women were unmarried ladies; that a mind highly principled, well-informed was, whether in a married or single state, an acquisition and an ornament in any position of life.

One proposal, indeed, was made during this period, which, as being remarkable in character, and interesting from the quarter

from which it came, deserves to be mentioned. It was like a ray of light trying to find its way into that Board-room; and only shut out because it passed through a distorting medium. In 1793, David Ochterlony, then a Subaltern at Cawnpore, sent up to the Managers a proposition, which, while it undoubtedly touched the weak point in the school system, savoured over much of that pride of country which had already begun to characterise our Trans-Atlantic cousins, was too American to be acceptable, and therefore was rejected. He, himself a *Boston boy*, proposed "that all the orphans of the Upper School should be sent to America for education!" and required "that his proposition should "be laid before the Commander-in-chief for his opinion"!! He was clearly right so far, that what was wanted was *education* to fit the wards to fill with credit and advantage their proper place in the domestic circle: but America in 1793 was scarcely the school which English gentlemen would be likely to select for the orphans of their brother officers. So the Managers sent back an answer, which if somewhat curt was also very decisive, "that such a plan was "highly objectionable in its principle, and impracticable in execution."

Nor was it the female wards alone who were a cause of anxiety to the Managers. A provision for the boys seems to have been scarcely more easy. Although the *Calcutta Gazette* teemed with advertisements,* which appear as if they ought to have removed all difficulty in finding provision for the boys, it was really no very easy matter to give them an eligible start in life. Many fields looked invitingly open. There was the Pilot Service; there were many ventures of private enterprise, in which young hands would be required; there was a call for hands in the Printing-presses which were being established; there were Medical men wanting apprentices. Still boys of the Upper School remained on the Managers' hands; because the Managers charitably thought that, especially where the lads were entire orphans, their duties had scarcely been performed when they had kept them till the prescribed age, and that they could then throw off all further responsibility with the payment of the *final grant*; they did not consider themselves justified in letting a boy be sent adrift into the wide world to steer his own course as he best could without taking steps to ensure his future well-being. To their honour be it recorded

* Such advertisements as the following are to be frequently met with in the pages of the *Calcutta Gazette*; "Wanted apprentices for a genteel, "business;"—"for a promising enterprise;"—"for a thriving concern;" &c. &c.

that, however defective and unwise their system in the female department was, they did labour most conscientiously to provide suitably for their orphan boys. The orphans of the Lower School were far more readily disposed of; the "drums and fifes" alone carrying off a large number; in seven years, from 1794 to 1800 inclusive, above 200 boys were posted to different Regiments. But there were great difficulties in the way of providing for the orphans of the officers. The Pilot Service was unfortunately unpopular. It was said that the pilots were so severe, absolutely cruel to the boys, that half of them deserted, and several altogether absconded. Then the Printing-presses could only take a limited number; and considering the terms on which the Managers for their own protection bound down the masters, only the best boys in character and in ability had a chance; for the "indentures and penalty bond" presented a formidable obstacle: the masters were loath to encumber themselves with apprentices who might prove incapable, and who were not *returnable*. The same with the other private concerns. The same, too, with Medical men; there was then no Sub-Medical department to receive apprentices into the Government service, and on Government risk. If a Medical man at one of the hospitals, or in private practice, wanted an assistant, the boy was articulated to him individually, as in England; and the risk was so great that few doctors cared to incur it. Some indeed did,* and we find *ci devant* wards of the Society connected with private medical establishments in Calcutta, and some also in time at the head of them. Then there were other openings: an iron foundry was established by a Mr. James Bruce in 1795; a building establishment also struggled into existence about this time; and now and again a commander of a British Merchantman would venture to relieve the Society of an apprentice for five years. Thus, in one way and another, wards occasionally got a start in life. Still, as a rule, the supply greatly exceeded the demand.

Many plans were suggested to meet this increasing difficulty. One, for instance, was to convert the grounds of Kidderpore House into a large cochineal plantation, and to train the boys to pick and preserve the insects for sale! But this and other plans equally impracticable were proposed, discussed, and condemned.

One proposition which was made at the close of the century is deserving of special mention, whether, as some thought, for

* One of the wards was apprenticed to Dr. Gilchrist then residing at Russapugla, better known as the author of the "Oriental Linguist," and other Hindustanee books.

"the effrontery and audacity," others for "the far-seeing wisdom," which dictated it.

It came from a man named *John Adie*—whether kindred in blood or only in spirit with the *Joseph Adie* who gained an unenviable notoriety a few years ago in England in connection with the Bank of England and the Post Office, we cannot say. This at least they seem to have had in common, a readiness to tell men "something to their advantage" for a consideration. But let the motives have been what they might, it is impossible not to admire the appreciation of local capabilities which his plan evinced. It was a project that would have embraced a far wider range than the Kidderpore compound; and would have appropriated a far more promising tract than the Sunderbun jungles; it was nothing less than the occupation of a tract that in healthiness gives the lie to the general character for disease of neighbouring Bengal; that in fertility has, with little exaggeration, been compared to the valley of the Nile; that in exuberant productiveness, might have been far more fitly than Ireland the subject of Sydney Smith's humorous remark that "you had only to tickle it with a hoe, and it would laugh into luxuriance." Unhappy Mr. Adie must have marred his own prospects by the egotism of his application, and the mercenariness of his terms; or he may have been unknown; * or may be he was too well known!

However, he shall state his plan in his own glowing language, though the construction be somewhat confused, and defiant of rules of grammar.

"The district of Tirhoot being rich land, fit for the cultivation of indigo and sugar-cane, and the water being excellent for distilling, and for raising bright colours on cotton cloth, the situation adjacent to Patna, where articles of various produce and manufacture are bought and sold with facility, also all materials for building are in great abundance, and workmen of every description at low wages, renders the situation highly favourable for the purpose of ensuring success." His own qualifications are thus modestly recited:—"With a perfect knowledge of the art of making indigo, printing of chintz, and distilling of rum, and some knowledge in chemistry as well as mechanics, and the various concerns I have had in business, gives me some hopes of obtaining that trust and confidence so essentially necessary towards ensuring success." His proposal

* His name appears several years in the list, published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of "unknown persons for whom un-claimed letters were laying at the Post Office."

was simply this—that the Society advance the sum of Rs. 15,000 without interest, for which sum he would engage to build the necessary works for manufacturing indigo, sugar, distilling, and printing of chintz; also making furniture, candles, gold and silver work, with engraving; and instruct twenty boys at a time, and furnish them with bed and board and washing, and as they became qualified to gain a livelihood, others should be admitted to keep up the number of twenty. Then, as security to the Society, the whole of the premises, utensils, and goods manufactured, were to be considered the property of the Society until the said sum of Rs. 15,000 should be repaid. He only stipulated that, in addition to the twenty wards of the Society, he should be at liberty to take six other boys as apprentices, for whom he could obtain premiums. Yet in the face of all this assurance of Mr. John Adie,—though he again and again declared himself confident of the utility of such an undertaking, and conscious of his own abilities to carry it out, amounting in his own mind to “a moral certainty of success,”—the Managers of that day had so little turn for developing the resources of the country, and the capabilities of their wards, that they passed a cold, unsympathising, unappreciative resolution, (February, 1795) “that Mr. Adie be informed that the Management are not inclined to risk the children, or the money, in their charge upon such a speculative plan.”

The enterprising John Adie, having failed in his attempt on Tirhoot, appears to have turned his attention to Oude; where he died in the early part of the year 1804. Under the head of “Administrations,” his name appears in the *Calcutta Gazette*, for July of that year, as “late an Indigo Planter in the province of Oude.”

Thus it was once possible that Tirhoot, or a large slice of it, might have become a training ground for the orphans of the Bengal Army, and perhaps a territorial appanage of the Military Orphan Society. But the project was scornfully rejected. And the tract has since proved one of the most remunerative fields for private enterprise—one of the richest mines of private wealth.

From Tirhoot to the Society's Printing-press the transition seems abrupt: but the adoption of the latter project, which, like so many others for the good of the Institution, emanated from Major Kirkpatrick, followed in point of time close on the rejection of the former. In 1796, the subject first came before the Managers as a plan for providing some permanent employment for the boys of the Upper School who had been apprenticed to printers. Undoubtedly the prospects of these boys were of the gloomiest; though they were apprenticed to Press managers, and many of

them completed their time with great credit, there was nothing before the mass of them but to be compositors or printers' devils all their lives. The primary object, therefore, in establishing this press was to provide permanent remunerative occupation for those boys who had served their time, and were thrown on the world : a secondary object also was to raise out of Press profits a fund for the payment of marriage portions to the female wards, without trenching on the general funds of the Society ; there being at present no fixed sum, each female ward on her marriage receiving such sum as the circumstances of the case seemed to call for, and the funds of the Society admitted. It was thought that by connecting together the two objects, an additional motive to industry would be supplied, and a generous, not to say chivalrous, feeling would be called into play ; the young man working at the press all the more readily from the consciousness that his industry was helping to provide a marriage portion perhaps for his own sister, at any rate for those orphaned like himself.

It was a bright vision which at once burst upon the minds of the Managers ! With "cheapness and expedition" for its motto, the Orphan Press would command all the private printing of "the settlement." Books from the pens of Indian authors, now sent to England to be printed, because of the prohibitory rates charged by the Calcutta Publishers, would pour in : the Commander-in-Chief, as the head of the army and the orphan's greatest friend, and all the Government Departments on the mere ground of economy, would send all their work to be executed there ; the combined motives of pity and of policy would carry all before them. To help it on, a weekly newspaper, called "the Old Soldier," was to be published, to be the sole recognised medium of all official communications of Government. So the Military Orphan Press was already in idea a great institution of the country, and a perfect mine of wealth to the Society. This was in 1796.

Men who can trace more than half a century's working of the Orphan Press can see how much of reality there was in the idea,—though it was for some years to be nothing more. Why, it is difficult to say. Perhaps it was that the working it out would involve an amount of energy, and application, and labour, which the climate of Bengal is certainly not now, whatever it might then have been, famous for producing. Or, perhaps the secret lay in the withdrawal from India about this time of the man who had been the originator of this plan, as he had been the founder and mainly the supporter of the Society, William Kirkpatrick, who retired to spend the last years of his active life in lettered ease and

enjoyment.* However, whatever the cause may have been, the grand project, which the Managers were preparing to announce with a flourish of trumpets in 1796, and which was to prove a pagoda tree to the Society, was allowed to lie long in abeyance. No more was heard of it for seven years. During this time, Madras had been displaying rare activity. An Orphan Society had been formed and a Press established, which was in a most thriving condition. It was not till the year 1803 that the Bengal Managers again revived the subject. Their appreciative powers no doubt quickened by the success at Madras, they began to wonder why their own project had come to an abortive birth, and the "Old Soldier" had existed only in embryo, and had died before it even saw the light. They now took up the work in earnest. The sanction of Lord Cornwallis, who was Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor-General, was obtained in his double capacity; and promises of support were given: but it was clearly defined that engagements and contracts existing with other presses could not be interfered with; that when those contracts and engagements had been worked out, the Orphan Press should have every opportunity of proving its claims to public support by its efficiency. So types were bought; a house conveniently situated at Kidderpore, then known as "Castle Wray,"† was rented, pending the erection of one for the purpose on the estate; a public circular was issued, substantially similar to the former one, only substituting "the Orphan" for the "Old Soldier", as the name of the proposed weekly newspaper; and omitting all allusion to the Press-fund as providing the marriage portions of the wards. Although the connection would seem to have been in reality kept up; for we find that in the same year (1803) the marriage portion for wards in India was fixed at Rs. 1,000; and in the year after raised to Rs. 2,000; and, in the following year the same consideration was extended to female wards marrying in England; who had previously only received on marrying the pittance of £60, the sum

* He was for some time an active member of the London Committee of the Society; and eventually retired to the west of England, and in his quiet retreat near Exeter, prepared for the press his *Journal of an Embassy to Nepal* in 1792; having been the first Englishman who either officially or privately gained access within the closely barred portals of that kingdom. He also translated, as already mentioned, the *Intercepted Letters of Sultan Tippoo*, which were printed by Government in 1811.

† This house, so called from having been occupied for many years, if not built, by an old Bengal Officer, *General Wray*, stood in the large compound, now better known as the *Leil Kotee* compound; having received this latter name from being for some years at a more recent period an indigo and general dyeing ground.

originally fixed as a *final grant*, which was given to those marrying (as to those starting in life), under the, in their case, most inappropriate title of "apprentice fee."

The Press was at once eagerly resorted to by would-be authors. Two very useful works were soon announced. The first was "the Pay Regulations of the various Military Establishments under the Presidency of Fort William : arranged by Captain William Sheppey Green, Deputy Military Auditor-General," the second, which came out soon after, was "a Digest of the Orders and Regulations of Government for the Guidance and Control of the several Departments under the Military Board : by Lieutenant G. H. Fagan, Head Assistant, Military Board."

In 1806, the plan was started for printing "the Army List and Directory," which made its appearance in the following year.

But authors of another class also came forward, eager to avail themselves of the new opportunity of giving their lucubrations to the public, as something that they hoped would be far more attractive, if not more profitable, than "Pay Regulations," and "Digests of Orders." There had lived and died at one of the Up-country stations a young officer who had left behind piles of poetical effusions, which only his illness and death prevented his sending to the new Press for publication. This duty now devolved on a brother officer and friend, who, it would seem, was a very ardent admirer of his departed friend's powers. He pleaded hard, that "——— was "an excellent classical scholar, and with a chaste, pleasing, and "harmonious muse, possessed a fertile poetical genius corrected "by sound judgment." But he pleaded in vain; the Managers in the same hard, matter-of-fact, unsympathising spirit with which they had ignominiously rejected John Adie's tempting offer of Tirhoot, replied that, "from the specimens of the poetry "sent, they were of opinion that neither credit to the author, "nor profit to the Orphan Press, could be derived from the "undertaking." Soon after, another application, and from one of their body, came to them in their collective character as Printers and Publishers, that they should publish an Opera of his composing, called "the Orphan;" all profits arising from the sale going to the Orphan Society. But despite the author's position, and the benevolence of his motives,—who himself said of the probable success of the work that, "it was not so much "that the thing was worth four rupees, (the proposed price), "but that those for whose benefit it was intended (to use the "French phrase) deserved well of their country,"—the ungracious, but perhaps judicious, reply was that, "the Managers begged "leave to decline having any concern with the publication."

Such was the origin of the Military Orphan Press. For a few years, however, it had a hard struggle for existence. There were some members of the Management who had always looked on it with more or less disfavour, and one day, in October, 1808, finding themselves in a majority at a small meeting of the Managers, they passed a resolution declaring that the whole undertaking was unwise, that it entailed actual loss, that it was never likely to succeed; in short, that it was a *failure*; and ordered that it should be immediately broken up, and the types sold. Happily the Deputy Governor, on learning what had transpired, at once interfered, and summoned a special meeting, which was a full one, and summarily cancelled the resolutions of the former one; and so the Press was saved. Another attempt a few months after was made to throw it over; but happily with no better success. The Press survived, to realise in the course of time nearly all the bright dreams of its originators. Of its success it is only necessary to say that, before its connection with the Society had ceased on its transfer to Government in 1863, just half a century after its formation, it had contributed, under the head of "Press profits," above *twelve lakhs of rupees* to the income of the Society.

But the close of the last century was a time of far more weighty anxieties to the Managers of the Orphan Fund than those to which we have hitherto chiefly referred, the making provision for the wards in India. It was becoming evident that a financial crisis was at hand. The yearly expenditure was frequently in excess of the receipts. The sum which during the first few years had been accumulated and funded was being frequently drawn upon; and though the funded capital did in the first fifteen years amount to some three lakhs, that sum represented donations, deposits on account of children, &c., &c., as well as the regular subscriptions; and it became clear that with a subscription list of about Rs. 75,000, and the yearly expenditure often considerably more, the very existence of the Society was becoming critical. The fact was, during the first years of the Society donations had poured in freely, and subscriptions at their normal rate flowed in regularly quarter by quarter, while only few orphans came on the list, and the out-goings were comparatively small. But each year saw the number of orphans increasing, and consequently the expenses swelling, while the subscriptions remained nearly the same. A few years more of this progressive inverse proportion of expenditure over receipts, and the fund would of necessity collapse. The question was now being often and anxiously asked, what can be done to save it? Experience had already taught the Managers that the Society had been established on an over-liberal

basis, and that, moreover, great laxness had crept in in its working. None of the higher grades were obliged to subscribe; and it was naturally from among them, the old Lieutenant-Colonels and Colonels, that large families of orphans were being brought on the Fund. Moreover, children born before their parents had begun to subscribe, and after they had withdrawn, were admitted without question: the one principle being to carry commiseration and help to the utmost without giving a thought to consequences. Then, again, officers going to England, as they did without pay, were exempt from subscription; and medical men, when appointed to civil stations, claimed to be exempt, but demanded that their privileges and rights should remain intact. Some officers were even allowed to leave their children at the Kidderpore School for education during absence in England, without having made any provision for paying the monthly expenses. Such an accumulation of irregularities were surely enough to bring the Fund to the verge of insolvency. And it became a grave question how such a result was to be avoided, and how provision even for the orphans already on the list was to be guaranteed.

A few trifling retrenchments were made in the school itself; among others, junior teachers were dispensed with, and some of the best informed of the senior wards received a small monthly sum for teaching the lower classes. It was also resolved that, as under the new rules then recently introduced (April, 1796), officers might draw *full pay** while absent on leave in England, they should be compelled to subscribe at the full rate during such absence: and that an officer about to go to England on furlough, and intending to leave behind any children at the School, should deposit Rs. 5,000,† to meet the probable expense of each child while absent. Another rule, undoubtedly a most just one, but which raised a perfect storm of opposition and abuse, was passed at this time, that no child born before the father had become a subscriber, or after he had ceased to subscribe, should be admissible to the benefits of the fund. These were the only steps the Managers were empowered to take on their own authority. As regards the other two questions,

* A rather deceptive expression; for this was in reality only *pay proper*, in fact the present scale of furlough pay: but even that was a gain, as previously officers *forfeited all pay* while absent on furlough!

† This amount was, in 1805, reduced to Rs. 3,750 being the amount necessary to produce (at 8 per cent.), Rs. 25 a month as the then estimated monthly cost of each child. But in 1811, when the cost of each child had risen to Rs. 39, and the rate of interest from Government fell to 6 per cent. the sum was raised to Rs. 7,800.

the subscription of Surgeons when at civil stations, and the subscription of the senior grades, they were obliged to seek the aid of Government

But before following out the result of their appeal on these two points, it will not be uninteresting to notice one among other indirect modes by which the Managers sought at this time to recruit their finances. They applied to Government to give to the Society the profits arising out of one of the Government Lotteries! Not that Lotteries were looked upon in those days, or at a much later period, as so strange a mode of raising money as would now be the case. They were then very common; and seemed to admit the most varied application. They practically combined all the advantages (?) of the Joint Stock Co. system, the Fancy Fair, and the Public Loan, of the present day. Not only were Indigo-factories, houses, lands, &c., &c., disposed of by Lottery,* or even estates in England thrown into the Calcutta market by this means;† but even for charitable objects they were commonly resorted to as a means of raising funds; thus a considerable portion of the money collected for St. John's Church, for the erection of the Masonic Hall,‡ and for supporting the Free School,§ were the proceeds of Lotteries; and now and then a "Philanthropic Lottery" would be opened for the support of some destitute family;|| sometimes two distinct and very different objects would be included in the same Lottery; as "a Madras Male Asylum and Bridge Lottery,"¶ or again, "a Madras Male Asylum and Roads Lottery** where one moiety of the profits would go to the charity, and the other to the erection of a public bridge, or the repair of a public road. Sometimes the charitable portion was ambiguously inserted, as in the case of one announced at Madras, in which "the whole net proceeds" were to be "appropriated to the repair of the roads in the vicinity of Madras, and to other *charitable purposes* (?) for the public benefit;"+† or the charitable part of the project altogether disappeared, as in one called "the Bombay Public Works Lottery."‡‡ And it will probably be in the memory of some of our older Calcutta residents that the two broadest

* *Calcutta Gazette, passim.*

† *Ibid.*, August 20th, 1789; June 30th, 1791 &c., &c.

‡ *Ibid.*, June 7th 1792.

§ *Ibid.*, October 2nd 1794.

|| *Ibid.*, November 12, 1795.

¶ *Ibid.*, February 4th, 1796.

** *Ibid.*, July 4th, 1799.

+† *Ibid.*, September 6th, 1798.

‡‡ *Ibid.*, March 9th, 1797.

streets of Calcutta, Wellesley Street and Wellington Street, connecting in a direct line the palaces of Chowringhee with the purlieus of Chitpore, were formed from the profits of a succession of Government Lotteries.

The mode of giving a charitable application to such a system of gambling was rather original. 10 *per cent.* on all the prizes drawn was paid over to the charity; and thus considerable sums were raised; for instance in "the Masonic Hall Lottery" four lakhs were given in prizes, and thus no less than Rs. 40,000 must have been gained towards the erection of the Masonic Hall; in "the Free School Lottery," though only two lakhs were assigned in prizes, Rs. 20,000 would have been collected in support of the charity. It must be admitted, assuming that money was the only object, that the Lottery system had a great advantage over the more modern one of the Fancy Fair, for it was more successful in the sums raised; and in a benevolent point of view there was quite as much Christian charity in taking a share in a "Philanthropic Lottery" with the chance of gaining a lakh of rupees, as in buying a ticket for a "Charity Ball" with the sole idea of an evening's amusement!

But, to the application of the Managers of the Military Orphan Society, that the benefits of one Lottery might be assigned to that Fund, a refusal was received; Government declining on the ground that, if the Society were based on sound principles, it must be self-supporting, and could in no sense be regarded as a public charity. Government, however, as we shall presently see, was soon to meet a claim, the strength and justice of which was irresistible, which was to extract from the Treasury a far larger sum than could have been realised out of half a score of their Lotteries.

The first two points on which the Managers found themselves compelled to seek the interference of Government, were, first, the refusal of Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons, (if single men,) when at civil stations, to subscribe to the Fund; and secondly, the exemption of Lieutenant-Colonels and Colonels from subscription, though claiming for their families full benefits by virtue of having subscribed in the lower grades. On the first point they found ready and prompt help. They had for years been carrying on a war with the recusant *medicos*, but with no satisfactory result. In despair they went up to Government in the course of 1798, and at the end of that year an order was issued (dated 21st December, 1798* compelling "all such Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons,

* *Calcutta Gazette*, December 27th, 1798.

“without any option,” to contribute to the Fund, “notwithstanding the temporary service of any of them in the Civil Department;” and with a view to removing all difficulty in the way of collecting such subscriptions, the civil officers in charge of the Treasuries “were required to make the authorised stoppages.”

Thus easily was the first point settled : but the second was far more complicated. Government had long before been appealed to to include Lieutenant-Colonels and Colonels within the compulsory enactment of 1786 ; but they declined, on the ground that the Institution was a voluntary Society, and that in its formation by the army this exemption of the higher grades was a fundamental rule, which the army alone should alter, and in which they felt disinclined to interfere authoritatively. The evil lay here. It was naturally from these higher grades that the greater number of orphans came. Occasionally the death of a Lieutenant-Colonel or a Colonel would throw four, or five, or even more, children on the Fund, to which he had probably subscribed only a few years as a Major. And this evil was increasing year by year. Nor did there seem any reasonable hope of remedy ; these officers rejoicing in their exemption, however unfair to the rest, and the Government declining to enforce subscription from them. Matters were in this state, when a great change in the condition of the Company's Army became necessary ; and in its train came at length the unlooked for remedy.

The tale to be intelligible must be a rather long one ; but we think it is worth telling. Some years before the period of which we are now treating, the political condition of India had been such as to fill England with anxiety for her Eastern possessions. Besides the native States, Hindoo and Mahometan, who regarded with ill-disguised suspicion the increasing power of the body of traders that had so signally avenged the atrocities of the Black-Hole, there was France, who avowedly and openly sympathised with America in her struggle against her mother-country, growing into a dangerous neighbour at Pondichery. The Company's Army was then very small, and the Europeans a mere fractional part of that small force ; so that it became clear that if the Company were to hold their own, they must be largely supplemented by European troops. At the request of the Court of Directors, four Royal Regiments were sent out in 1770.* The then impending danger was for the time averted : but, once introduced into India, the time never seemed to arrive when these Royal Regiments could be safely dispensed

with. For though the next ten years saw a great change in the position of France—though her dream of an Eastern Empire had passed away with the men from whom it emanated, La Bourdonnais, Dupleix, Bussy, Lally—she was still no unconcerned or inactive spectator of the passing events in the East. If she might not become herself a rival power to England in India, she still hoped to effect the expulsion of the English by a combination among the native States. With this view she had contrived to insinuate into every Court, Mahometan or Hindoo, one or more able officers, under the pretext of disciplining troops, but really with a view to carrying on intrigues in furtherance of her designs against the English. The incongruous and equivocal title assumed by the son of the Mysore usurper, “Citizen Tippoo,” the presence of French officers in the Court of Scindiah, and Holkar, and the Peishwah, each with his contingent of French-trained troops; the strong French contingent in the service of even the Nizam, who professed to be a staunch ally of the English; each and all indicated French influence and intrigue, and sometimes also represented French bayonets; and thus called for the continued presence of English troops. Hence the four Royal Regiments were pronounced to be indispensable, and were only recalled to be from time to time relieved. In 1788, it was enacted by Parliament, in the face of earnest remonstrances and strong protests on the part of the Court of Directors, who petitioned to be allowed to raise the four European Regiments for themselves, that four Royal Regiments should be permanently maintained in India at the expense of the Company.* Now, under the Company’s Charter their Army was barely recognised. In England a Company’s Officer’s rank was utterly ignored; and in India practically it was little more than nominal. A Colonel, the highest rank in the Company’s Army, was only equal to a Captain in a Royal Regiment, and then at the bottom of the grade; and so in each rank; a Captain in the Company’s service coming below every Ensign in the Royal Army! The impolicy on public grounds, setting aside the personal injustice, of this systematic supercession was palpable.

But it is with the personal question we have to deal. So long as the presence of Royal Regiments in India was believed to be only a temporary arrangement, this injustice was submitted to, though with no very good grace. But no sooner was it announced as intended to be permanent, than the officers of the Company’s Army rose up as one man in protest against

* Auber’s India Vol. II., 64. These four Royal Regiments were for the whole of India; their original distribution being two in Madras, one in Bengal, and one in Bombay.

such gross injustice.* Civilian Historians designate this as "the Mutiny" of the English officers; but military men are disposed to describe it by a much milder term. So good was their cause, and so powerful the advocacy brought to bear on their petition to the King by means of their London Committee, that in 1796 they obtained a recognition and readjustment of rank, and some mitigation of the wrongs to which they had been exposed.

Is it asked, what has all this to do with the Military Orphan Society? A few words will show.

The Company's Army, as previously constituted, (say in 1786) † contained only twenty-four officers above the rank of Major, consisting of ten Colonels and fourteen Lieutenant-Colonels. Under the new Order of 1796‡ to place the two armies somewhat more on a level on the score of rank, there were ten Generals, twenty Colonels, and thirty-four Lieutenant-Colonels. So instead of only twenty-four officers, out of a full strength of some 700 of all ranks, being exempt from subscription to the Fund, here were now *sixty-four*! while the increase in officers of the lower grades was barely 150. Moreover, this accession of forty, to the grades in which they would be exempted, would take place *at once*; whereas the addition of the 150 more subscribing members would necessarily be a work of time. If then the dead weight of twenty-four on the previous strength so seriously affected the Fund, how could it do otherwise than sink, and that speedily, under the additional pressure thus applied to it? This called forth from the Management one more and stronger appeal to Government to interfere, to enforce subscription from all ranks, as the constitution of the Army had undergone such a change. Now § Government acknowledged the force of the appeal. But even now did not make the order which they passed absolute. On all officers who should be subsequently promoted, it was to be compulsory; while it remained optional with those who had already been promoted to the favoured grades: and a large majority took advantage of the option. But events soon proved that this partial order of Government did not suffice. The new century opened with

* See the collection of protests from every station and every arm of the Service, preserved in a rare work called "Original Papers, elucidatory of the Claims preferred by the Officers of the Honourable Company's Army in India;" a copy of which may be found in the Public Library (Metcalf Hall.)

† See a General Order published in the, *Calcutta Gazette*, June 8th, 1786.

‡ *Ibid*, April 30th, 1796, and corrected in G. O. November 28th, 1798.

§ This order was passed in August, 1797.

war against the Mahrattas, as the old one had closed with that against Tippoo, and the capture of Seringapatam: and the Mahratta war, with its battles of Assaye, Allyghur, Delhi, Laswaree, and Deeg, each with its list of casualties among officers in the higher ranks almost unparalleled, threatened to lay the last straw on the camel's back, in the form of *thirty-two* children of officers in the exempted grades thrown on the Fund in the two years 1803 and 1804, besides a large number of orphans in the lower grades. Lord Lake now as Commander-in-Chief came to the rescue, urged the claims of the Society on Government; and from April 8th, 1807, subscription in every grade has been obligatory,* indeed forming a clause in every officer's Covenant of service.

But there were other claims, weightier and more direct, involving far greater sums, to which Government had to listen at this period. The amalgamation of the two schools at Levett's house, in 1784, had proved to be productive of very injurious consequences to the Orphan Fund. The two schools thus brought together, both under the same management, came to be regarded as parts of the same institution; so much as that even the accounts of the two, though so perfectly independent, had been mixed up together.

It is the financial injury thus caused to the Society, which chiefly concerns us: yet it is not uninteresting to note how the junction worked unfavourably in other ways. It conveyed a wrong impression of the constitution of the Society; it gave it an eleemosynary character, which as regards neither school was true. The Government had, under a sense of duty, undertaken, the charge of the orphans of their soldiers; those orphans were no longer an object of charity. Far less should the orphans of the Officers have been presented in that light. Although at the commencement, donations had, as we have seen, been made with liberal hand, to enable the Society to receive at once the large number of children already orphaned, and thrown mainly on public sympathy and support; still the very object of the Society had been to put a stop to a system which was felt to be as unseemly, in the case of the children of English gentlemen, as it was precarious; the fundamental principle of the institution was that thenceforth the orphan of every Bengal officer was to receive for maintenance and education that which had become a right by virtue of the parent's subscription. It is evident, however, that this independent principle had been allowed to be lost sight of, mainly

* A Lieutenant-Colonel's subscription being Rs. 12; a Colonel's, Rs. 15; and a General's, Rs. 18.

no doubt, from the connection with the other school. Otherwise, we should never have heard of applications for participation in the profits of a government Lottery; still less should we have seen the amateurs of the Calcutta Dramatic Society more than once bestowing the proceeds of a public performance to help on the funds of this institution.* Such an appeal, especially as set forth with a lavish overlaying of sentiment in the prologues, could not fail to be galling to the feelings of every high-minded English officer; and, as regarded the orphans of the soldiers, Government ought not to have allowed it. Yet so it was.

But, in a financial point of view, the consequences to the Orphan Society were from the first most serious. The difference between the rupees three a month granted by Government for each child, and the amount which the clothing, feeding, and educating of that child actually cost the Society, had, in the first six years—that is, between 1783 and 1789—amounted to no less a sum than Rs. 71,000!! And even after the Government allowance had been raised to Rs. 5 a month for each child, the Society was by no means safe: because, while any sum which in any one month might have fallen short of this maximum was always carried to the credit of Government, whenever (as was far more frequently the case) the maximum was exceeded, the difference was made up, not by Government, but from the funds of the Society! So that, as one of the Managers wrote in 1794, “for years the children of the European Soldiery had “been maintained largely by encroachments on the funds belonging to the children of the officers.”

But, in addition to the serious loss which was being thus incurred every year, there was another injury caused by the amalgamation which was still longer overlooked. Of the purchase money for Levett's house at Howrah, amounting to Rs. 65,000, Rs. 40,000 had been advanced by Government for the accommodation of the Lower School, the remaining Rs. 25,000, and nearly twice as much more for repairs and enlargement of the premises, had come out of the Orphan Fund. All pecuniary interest in those premises had of course ceased to the Society from the day when their Orphans moved over to Kidderpore; but they continued to lie out of all that money, and it brought to them neither benefit of occupancy, nor interest. Nor was it till the year 1804, that their claim to repayment or compensation, though repeatedly made, was at all recognised. 1804 seems to have been a year of conscientious refunds: for then we find

* See *Calcutta Gazette*, February 16th, 1783; February 26th, 1784 &c., &c.,

Government not only acknowledging this debt, so far as the original purchase money was concerned, though refusing to include in the claim the sums expended on the premises, but also authorizing the payment of interest from the date of the separation of the Schools, which had accumulated to Rs. 38,990. They, moreover, admitted another claim, which was to the payment of half the sum which had been lost by the failure of the Bengal Bank, amounting to nearly Rs. 5,000 more.

But there remained still another and even a greater wrong to be righted. This too had grown out of the amalgamation. Under the fatally false impression that it was all one institution, it had become customary at all the stations in the Provinces, to pay the Government allowance for soldiers' children, not from the Government Treasury, but from the Fund contributions of the officers: thus setting payments to soldiers' children against officers' subscription, under the impression that it was all one common Fund. It was not till the beginning of the century, that the Managers began to be aware to what an extent they were losers by this arrangement. The nature and the amount of this loss will be best appreciated by the statement made by the Military Auditor-General, in 1808, to Lord Minto, then Governor-General, who insisted upon a searching investigation of the Society's claim, and a full report thereon.

"The arrangement," (he says)* "was, I imagine, adopted as a matter of convenience of the Pay Department, and tacitly permitted by the managers of the Society, who were not, I suppose, aware of the very serious loss with which that arrangement was attended on the fund of the officers' children. This, however, is only part of the loss which has attended the past confusion of the accounts of the Orphan Society; for besides the advances at out stations, it appears that a considerable part of the expenses of the Lower School at Howrah, have been provided for by cash advance from the stock of the Officers' Fund, whereby not only great loss of interest has been sustained; but also a loss by discount on the sale of Paper, which has been occasionally disposed of to provide for the wants of the Lower School. This strange mixture of the accounts of the Officers' Fund with those of the Lower School, has been practised for many years; indeed, I believe, from the earliest period of the Institution; and your Lordship will be able to form a sufficiently accurate judgment of the losses to which the Officers' Fund has been subject by advances made from its stock for the expenses of the Lower School in the course of 36 years, when it is stated

* Extract from letter of Military Auditor-General to Governor-General dated May 27th, 1808.

“ that the balance now actually due by the Honorable Company to the Managers, on account of the expenses of the Lower School, *for two years*,—1805 and 1806—is Sicca Rs. 44,208-6-6, and besides this, it was found that above Rs. 63,000 had, up to December, 1804, become due to the Fund on account of advances made to the Howrah School.”

The result of this representation was, that the accounts of the two schools were separated and adjusted, by a large payment being made to the Society: and from that time the accounts and all proceedings of the Government Lower School have been kept distinct from those of the Military Orphan Society.

And now it seemed as if a brighter day were dawning. There were signs of improvement everywhere. The original uncalculating liberality of the Society, and the laxness and irregularity of its administration, were brought under restraint and control; all accounts with Government adjusted; all arrears paid up; and henceforth the accounts of the two schools kept perfectly separate; subscription from all grades made compulsory; and officers on furlough in England required to pay. And the effect of these changes was soon perceptible.

One gratifying sign of financial improvement is worthy of note. In 1795, an application had come from the most progressive of the station committees, that at Cawnpore, to the Management, urging them to consider “the pittance of a widow’s pension from Lord Clive’s Fund, especially to those who were under the necessity of passing their widowhood in this country,” and “to extend the benefits of this Fund to the widows.” But those were gloomy days for the Society, and their reply was that, “such an arrangement formed no part of the Society’s plan, and the funds would not admit of their undertaking it.” When, however, another appeal was made in 1809 on behalf of the Widows’ Fund, which had in the meantime been established (in 1805), although the Orphan Society found, on consulting the Advocate-General, that they could not legally transfer any of their surplus to any other object than that for which it was subscribed without obtaining the consent of the whole army, they felt themselves to be in a position to set apart one lakh of rupees, the interest of which was to be given half-yearly in aid of the Widows’ Fund.

Another sign, too, was the building of the Boys’ School. In 1808, Government began to contemplate the removal of the Lower School from Howrah, and agreed to purchase some sixty beggahs of the southern portion of the Kidderpore Estate, (for which they were to give only Rs. 11,000) for the purpose of erecting on it a suitable range of buildings. But this plan was abandoned in the following year; and the space which the

Government had intended to purchase was thus replaced at the disposal of the Society ; and as Kidderpore House was at that time dangerously overcrowded, there being seventy-seven girls, and nearly as many boys, it was resolved to make use of this available ground, and erect on it a range of buildings capable of accommodating 100 boys, with the necessary complement of masters. This was at once begun, the building was completed (at a cost of Rs. 56,000) and taken possession of by the boys of the Upper School in 1810. And the Boys' and Girls' Schools separated, after having been together in Kidderpore House for just twenty years.

About this time, too, the Managers had the comfort of finding greater facilities in providing for their boys. Several obtained situations in Government offices in Calcutta ; some were apprenticed to the Government of Prince of Wales Island ; and others found employment in Amboyna and Java.

And now an additional source of income, to an amount then little anticipated, was to be opened out for them. Up to this time access to the southern and western suburbs, of Alipore, Kidderpore, and Garden Reach, was over the two very ungainly and unsafe bridges, then commonly known as *Jeerat's* and *Serman's* bridges. But in 1810, Government resolved to replace these by two more creditable productions of the Public Works Department, though they were still to be wooden structures : and, in order to extend the contemplated improvements in this region, they applied to the Military Orphan Society to allow a road to be made across their property, parallel to the nullah, connecting these new bridges on the Southern bank ; for up to this time the grounds of Kidderpore House had 'sloped down to the water's edge.* This new road was constructed in 1812 ; and it was then proposed by one of the Managers to let out for native tenements and a bazaar the space lying between the road and the nullah, which could be no longer used by the inmates of Kidderpore House. Out of this arose the "Kidderpore Bazaar."

All these improvements date from the first and second decade of the present century. The Society was then established on a firm basis. It had passed through an anxious youth ; it may be said to have "come of age" in 1804 ; it had a hard struggle into mature manhood during the next fifteen years.

Here we leave it for the present, to resume its history in a future number.

* This right was once very warmly but unsuccessfully contested (in March, 1813), by the then Collector of the 24 Pergunnahs, W. Thackeray, who was no other than the father of the brilliant author of "Vanity Fair."

ART. III.—RADHAKANT DEB.

THE death of Rajah Sir Radhakant Deb Bahadoor, K.C.S.I., which melancholy event took place at Brindabun on the 19th April, 1867, has evoked the public sorrow of the Hindu community. The position occupied by him was one of great influence, and his demise, albeit in the fulness of years, as well as of honours, is regarded by his countrymen as a national calamity. At a public meeting of his friends and admirers, held at the Hall of the British Indian Association on the 14th May last, representatives of different classes bore their weighty testimony to his pre-eminent merits. The following resolution passed at the meeting, shows the estimation in which he was held:—

“That this meeting desires to record its deep sense of sorrow at the demise of the Rajah Sir Radhakant Deb Bahadoor, K.C.S.I., who, as a pioneer in the cause of native education, as an active supporter of all public movements for the general well-being of the people, and as a zealous worker for the promotion of Sanscrit literature for upwards of half a century, rendered services which eminently entitle his memory to the grateful respect of the Indian Public.”

It is evident that Rajah Sir Radhakant was essentially a representative man, and exercised no inconsiderable influence on the affairs of orthodox Hindus. The life lived by him was truly honourable and laudable. It was a life of unselfish devotion to literature, and to what he esteemed the interests of his country. The memory of such a man belongs not to any particular class or community of men, but is the heritage of the civilized world. A short notice of his career may not, therefore, be unacceptable to our readers, specially as it was contemporaneous with the commencement and progress of several important changes in this country.

Radhakant Deb was born at his uncle's house at Simlah, Calcutta, on the 1st Choitro, in the Saká 1705, corresponding with 10th March, 1783, A. D. He was the son of Rajah Goopeemohun Deb and the grand-son of Moonshee, afterwards Maharajah, Nobokrishna Deb, the native Persian Secretary to Lord Clive. He received his elementary English

education at Mr. Cumming's Calcutta Academy. He also acquired a very respectable knowledge of Sanscrit and Persian under the private tuition of pandits and moulvies. Though not a gifted man, yet he was endowed with a keen intellect and a retentive memory, which enabled him to master those branches of learning to which he devoted himself. He greatly improved his knowledge by after-study and wide intercourse with scholars. Though born in affluent circumstances, and boasting of a distinguished filiation, he refused the rôle of a Rajah, and rebelled against the system, which, in this country specially, consigns and condemns the cadets of opulent families to a life of inaction and self-indulgence. Surrounded by temptations which usually prove irresistible to men born in affluence, he did not allow them to conquer him, but consecrated his energies, his time, and his resources to the cultivation of literature, and to the great work of disseminating knowledge. Influenced by the ambition to benefit his fellow-beings, he felt he could best gratify that ambition by reviving Sanscrit learning, and assisting in the diffusion of English education.

When Rajah Radhakant commenced his career, his countrymen had but just commenced to shake off their quasi-religious prejudices against English education, and to manifest an eagerness to receive its benefits when communicated in accordance with those principles of reason, discretion, and good faith, which the Government promulgated.

The *Mohabidyalia* or Hindu College had been established. This institution had made some progress under the auspices of the native Directors and European Secretary. Among the Directors, was Gopeemohun Deb. Him Radhakant succeeded in the Direction. Throughout his connection with the College, he strove to promote its interests. On his retirement from the Committee of Management, the late Honourable Mr. Bethune, as its President, forwarded him the following extract from the proceedings thereof, dated the 29th June, 1850:—"Resolved that this meeting cannot allow Rajah Radhakant Deb, to retire from an active share in the management of the Hindu College, without placing on record their sense of the services which the Rajah had rendered to the cause of education in India during the long period of thirty-four years, which has elapsed, since his first connection with the establishment of the Bidyalia in Calcutta; and they desire to express their hope, that, he may be long spared in good health and vigorous old age to witness the good effects of the spread of that enlightened spirit of intelligence, which he has been so instrumental in encouraging."

On the formation of the Calcutta School Book Society, Rajah Radhakant came forward to render his best assistance in the preparation and compilation of suitable books, adapted to the understandings of those for whom they were intended.

On the 1st September, 1818, the School Society was established for the purpose of "assisting and improving existing institutions, and preparing select pupils of distinguished talents by superior instruction before becoming teachers and instructors." The Society was placed under the Control of a Managing Committee, composed of twenty-four members, of whom, sixteen were Europeans and eight Natives. The following gentlemen were its first office-bearers:—Sir Anthony Buller, President, J. H. Harrington and J. P. Larkins, Vice-Presidents, J. Baretto, Treasurer, S. Lagrundge, Collector, David Hare, European Secretary, and Radhakant Deb, native Secretary. To ensure the due fulfilment of the object of the Society, the Committee divided themselves into three Sub-committees for the distinct prosecution of the three principal plans:—one for the establishment and support of a limited number of regular schools; another for the aiding and improving the indigenous schools or *patsalahs* of the country; and the third for the education of a select number of pupils in English and in some higher branches of tuition. At the end of the first year, the donations amounted to about ten thousand rupees. The resources thus munificently supplied, enabled the Society to commence its operations in right earnest. It established two regular, or, as they were termed, "nominal" schools, rather to improve by serving as models, than to supersede the existing institutions of the country. They were designed to educate children of parents unable or unwilling to pay for their instruction. At that time education was not so much appreciated as now, and the Society was perfectly right in giving gratuitous instruction. Though we readily admit that, as a rule, education must be paid for, because it would be otherwise but little prized, yet where there is no demand for it, a demand must be created. This consummation was brought about by the Calcutta School Society's schools. Both the Tuntuneah and the Chapatollah schools were attended with remarkable success. The former was situated on the Cornwallis Street, nearly opposite the temple of *Kalli*, and consisted of a Bengallee and English department; the latter was held in the house at College Square, now owned by Baboo Hara Lall Mitter, and which was entirely an English school. The two schools were amalgamated at the end of 1834. The amalgamated school is known as David Hare's school.

Radhakant Deb discharged for some time the duties of the office of Honorary Native Secretary of the Calcutta School Society, and took a most lively interest in the schools and auxiliary *patsalaks* established by David Hare. He greatly improved those *patsalaks* by introducing order and system into them, by bringing them under an energetic and efficient supervision, and by testing their progress by periodical examinations which were held in his own house at Shobabazar.

In 1820, Rajah Radhakant published the first Bengallee *Nitikathá*, and also a Spelling Book, both founded on the European model. He zealously seconded the efforts of David Hare for the diffusion of knowledge among the natives, assisting him in improving and multiplying schools and *patsalaks*, and introducing him into the *penetralia* of Hindu society, and thus proved a most valuable co-adjutor of that apostle of education.

On the question of Female Education, which in his time was a vexed question, Radhakant took a temperate line advocating *zenana*, but not school—instruction for females of respectable classes. This fact, however, clearly proves that he was deeply impressed with the evils of allowing women to be brought up in ignorance and idleness. He rendered valuable assistance to the late Gouramohana Vidyalkara, the Pandit of the School Society, in the preparation and publication of a pamphlet, called the *Stri-Siksha Vidhayaka*, on the importance of female education, and its accordance with the dictates of the *Shastras*. The late Honourable Mr. Bethune addressed him a complimentary letter, for being the first Hindu in modern time, who advocated female education.

But the fame of Radhakant Deb must rest mainly on the voluminous Sanskrit Lexicon called, *Sabdhalakpadrama*. This laborious literary undertaking absorbed the best portion of his life, and will remain a monument of his profound scholarship. As a repertory of Sanskrit literature, it is an invaluable book for reference. The comprehensiveness of its range, and the excellence of its arrangements, are calculated to afford great facilities to the study of Sanskrit literature. It therefore constitutes his chief claim on the homage of the literary republic. This work has elicited the applause of those best able to judge of its merits. The learned Societies of Europe were the first to recognise them. The Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, the Royal Academy of Berlin, the Kaiserliche Academy of Vienna, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, the Oriental Societies of Germany and America, the Asiatic Society of Paris, and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities, forwarded him diplomas

of honorary or corresponding membership. Even the crowned heads of Europe were not slow in appreciating his literary performance, and in honouring him for it. The late Czar Nicholas of Russia and the King Frederick VII. of Denmark sent him medals, and Her Majesty the Queen of England conferred on him a splendid gold medal, bearing on one side the head of Her Majesty, and on the reverse the words—"From Her Majesty Queen Victoria to Rajah Radhakant Bahadoor." It was accompanied with the following letter from the Right Honourable Sir Charles Wood, the then Secretary of State for India :—

"India Office, 28th July, 1859.

"SIR,

"I have laid before the Queen your letter with the copy of the *Saddhakalpadrama*, forwarded by you for presentation to Her Majesty, and I am commanded to acquaint you that Her Majesty has received the work very graciously, and fully appreciating the spirit of loyalty in which you have transmitted it, has directed me to forward to you the accompanying medal.

"I have the honor to be,

"Sir,

"Your Most Obedient and Humble Servant,

"CHARLES WOOD."

In 1835, Radhakant Deb and Dwarkanath Tagore were appointed by the Government to be Justices of Peace and Honorary Magistrates of the Town of Calcutta. The post was then really one of honour, inasmuch as it was confined to a chosen few, instead of being conferred, as now, upon the whole horde of Browns and Boses, Robinsons and Ramchunders.

On the 10th July, 1837, the Governor-General in Council in consideration of his high social, ancestral, and personal claims invested Radhakant Deb with a *khilat*, or robe of honour, jewels, a sword and shield, and conferred on him the title of Rajah and Bahadoor. The late Sir William Hay Macnaughten, then Secretary to the Government of India, thus announced to him the conferral of the distinction.—"That the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to confer this honour on you in consideration of the dignity of your ancestors, the high character for probity and learning you bear among your countrymen, and the laudable anxiety you have ever displayed to render your services useful to the public. The title of Rajah and Bahadoor, which his Lordship in Council has been pleased to confer upon you, will accordingly be notified in the *Official Gazette*, and will be accompanied by the usual marks of distinction."

Towards the middle of 1848, the hitherto unchequered life of Radhakant Deb met with a rude shock. An aggravated affray having occurred in Monohurpore, a village situated in the sub-division of Serampore, a false charge of aiding and abetting in it was preferred at the instigation of Bykantnath Moonshee against Rajah Radhakant. He was arrested in consequence of it, and was incarcerated in a room standing upon the compound of the dwelling house of the Joint Magistrate. Though the offence was bailable, and bail was forthcoming, yet it was refused. But the Nizamut Adawlut, on application being made to it, ordered the Rajah to be enlarged on bail. The Joint Magistrate believing a *prima facie* case had been made out against the Rajah, sent it up for trial to the Sessions Court. Mr. Robert Torrens was appointed Special Sessions Judge to try the case. After a searching and protracted investigation, he dismissed the case as false, and ordered the Rajah to be discharged. The acquittal of the Rajah was a source of great satisfaction to those who were intimately acquainted with him. Sir Herbert Maddock, K.T., the then Deputy Governor of Bengal, in a letter dated 14th January, 1849, thus writes to him: "I wish you would call upon me to-morrow or the next day. You have had my sympathy in your late misfortune, and I wish to congratulate you on the honourable acquittal which you have received."

On the institution of the order of the Star of India, Rajah Radhakant was the only Bengalee gentleman who was invested with the K.C.S. I-ship. The venerable knight did not, however, live long to enjoy this well-merited distinction.

In politics, Radhakant Deb was an undoubted reformer. Though he had no strong political views or fine abstract theories of government, yet he was a zealous advocate of the political as well as the mental elevation of his countrymen. He had taken a lead in several public movements among the native community for the promotion of their political welfare, before he identified himself with the present advanced political party of Bengal.

When the grand demonstration against the Resumption of Lakhraj lands was made, he took an active part in it. It was in the shape of a monster meeting, which was held in the Town Hall for the purpose of protesting against that measure. The meeting was attended by eight thousand people, the bulk of whom, denied all standing-room in the Hall, assembled outside it in the *maidan*. He was a leading member of the Landholders' Association, which continued its useful labours on behalf of the zemindars of Bengal for several years, till it was replaced by the Bengal British Indian Association, which was established

on a more catholic basis, having for its object the promotion of the interests of the ryots as well as those of the zemindars. In 1851, the latter body was in its turn superseded by the establishment of the British Indian Association, of which Rajah Radhakant Deb was elected the President. He retained the office of President of the British Indian Association till his death, and used to declare that he was more proud of that office than of his title of Rajah Bahadoor, inasmuch as it indicated the chiefship of a body which was a power in the State, and was destined to achieve immense good to the country. Though latterly his age and retiring habits incapacitated him from taking an active part in the deliberations of the British Indian Association, yet his interest in them never waned. Whenever there was any public movement in connection with the Association, he used to come out from his retirement and join in the same. There were often questions in which he was not at one with the leading members of the Association, but in such cases he subordinated his convictions to those of the latter, and allowed them to have their own way rather than create a schism. Thus he led a party which he did not strictly represent, but in this respect he was not in a worse predicament than his great prototypes of England, Gladstone and Disraeli, who respectively lead the Liberals and the Conservatives. He represented, in fact, family influence and personal prestige rather than strong political convictions.

In religion, the views of the Rajah Radhakant Deb may be best described by saying he was a consistent and orthodox Hindu. Like several other enlightened men of other enlightened times, he clung to the creed in which he had been cradled. But it was a creed not calculated to make human nature richer and higher, but poorer and smaller than it is originally constituted. He did not out-grow the prejudices of the nursery.

The superstitious element which had been mild in his father, Rajah Gopeemohun, and torpid in his uncle, Rajah Rajkissen, assumed in him an aggressive development. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that his attachment to the antiquated customs and usages of his country, was as devoted as his advocacy of educational measures was zealous. In him, the argument had a strong hold that what has lasted a long time must be right, and was intended to last. The reverence for existing usages which is strong in human nature was stronger in Radhakant Deb. His belief in the wisdom of his ancestors was unlimited. Thus impressed, he proved during the latter end of his life an anachronism. He witnessed the beginning of a new age. More than half a century had passed, since he was the pet of his grand-father, Maharajah Nobokrishna. A new world

had come into being. The places he frequented, the schools and colleges he visited, the public meetings he attended, were filled with men, compared with whom, the contemporaries of Nobokrishna and Gopeemohun might be denominated barbarous, men of new ideas and new feelings, men who had been trained in our educational institutions, and whose character had been moulded by English education, by intercourse with Englishmen, by wealth, by commerce, and by trade. Was it possible that the Bengal of Moonshee Nobokrishna could be revived in the midst of the intellectual civilization and Europeanization of the present age? But this impossibility does not seem to have occurred to Radhakant Deb. He could not accept or realize the revolution that was going on around him. He was surprised and grieved to find customs and institutions, which had been consecrated by immemorial usage, subjected to a strict scrutiny, and Hinduism itself summoned to the bar of reason. He was scandalised to see liberties in thought and action assumed in broad day-light, which would have been condemned by his father and grandfather as pestilential heterodoxy.

Though naturally a humane man, his humanity was cramped by a mistaken prejudice for the institution of *Suttee*. When Lord William Bentinck passed his celebrated edict for the abolition of that revolting rite, Radhakant Deb moved the *Dhurma Shobha* to petition Her Majesty's Government at Home for the repeal of the same. Rammohun Roy was in England when the petition reached its destination, and had the gratification to see its prayer rejected. When the *Lex Loci* was passed by the Legislature of India, Radhakant Deb not only failed to appreciate the great principle affirmed and recognised by it, but denounced it as an infringement of the rights of the Hindus. Great was his astonishment, greater still his indignation, when on examining the provisions of the law, he found that native Christian converts, always his *bete noir*, were entitled to succeed to their inheritance when their fathers died intestate. He went up to Her Majesty's Government for its abrogation. Happily for the interests of humanity, the petition shared the same fate as the *Suttee* petition. Again, in 1856, the Association of Friends for the Promotion of Social Improvement submitted to the Legislative Council a well-reasoned petition for the enactment of a law for the suppression of the evils of polygamy, Radhakant Deb thought it proper to head a counter-movement, and get up a counter-petition. When he took action in these matters, he no doubt believed that he was acting according to the dictates of his own conscience, but was in reality exercising a retrogressive influence on society. *

At the first blush of the matter, it seems hard and scarcely fair, that Radhakant Deb should be judged as we have judged him. There are those who are dazzled by the glamour of greatness, and are unable to find any errors associated with it. They regard such errors but as accidents. We believe, however, that the most faithful painter is he who represents the imperfections, as well as the perfections of his subject. What we have said, we have said in the interests of truth and principle.

We freely admit that Radhakant Deb acted according to the light that was in him. We are, moreover, inclined to believe that he excelled the system of religion in which he had been brought up, as so many of the votaries of better and purer systems fall short of them. He was a man of intense earnestness, of strong convictions, and of undoubting faith, but he lacked breadth of views and latitudinarianism of principle. He also lacked that bold spirit and penetrating genius, which inspired a Ramanund and Rammohun Roy, and which lifted them out of the mass of men, whose belief is regulated by the geography of their country, and the prejudices of their nursery. We conceive that narrow and superstitious views and dogmas are often incompatible with a progressive civilization, and we have seen how the views and dogmas of Radhakant Deb marred his usefulness and interfered with the formation of a healthy public opinion. As the Coryphæus of Hinduism, his position was necessarily that of a patron of error. The circle in which he moved, and of which he was the centre, strove to ostracise enlightened men, and to strangle reformatory measures. His religious drill-sergeant Baboo Abinash Gangooly, exceeded his chief in the severity of his persecution of heterodoxy, and compelled him to war with heretics against his better judgment.

But in justice to Radhakant Deb, we are bound to declare in favour of the active religion of his life. The suavity of his disposition, and the nobility of his heart, endeared him to all with whom he was brought into intimate and familiar contact. His purse was always open to the calls of distress. He was not only a literary man, but a patron of literature. He delighted to assist that class of pandits who are seldom in easy circumstances, and whose normal condition may be described to be one of impecuniosity. One of the last acts of his active life, was a graceful donation to a foreign scholar. Dr. S. Schutz of Germany having applied through Dr. Roer to Radhakant Deb for the sum of £40 to £50 in order to enable him to keep his Sanskrit library, the Rajah cheerfully forwarded him

bank notes for rupees four hundred. The acknowledgment of the recipient is dated Bidefield, October, the 21st, 1857, and thus concludes:—"May Heaven protect you and grant you health and happiness; may the great Author of the world give me an opportunity of proving that I am not unworthy of your kindness."

The biography of Rajah Radhakant Deb may be summed up in the words—"He went on cultivating and disseminating knowledge." Among the opulent and highly-placed Hindu gentlemen of Bengal, he was one of the first to set the example of a life devoted to study. The very plan of his life was quite different from that of those surrounding him. He had no personal prospects to promote, no officials to Kowtow, and no *sahiblogues* to conciliate. In striving and wrestling in the fight of life, he did not seek a foremost place, but a foremost place was accorded to him. Though Hindu society has entered into a new phase for which new leaders are required, yet we shall be glad to see it under the pilotage of men, endowed with his earnestness of purpose and singleness of heart, and deep conscientiousness, but saturated by the enlightened spirit of the present age.

ART. IV.—*Notes of a Trip abroad, with details, of a six days walk in Switzerland, in May, 1866.* By an Old Bengalee.

WHEN a man on the shady side of fifty, finds himself for the first time desirous of rushing into print, he should have something like a good excuse to the public and to himself. The excuse of the writer of these notes, who is known to his friends under the designation of Colonel Samivel, is, that having, also for, the first time, enjoyed the pleasure of a brief holiday in Switzerland, and been enabled quite by accident to make what, he hopes, will be deemed good use of his chance, after having felt the want of knowing a little of the country before starting, he is induced to think that even the few hints he can now give, may be found interesting and useful to intending tourists, to the extent at least of pointing out how a small section of that grand country can be travelled over, to good, if not to the best, advantage. And if this hope is realized by a few tourists, with even a small portion of the pleasure derived by himself from first making and now recording his six days' walk, he trusts the requisite excuse will be deemed fairly given.

During the last thirty-six years Colonel Samivel has travelled much, often amongst those Himalayan mountains which in elevation greatly exceed Mont Blanc, and certainly cannot fall short of that or any mountain in Europe for grandeur or sublime desolation. But the little he saw of Switzerland satisfied him, that a man must be difficult to please who is not charmed with what he can see and do there. And if the Alps do lack the grandly majestic backing of mountains rising to an elevation of 28,000 feet, with many varying from 22,000 feet up to that limit, they have the great charm and comfort of civilization in the valleys close at hand, with a happy and prosperous people, smiling villages, orchards, and vineyards, and good creature comforts nearly everywhere available, which are so much wanted and missed in the Himalayas.

Indeed, the only point of decided lack of interest in the Alps, is in the almost total absence of animal life, which

appears very remarkable. Such a tour as Colonel Samivel describes could not, he says, be made in the Himalayas at any season of the year, without the traveller seeing many varieties of pheasants, deer, black and probably red bears, wild goats and sheep, including the huge *ovis ammon*, and perhaps the wild yak and wild horse among the highest limits of his journey; nor could he well fail, if a sportsman, to have many chances of a good shot without even leaving his road or path. But in the Alps, our Colonel records, hardly one wild animal is to be met, and only a very few small birds. There are marmots on the higher ranges, and a stray fox may be seen (he did see one at Grindelwald, also a brace of grouse), but there is a very disadvantageous comparison in this respect between the Alps and the Himalayas, and it formed the only drawback in his estimation to the full enjoyment of travel in the Alps.*

Colonel Samivel left London on the 1st May, had a very rough passage from Dover to Calais, and nearly all the passengers suffered to an extent that made him think how dear travelling must be to them, when it must be approached and left through such a dismal portal as even two hours of the misery he witnessed! But warm soup, and a good lunch at Calais soon brightened up even the most disconsolate of his fellow-passengers, and all their troubles were forgotten before the next morning.

Calais Brussels, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne and its wonderful Church of St. Ursula, also the fine old Roman archway leading to the now being modernized and repaired townhall, both deserving more notice than they usually receive, Ems, with its beauties of nature, and moral deformity in the shape of a gorgeous "Coursal" or gaming-house, and Wiesbaden, where nature is almost as lavish of her beauties, while the drawback is even more gorgeous and ruin-insisting,—too often ruin entailing no doubt,—all these are well known, and in their way deservedly admired. Our author would, however, say a word in favour of Bonn, where the flowers were so beautiful, and the nightingales were singing day and night in such numbers, and with such a glorious variety of harmony, that he could have lingered there for weeks, instead of for the brief two days happily enjoyed with a kind friend.

From Wiesbaden Colonel S. went to Heidelberg, with its grand old castle and fine collection of relics, pictures, *icé*, and the beautiful panorama of river, town, and opposite hill-side spread

* Colonel Samivel was unfortunate. The Austrian, Bavarian and Noric ranges abound in chamois and other game. *Ed. C. R.*

out in full view, most enjoyable, and worth a longer visit than he could afford.

Thence to Lucerne, with its beautiful blue lake in front, and Righi and Pilatus to left and right, all very enticing, though doubtless more so in fine weather than during the rain and gloom he encountered. But the trip down the lake to Fluelen on a stormy day, brought out the grand masses of mountain which shut in the lake, in perhaps their greatest beauty, and he states that he rarely enjoyed anything more than this day's steamer travel, with the short walk to quaint Altorf where Tell is said to have shot his famed arrow, but which travellers are now beginning to look upon as quite an old woman's story.

From Lucerne he proceeded by steamer to Alpnach Gisted (about one hour) ; and thence by diligence to Brienz, passing the small lakes Sarnen and Lungen, and over the Brünig, was a beautiful trip, somewhat marred by high wind and snow on the Brünig, the snow turning to heavy rain as he neared Brienz, and spoiling much of the pleasure of the steamer run to Interlaken.

From Interlaken, where the walnut trees are of great size, flowers pretty, and the view of the Jungfrau most glorious from the hotel windows, he took a drive with a friend to see Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald. The scenery up the Lauterbrunnen glen is very grand. The famed Staubbach water-fall, 925 feet in height, rather disappointed our traveller, and it certainly looks better from a little distance than from close under, where the volume of water appears smaller than it really is, but from a distance, the apparent ascending of part, while the main body is falling, caused, by the foamy particles falling slower than the body of water, is curious and interesting. Returning a few miles down the Lauterbrunnen glen, he turned eastward up the Grindelwald glen, which though less grand and wild was very fine, numerous large cherry and apple trees being in full flower along the lower parts of the valley, as indeed, everywhere during the merry month of May in Switzerland, and many of the trees much larger than they are accustomed to in England. He reached Grindelwald after 4½ hours of leisurely carriage travel and loitering about, and the fine cultivated valley with the grand Eiger mountain rising up snow-clad boldly on the south side, its glacier descending quite to the valley, was indeed a fine sight. The glacier is about one mile from the village, and Colonel S. was soon induced by his guide to walk across and see it. A feeder of the black Lütchine River comes from the mouth of the glacier, an arched opening of blue ice, about sixty feet wide and twelve feet high, dripping clear water under the warm sun-shine. On one side men were busily

employed quarrying out the clear blue ice, looking exactly like a marble quarry, for dispatch, to the Paris Exhibition of 1867! He had passed many long narrow carts, drawn by one horse or bullock, laden with the ice, thinly covered with coarse cloth or blankets, and it had struck him that the waste in transit must be every great.

A guide soon induced Colonel S. to think that a walk over the grand Scheideck pass, to Reisenbach near Meyringen, would be easy and agreeable, and his description so reminded me of pleasant wanderings in the snow in former days, that he at once decided on making the trip next day.

The friend with whom Colonel Samivel had till then travelled returned in the carriage to Interlaken, and he himself to sleep at the Hotel du Glacier, and make an early start next morning. He had no change of clothes, nor any suitable boots for walking, but he believed there could be no great difficulties before him. He had the pleasure of seeing three fine avalanches fall from the upper part of the grand Eiger mass, while sitting at dinner in the hotel, and he went early to bed in hopes of a fine morning and early start. We propose now to make some extracts from Colonel Samivel's journal, allowing him to speak in the first person.

17th May.—I was up at 3-15 A. M., and ready by 3-30, the morning very fine, a cookoo calling and a small bird singing merrily, even at this early hour, while the cold grey masses of snow across the valley appeared very grand.

After waiting a long while for the guide, I sent a man to his house, fearing he might have changed his mind, and that I should lose my walk. He came about 4 A.M., looking very unhappy, and said that his wife had been taken dangerously ill during the night, and was yet so. He had not been in bed, as was evident from his looks, but his elder brother who was one of the best guides in the province would accompany me on the terms settled, *viz.*, twelve francs, including drink-money, and everything, with option to me to give more or not. I liked the appearance of the new guide, and though his speaking only French and German was a difficulty, considering that I knew no German and only the little French learned at school nearly forty years before, I agreed to start: some bread, hard boiled eggs, and a flask of brandy had been made ready overnight, and we started at 4-10 A.M. I would here say that for travellers who wish to be conveniently near the snow and glaciers, and to tramp a little upon them without trouble or inconvenience, I have seen no place more likely to suit, for a few days' visit, than Grindelwald, which in many respects

is a most inviting spot: and the hotel accommodation is good.

I had not provided myself with a compass, so can only say that our route over the grand Scheideck was in a tolerably north-east direction, while the bearings of peaks or ranges noted by me must be taken as guess work. A compass is I think essentially necessary for pleasure, and may prove so for safety in snow travelling, and as I had formerly always used one, I should have been provided in this instance, but that my walk was quite unexpected. Our route lay up the valley, gradually ascending, the sunrise lighting up peak after peak to the south until all was one blaze of light, and the guide assured me that a more perfect day for our trip could not have been found. At 5-25 A.M., we were opposite the upper glacier, a quantity of confusedly heaped together blue ice, with some grand overhanging masses of snow here and there, that would descend in fine avalanches, perhaps during the day, certainly in a few days, under the warm sun-shine now likely to prevail.

At 6 A. M., we reached the first snow on the west slope of the grand Scheideck, with some grand precipices of the north face of the Wetterhorn, just across a narrow valley to our right, rising perpendicularly, or often overhanging, to an elevation of, I think, fully 2,000 feet; and beyond, the pure snow of the main peak glistened under the sun-shine as if studded with millions of diamonds. The snow we walked over was almost equally brilliant, and on putting a small diamond ring into it, the stone appeared to twinkle and blaze just the same, certainly not more brilliantly. The occasional rills of water we passed were coated with pure ice from last night's frost, and the snow was crisp and firm, seldom giving way under the foot. This firmness in the early morning is a great comfort, and any one who knows the difference between walking over a firm surface or sinking in thigh-deep, if a few hours later, will appreciate the advantage of early rising for snow travel. Occasional bird tracks in the snow, some of rather large size, were the only signs of life we saw, though a few deserted huts, now half-buried in the snow, showed how different would be the scene as summer advanced, and the herds of cattle were moved up to the young herbage, when all below in the valley would be parched up.

At one part of the easy ascent we had a fine view of the main peak of the grand Eiger mountain, 12,240 feet, behind the smaller peak seen from Grindelwald: and away, to our left was the fine mass of the Faulhorn, with its two hotels seemingly half-buried in snow, how different to what they

would be in a few weeks when full of eager and happy tourists!

The whole ascent to the summit of the grand Scheideck was easy, over broad masses of snow, a few pine trees here and there; and at 7.15 A.M., we sat down to breakfast on the snow-covered roof of the stable of the hotel, now deserted and heavily drifted round with snow. The view around was very grand, including all seen from Grindelwald and some fine distant masses of snow to the north-east, while close across to our right, the steep rocky precipices of the Wetterhorn rose grandly up.

After resting half an hour, my only drawback being cold feet from having now and then sunk knee-deep in the snow, we started for Reisenbach, over fine snow beds, with patches of pine forest as we descended, the trees beautifully fringed with icicles and long moss. By degrees we came upon bare patches of ground, covered with small, blue, and white crocuses, which with other pretty flowers, the deep blue gentian included, seem to spring up immediately the snow disappears.

My guide was intelligent and obliging, and I was very agreeably surprised to find how much I could understand his French, after persuading him to speak slowly and clearly. In fact I never after had any trouble, and as we talked nearly the whole day (and afterwards during our six days' trip). I must have learned more French at school, and in a little subsequent very desultory reading, than I ever had an idea of, which may be a comfort to other travellers, who at first think, as I really did, that speaking or understanding French was out of the question.

At 9-10 A.M., we left the snow, save occasional patches here and there, and I halted to rest at a small chalet, with a fine snow and precipice view, all across to right, including the peaked crags Engelshorner, and the grand Wetterhorn heavily snow-clad above and below, with a belt as it were of huge crags along the middle height.

I had a good glass with me, and could see some immense overhanging masses of snow that must soon topple over. In fact I waited long in hopes of seeing a good avalanche, and I had just noted "none will oblige us," and risen to move onwards, when a grand mass came thundering down, the finely pulverized snow rising again in a high mist-like cloud, and then all settling gradually and silently. It was a fine sight, and though avalanches have long ago lost the charm of novelty for me, I know nothing in nature more calculated to excite a keen and most pleasurable sense of awe mingled with

admiration, nor anything I would more gladly witness again and again; in which opinion I believe most Alpine travellers will agree.

At 10-15, we passed for about 500 feet over the débris of a huge avalanche, which, when it first fell, must have blocked up the valley. Now it was a dirty mass of stone, gravel, and broken and uprooted trees, but conveying powerfully to the mind the idea of what vast masses of snow must accumulate during winter on the steep mountain sides, and the devastation they must cause when the inevitable toppling over is brought about by the return of spring and warmth.

These débris were only a few hundred yards above the Rosenläui Hotel, pleasantly situated in a narrow valley with the fine Engels horn. peaks eastward, and the glacier coming down just opposite between the Wellhorn and Rosenhorn masses of snow. I did not visit the glacier, being anxious to keep tryste with my friend, who had promised to meet me at Reisenbach at 1 p.m., or to send out a searching party, if, as he rather expected, I should be lost in the snow! But the glacier may easily be visited during a day's walk across from Grindelwald, or, if time and money admit, a few days might be very pleasantly passed at the Rosenläui Hotel, which seems large and comfortable. It had been opened a few days before for the season, and I enjoyed a good cup of coffee, as the guide pleaded headache and wanted one.

From Rosenläui the descent is moderate through fine pine forest and along the banks of a stream, with varying and grand views of the snow and peaks across to right.

At noon we passed a fine water-fall, the Seileebach, coming over some fine cliffs across the ravine to the left. This is nearly or quite as good as the Staubbach at Lauterbrunnen, but it ceases occasionally in summer.

A bad road and steep descent brought us to the Reisenbach fall at 12-20, when a turn in the road opens out a fine view of the main fall, about 100 yards to the left. This is not so high as the Staubbach, but it has a much larger volume of water coming over a grand amphitheatre of rock, and is altogether a much finer object. From a knoll below, the escape is seen through a fine rocky gorge, and, with the sun behind to left as I had it, a beautiful rainbow is visible spanning the gorge. There are several lower falls of less height and grandeur in the downward course of the water, till it meets the Meyringen valley, and, on the opposite hills to right, north-east, at about three miles' distance, two other fine falls are visible from the knoll.

I reached the Reisenbach Hotel after a further short but steep descent at 12-45, much pleased with my trip, and little, if at all tired, though I had made it without any preliminary walking exercise. Indeed, the grand Scheideck is, for a pass, singularly easy. Most ladies could walk it, with only the precaution of an early start to avoid the inconvenience of sinking deep into the snow, and there is very much of grand and beautiful scenery to repay the attempt. I was rather early in the season, and indeed the first to pass from Grindelwald, but two young women had crossed with a guide from Meyringen a few days before, and as they started late in the morning they had to tramp waist-deep, crinolines and all, through a long distance of heavy and soft snow. In the season the pass can be and is ridden over easily, but then most of the snow I had the pleasure of seeing, and probably, all I had the pleasure of walking over, would disappear in a few weeks, and whether for grandeur of scenery, beauty of forest-foliage, or avoidance of the summer heat of the vallies, (and they are hot almost beyond walking endurance even in the end of May), I cannot too strongly urge the advantage of spring over summer travelling in Switzerland. Nay, I am persuaded that all who see the country only during summer or autumn, have but a poor and incomplete idea of its wonderful beauties earlier in the year, and any one who has tried and enjoyed summer travel will, I am sure, if he only faces a little hotel discomfort in May (when painting and preparations are in vogue), admit the great additional enjoyment to be derived from an earlier ramble.

My friend had not arrived at Reisenbach, and to this chance I probably owed the "six days' walk" hereafter to be described. My guide, named Furor of Grindelwald, had during the latter part of our walk told me—as perhaps he would have told any one—that he found I walked well and gave him no trouble, and that if I liked he would take me a longer round over finer scenery, and with the least possible trouble and expense. I was so delighted with the morning's walk, that his proposal rather pleased me, but I was unable to speak French sufficiently to arrange preliminaries, and therefore I said it could not be thought of, unless we had some one who spoke English to settle everything.

"Oh! the landlord at Reisenbach spoke English well and 'knew him also.'" When, therefore, I found my friend had not reached the hotel, I ordered a bottle of wine, and after a glass all round to break the ice, I propounded the guide's offer to the landlord. He at once produced a fine relief map of the country, and in half an hour we settled pleasantly that the guide was

to meet me at Sion on the evening of 21st May, and accompany me to Brieg, the glaciers of the Rhone, over the Grimsel pass to Reisenbach, thence, to Kanderstig, over the Gemmi pass, and down to Loik. There we were to part, I for Sion, and the guide back to Grindelwald. His pay was to be six francs a day, all expenses included, and as it would take him two days to reach Sion, and two more to return home from Loik, while our walk would occupy five days, I was to pay in all fifty-four francs for nine days.

No drink-money nor any extra was to be demanded, and I might extend the trip for a few days longer if I wished, paying six francs for each additional day. All this was clearly understood, and I gave the guide a paper specifying it, telling him that if alive and well on the 21st May, I certainly would meet him at Sion; and so for the present we parted.

It being nearly 2 P.M., and the last steamer leaving Brienz for Interlaken at 4½ P.M., I started to walk the nine miles; but when about half way I met my friend in a carriage with some ladies, and turned back with them to the hotel. Thence I accompanied the ladies to the upper Reisenbach falls, which were greatly admired, and we drove back to Interlaken through Brienz and along the west bank of the lake, rather too long a drive with a slow pair of horses, arriving at 8½ P.M. for dinner, which all had fondly hoped for at 6 P.M.

On the 18th May, we left Interlaken by the steamer down the beautiful lake of Thun, scenery at first wild, with snow-clad mountains chiefly along the south side, but gradually becoming softer and very pretty.

The steamer touched at Spiez on the south bank, a very lovely spot (which I was afterwards to see again, though at the time I did not know it), and at Oberhausen on the right bank, a lovely spot with neat houses, vineyards, and wood in the background, and some pretty chalets and a fine residence further on. We reached Thun in 1½ hours of pleasant and fast steaming over the deep blue lake, and thought we had seen few prettier spots. Off by railway through fine English-looking scenery, very soothing to the feelings after the wild scenery of Lake Lucerne, the Brunig Pass, and my recent snow walk. We passed through Berne, a quaint and very interesting city, nearly surrounded by the river Aare which flows in a deep channel far below the houses. We had only time to walk down the main street, and admire its grotesque fountains and statues, fine houses with balconies cushioned with red cloth, and to take a hurried dinner, when inexorable time called us to the train for a rush through Freyburg, Lausanne, and all the fine country intervening, to Geneva.

The day was very fine, but this was far too hurried a run for pleasure, and the little I saw of Berne with a bare glimpse at Freyburg and one of its long spider web-like suspension bridges, made me regret very much not having arranged for at least one day at each place. Indeed, among the many pretty and pleasant spots in Switzerland, I think Thun, Berne, and Freyburg, likely to be very enjoyable halting places, where mountain scenery and travel are not particularly desired; but there is much also to be said for Lucerne, Brienz, Imhoff, Interlaken, and indeed many places in beautiful Switzerland, and he must be difficult to please who cannot suit his taste at one or other of them.

The first view of the lake of Geneva, after emerging from a tunnel near Lausanne, is very fine, a grand sheet of deep blue water at the foot of a vine-clad slope to the left, and beyond and across it some fine snow-clad mountains. Further on, a fine but distant snow view opens out to the south-east, but generally the banks are low and uninteresting, after the lakes of Lucerne and Brienz, and it would be desirable, where a choice of routes exists, to see these after instead of before Geneva. We had a grand view of Mont Blanc, lighted up in sunshine long after the country all round was in twilight, and this somewhat repaid us for having rattled so fast through so much fine country during a long day's travel.

Geneva appears a fine city, the houses lofty and good in the main streets, which are very broad and cleanly with a fine broad bridge of eight segmental iron arches over the Rhone, as it leaves the lake and several other bridges lower down. But I saw too little of the place to attempt any description, and, after providing myself with a pocket compass, I said good-bye to my friend, and started at 2 P. M. on the 20th May in the steamer for Bouveret at the head of the lake. The day was very fine, and the steamer crowded, as were also others, to a degree I thought only Thames' steamers could exhibit. Most of the passengers, however, left at the first or second stopping places, for their Sunday afternoon's outing, and there were but few remaining when we reached Bouveret at 7-35 P.M. after a most enjoyable afternoon's trip. The steamer kept along the south-east side of the lake until 5-13 P.M. touching at various places, the banks generally low and studded with neat chalets, houses, villages, and extensive vineyards, all indicating a large and thriving population.

The mountains in the distance, chiefly on the west side, were capped with fast vanishing snow, and the general view, with the deep blue water, and occasionally broad latine sail-boats

creeping along, was very pleasing. At 5-13 P.M., the steamer crossed in a slant to Ouchy below Lausanne, and I judged the lake to be about eight miles wide here—time of crossing forty minutes. Lausanne is finely situated on a gently sloping hill-side, protected to the north by its crest; the cathedral, with open fretted tower and gilded spire, is a fine object, and the houses and environs appear very neat. From Lausanne the lake turns a little south of east, and we steamed along the north bank, with a fine view of the east end of the lake shut in by snow-clad mountains; while, looking back, the lake appeared quite a sea, with dim mountains far away to the west. Two lines of railway, from Berne on the higher and from Bouveret on the lower level, spanned here and there by fine viaducts, are visible for some distance. We passed Cuil or Cully, a quaint place with some gigantic poplar trees and Vevay, a very pretty and quiet-looking town; then crossed, having a distant view of Chillon, which, however interesting from a nearer point, or from the land-side, certainly is most barn-looking and disenchanting of one's boyish Byronic ideas when seen from a distance; and landed, as I have said, at Bouveret at 7-35 P.M., the sun setting tamely over the low distant hills, but leaving a rich orange tint on their summits.

I lost a little temper and one franc at the railway office in exchange for my ticket to Martigny, and this instance with one other to be mentioned hereafter, was the only occasion where I met with incivility during my trip. Indeed, I gladly do the people the justice to say, that I experienced much civility and often kindness during my wanderings; and I think no traveller need anticipate otherwise, if his wants are not too exacting, and if he practises the indispensable courtesy of touching or taking off his hat when entering a shop or addressing people, without which he will often be coldly looked upon; and perhaps curtly answered. I left Bouveret by railway at 8 P.M.; the line passes up the valley of the Rhone (not often seen) varying in breadth and richness, but with frequent villages, orchards, &c., and fine hills with forest, crag, and snow on either side. At St. Maurice, the third station, the Lausanne and Villeneuve line comes in, the Bouveret line passes through a fine tunnel to reach St. Maurice, and immediately opposite, to the west, is a grand mass of precipice and some wild scenery, which I regretted not having time and day-light to enjoy. In advance we passed two more stations, some grand scenery, and two or three good water-falls, reaching Martigny at 9-35 P.M., where I found comfortable accommodation in the Bellevue Hotel close to the station.

21st May.—I rose early, glorious weather and air crisp and keen. Martigny is in an open valley on the left bank of the Rhone, surrounded by mountains. The town is about half a mile from the station, at foot of the ascent leading south-west to Chamounix, easy so far as visible, but soon shut out by a rocky snow-clad mass. Above the town to the east is a fine snow-clad mountain, a little snow also to the west, but all rapidly disappearing under the now warm sunshine. Between the town and the river is an old castle, on a rock low down on the craggy hill-side, and the view from its summit eastwards is very fine—mountains, valley, and river.

After breakfast I walked to see the famed gorge, du Trient, and the Pisswache water-fall, under the guidance of an intelligent lad, the son of my landlord. The high road to Bouveret runs along parallel with the railway, and the gorge and water-fall are most easily reached by going back to or halting at the Vernayez station, about three miles short of Martigny. I however enjoyed a pleasant walk, passing the gorge to the water-fall, about three quarters a mile. The fall is a good volume of water about 120 feet high, backed by a pine-clad ridge, but to my taste not very much worth seeing. There are steps and rough stages at different points of view, and, in fact, all sorts of arrangements for extracting half francs from tourists, who during the season must do everything, here and elsewhere, under guidance. The season, however, had barely opened, and I found my way up the unfinished steps, on to a rickety stage (all being put in order), and if provided with well-nailed boots and a macintosh, should probably have tried to pass behind the water-fall, on a ledge of rock about half way up, which I understood was to be made passable this year. But in returning the guide waylaid me, as he brought up, perhaps, the first party of tourists, and I had to pay my half franc or rather the half of that—as I pleaded no guidance and stages not ready—for the “road-makers.”

The view up the fall from near the level of the rocky basin below is fine, and the volume of water as seen thence, appears much larger than from the road about 200 yards distant, in fact I think all water-falls should be seen from a near point of view, though, where much lost in spray, as at the Staubbach, that may not always show them at their best.

I now walked back to the gorge du Trient, through which the small river Trient comes down to join the Rhone. The entrance is through the keeper's house, where a fee of one franc must be paid; and, considering the expense of constructing and keeping up the foot-path or gallery, this charge is

moderate. The gorge is a grand and rather winding passage from a few feet to, perhaps, about 100 feet in width, between two huge masses of rock from 600 to 1,000 feet in height, very steep and fairly describable as perpendicular where not overhanging. It is said to be three quarters of a mile in length, though I judged it much less, say half a mile, and for most of the length the sun has never shone into this dark chasm, or upon the opaque blue water of the river. A few ferns and grasses, with here and there a young tree, contrive to flourish in the crevices or upon ledges of the rock, and the river rushes below, varying in width from about forty feet to sixty feet, where the gorge is narrowest. At one part there is a good sized half dome-shaped cavern, which is called the church. The pathway is a wooden stage, from two to five feet wide, supported by iron wire stays from stout iron bars or props let into the sides of the rock, with a substantial railing of good three feet in height along the outer edge, so that accidents can hardly occur by any possibility, and it crosses from side to side of the gorge, according as the rock affords the best facilities for its construction, nearly level the whole distance, and generally about twenty to thirty feet above the river. At the upper end, the steep rocky sides cease, and the river is seen for a short distance coming down a fine rocky ravine, which I fancied would be pleasant to explore with an idle day at command. The general direction of the gorge is about south-west, and its gloomy grandeur cannot, I think, fail to excite most pleasurable sensations of mingled awe and delight, in any traveller who has the good fortune (for such I consider it) to visit this remarkable spot. I left it with regret and walked leisurely back to the old castle near Martigny, where I enjoyed the fine view this eminence gives. Thence I returned through the town, crossing the Dranze River by a heavy covered wooden bridge, to the hotel. In passing I observed a large collection of fine mules—all saddled and bridled—and on enquiry I was told they were being examined by Government officials, preparatory to opening the season for travellers. All the mules were in excellent condition, many of them over fourteen hands in height, and the examination appeared to be very carefully made. No animal is passed unless really good and serviceable, and none are allowed to be hired out to travellers without a certificate. In fact, all possible care appears to be taken to prevent accidents to travellers, and I could not help wishing that some such arrangements were possible at our English watering places, where the unfortunate hacks are too often neither pleasant to look at, nor safe to ride.

I was told that about 200 mules were employed for the Martigny and Chamounix traffic, and this gives an idea of the great number of tourists during the season, some of whom at any rate must walk rather than pay the high charges demanded for a mule—I think twelve francs a day.

I left Martigny by railway at 8-10 P.M., very much pleased with my day's excursion. The line continues up the valley of the Rhone, which varies much in width and soil; often marshy where widest, but with many thriving villages and much good cultivation. The hills on either side are well wooded, often torn by avalanches, especially on the south side which I chiefly looked at, and in parts cultivated some distance up the sides. Large villages, occasionally high up, and the whole scene reminded me of many similar valleys I had traversed in the Himalayas. After stopping at four stations the train reached Sion at 4 P.M., and I proceeded to the Hotel Lion d'or, about three quarters of a mile from the station, my appointed rendezvous with the guide. The day was a *fête* day, and there were many church goers and holiday makers, both at Martigny and Sion, and the frequent sound of church-bells from early morning was very pleasing. The bells have a silvery note much softer than our English bells, and their ringers have, or, at least I thought they had, a pleasing variety of chimes unknown in our land. The railway ends for the present at Sion, though it has been partly constructed in advance towards Brieg. The unfinished and weed-grown works in continuation up the valley of the Rhone, looked sadly indicative of want of funds, which however will, no doubt, be forthcoming in time, as the link between Sion and Brieg, is alone wanting to complete railway communication between France and Italy by way of the Simplon, or at least to the north base of the Simplon.

My guide had not arrived, so I walked out to look at the town, a good sized but not apparently very cleanly one, capital of the Canton Valais. The main street runs nearly north and south, snow-capped hills visible in the distance at either end, the lower hills to north terraced for vineyards, many pretty flowers were in profusion in the gardens—roses in full bloom, the hedges white with may—birds were singing in the orchards as I got to the outskirts north, and all indeed was very beautiful. A small river, the Sionne, doubtless heavy in floods, runs covered over under the main street, and there is a fine ridge of rock north of the town, crowned by an old ruined castle at one end, and by another, now a seminary for priests, at the lower or south end. This ridge, though very picturesque to look at, must render the town very hot in

summer, and indeed the advanced state of vegetation tells plainly that it must be so. I walked about two miles along the Loik road for the chance of meeting the guide; the road very dusty, and trees and hedges sadly powdered by it, and I then turned back along the unfinished railway close on the right bank of the Rhone (here a good sized stream of an opaque green colour, rushing smoothly but swiftly westwards), to the station again; looked at the four arched wooden bridge over the river, with its crucifix over the centre, and at a small roadside chapel near, with a large but gaudy altar-picture of the Virgin, and then back to Lion d'or, through some of the by-streets of the town, after a very pleasant ramble.

No guide up to 6-30 P.M., so I went out to see the rest of the town, but in passing the cathedral I heard a loud voice, went inside the porch, and for half an hour or more listened to an eloquent extempore sermon in French, the preacher very fluent and gracefully energetic, but dwelling solely, as it appeared to me, on the merits and all-powerful intercession of the Virgin. The congregation was large and very attentive, but I was surprised how frequently people were coming in, up to even the close of the sermon, until I discovered that a fine anthem, with much beautiful singing and organ music, was to succeed it. The careless laughing manner in which parties of young women came in, one dipping her fingers into the Holy Water, and its essence being conveyed to the others by touching the finger tips, rather astonished me, but I suppose it is the custom, and gone through as such. On leaving the cathedral, my impression was that the Roman Catholic system of religion has a very stronghold upon the feelings of its votaries; and that, with much of detail a Protestant cannot admire, it can neither be superseded nor substantially improved and simplified by any human agency. The cathedral is very elaborately ornamented, with several fine altars and modern stained glass-windows. Some of the paintings appear good, but the general effect here, as in every Roman Catholic church I have seen, is to my taste far too gaudy for the solemnity of God's House, and a happy medium between the Roman Catholic and Protestant styles of internal adornment, would probably be an improvement on both systems, though like most "happy mediums" hardly likely to be attained! On returning to the hotel soon after 8 P.M., I was glad to find the guide had arrived, after two long days' walk from Reisenbach where he had remained. Our preliminaries were soon arranged, one change of linen, with a hair-brush, comb, and tooth-brush, and a mackintosh coat, put up

for me in a small hand-bag, which the guide would carry in addition to his own light bag, were to suffice for my wants ; and the guide left with a promise of calling me at 4 A.M. My other luggage was left in charge of the kindly hostess, and I went early to bed in hopes of sound rest for the morrow's long walk, though like most much wished for things it did not come, and some people in the next house kept me long awake, merry-making, as it seemed to me, nearly all night.

I may premise by saying that very much of my route could be ridden or driven over, and in fact substantially the whole of it a few weeks later in the season, so that neither my time of travelling daily nor my limits need concern those who prefer a conveyance or horseback to their own walking powers. But I hope and believe there are many, who, apart from economical considerations, have more pleasure in walking than in being carried, and as my short tour will be found, for the time allowed, fully as much as an ordinarily good pedestrian can accomplish without overdiscomfort or fatigue, I note some particulars for the information of this class, under the belief that they will be found both useful and fairly accurate. I make no deduction from the walking time for brief stoppages to write notes or admire the scenery, and allowing for these, I think our pace along the level or down hill would average nearly four miles an hour (as we always walked fast), and nearly three miles an hour up hill.

First day, *22nd May*.—From Sion to Brieg, up the valley of the Rhone, started at 4 A.M., arrived 6-30 P.M.

Walked	...	...	6 hours 20 minutes.
Rode ...	...	..	3 " 30 "
Halted	...	...	4 " 40 "

Total ... 14 hours 30 mins.

The guide called me in good time, and we were fairly off at 4 A.M.—the morning very fine and cool. After a slight ascent to clear Sion, we descended gradually to the valley by a good but dusty road : low hills and rocks to the left, higher and wooded hills across the river to the right, but always a fine snow view in advance and looking back, until the sun rose in our front and obscured every thing nearly. The valley often marshy, frogs croaking. At 5-45 A.M., we passed a wooden bridge, leading to the old castle, and white church of Granget on the other side. About Granget, and in advance up the valley, many small isolated plateaux were visible, evidently the remains of an elevated terrace long ago

cut through by the Rhone. Passed many vineyards, and some villages and orchards. Few people to be seen, but an occasional timber cart, drawn by bullocks or horses, creaked slowly past in the direction of Sion. At 6-15, on looking back, the castles on the Sion rock appeared finely prominent.

The frequency of stone and brushwood groins in the Rhone bed, all the way up to Oberwald where the valley commences, is remarkable. The labour in forming them, and in frequent renewals after floods, must be very great, and they give a painful idea of the insecurity to property, and often life, endured by the dwellers in this fine valley. Masses of stonework, that seem likely to withstand any pressure, are swept away like chaff during the occasional heavy floods of summer, caused by excessive melting of the snow in the hills, and, probably, aided by heavy rains, and the poor villagers must too often find all their labour of no avail, and Sisyphus-like find themselves compelled, for dear life and subsistence, to renew their toilsome efforts again and again. The whole system of the Rhone embankment and regulation is directed and aided by the State authorities, and it appeared to me as complete and well-managed as could be. But when the two facts are contrasted, of *first*, the people wishing to rescue and retain as much as possible of the valley-land for cultivation, and *second*, the mighty mass of flood-waters occasionally poured down by the river, which must have space for their headlong career, it is obvious that all human efforts must at times be useless, and so, in fact, they do periodically prove to the great injury of the people and their prospects.

I may here mention that I elsewhere noticed, as in the Lautenbrunnen Valley, high up on the Grimsel, and very low down in the deep and seemingly barren glen of the Schwartzbach, and in other places the most disproportionate amount of labour bestowed in reclaiming by stone and timber groins, walls, &c., very small spots of land. And these efforts speak loudly in favour of the patient and hopeful industry of the Swiss, which, indeed, is everywhere apparent, and without which they could not successfully support a large and prosperous community, under often very adverse natural conditions of soil and locality.

At 7 A.M., we reached Sierre, a small place with some tolerably good houses and two or more hotels. Halted for breakfast, and the landlord of the hotel appeared very unhappy, when I said in answer to his question for news, that war seemed inevitable; indeed everywhere the dislike to and dread of, war appeared excessive, and how it can have been brought about with such a general aversion on the part of the people, is melancholy to

reflect on. Many times I was told by landlords and others that war would nearly or quite ruin them, merely, I suppose, by stopping the influx of tourists' gold; and when to these minor misfortunes are added the extra taxation, the contributions, and the personal sufferings of thousands of poor honest people in the actual theatres of war, let kings and emperors reflect how great is their responsibility for entering upon war: and, what is perhaps more to the purpose, let us hope that the increasing good sense and intelligence of their subjects, will soon, under God's blessing, render war more and more difficult, until in time, I trust not long hence, it shall become impossible.

I started again at 8-5 A.M. after a good breakfast. How is it that *everywhere* abroad, the bread, butter, and coffee are so much better than are ordinarily procurable *anywhere* in England? Let adulterations and the want of the best parts of a paternal Government answer the question; and may the day come when some improvement on these points may be found possible in England, "the home of the free," but certainly not of the well-fed in these respects! At 8-25, the road crossed to left bank of the Rhone over an old three arched-wooden bridge, in much peril from the river which here winds about in a broad shingly bed. A large flock of sheep and goats was browsing along the banks, herded by two or three lads, just as I have so often seen in India.

The road then passed up over low-wooded knolls, fir trees, and barbery bushes, till, at 9-45, I sat down for a pipe opposite to the Lock Gorge, wild and deep, due north across the river, which was now a small rapid stream in a broad shingly bed. The village of Loik is large, about half a mile further east on a knoll above the right bank of river, and the road from the Gemmi Pass comes out here, two grand masses of rock being visible at the summit up the gorge.

A large collection of black huts, with their neat white church, seen far up the hill to east of the gorge, is Veldwald, and it looked exactly like a village in the Kumaon hills, as did many others seen during my walk, with only the essential difference of the neat church being as yet wanting in Kumaon.

I started again at 10-5, the sun very powerful, and in a few minutes passed a covered wooden bridge, one arch about 100 feet span leading to Loik. Grand masses of snow-capped precipices, part of the Gemmi, in the distance to north-west. At 10-30, passed the village of Susten, a good hotel affording a welcome glass of beer. The road gently ascends the valley, which becomes more open, Indian corn lately planted showing how hot the climate must be in summer to ripen such a crop.

At 11-45, we reached Tourteragne, and I decided on dining at the Hotel de la Poste at 2 p.m., as though not tired, my feet were very hot and swollen from the misfortune of having only a pair of rather tight side-spring boots. Indeed, I may say that with a thick pair of walking boots, large enough to carry two pairs of stockings (as it is the concussion of the foot, and its want of room in long walking, that tires one far more than distance), I could, throughout my trip, have easily walked ten miles a day more, and with less discomfort or fatigue than I actually experienced, albeit that was not much except from the, at times, painful tightness of my boots.

I got a room at the hotel with a good tub of cold water, and, after splashing from head to foot, I felt quite refreshed, and lay down for a nap until dinner should be ready. I was just dropping off to sleep when the guide came in to say there was a return "carriage" to Brieg, and as he thought I might be tired by too long a walk at first, had he not better secure it for a small sum. I said no, that I had come to walk and to ride, and was not afraid of knocking up. Still he pressed me, said the driver only asked seven francs and would probably take five, and at last for the chance of an hour's sleep I said he might engage the carriage for three francs (hoping the driver would refuse), but that he was not to let me know the result until dinner was ready. I then addressed myself to sleep again, but alas! the guide came back in triumph to say the driver had refused to take three francs, had started off, and then returned and accepted the offer. This last interruption put an end to my hopes of sleep, so I got up in despair, and sauntered about till dinner was ready. After dinner, I went to see a water-fall about ten minutes' walk from the hotel, a good volume of water coming over an amphitheatre of rock about eighty feet high, fine enough in its way, but with no background from below, which is the only point of view. A rainbow was visible over the surface of the basin below, as we stood with the afternoon sun to our backs.

At 3 p.m., I was ready to start, and the "carriage" was brought out; a simple long narrow wagon with a seat slung across, and a board in front for the driver, the horse a wretched animal, the contrast between my vehicle and a huge four-horsed carriage, in which a party of travellers was just starting from the door, was ridiculous, and had I seen mine beforehand, I certainly would not have taken instead of paid three francs to be driven in it. However, the guide seemed pleased, and I afterwards fancied he wanted the lift after his long two days' walk over to Sion, so I mounted with him, and we jogged on at a better pace than I gave the old horse credit for, something between

a trot and a limp. The distance from Sion to Tourtemagne is twenty miles or more, and thence to Brieg a good fifteen miles, and as the afternoon was very hot, and the road very dusty, I was afterwards very glad to have taken the "carriage," especially considering what it led me to think of and manage: the valley on to Brieg was much as before described, varying from marsh to good cultivated land, with occasionally a little birch wood. We passed many villages, and not a few neat white-washed churches, the latter usually, if not always, of stone, while the village houses are of wood-massive, and often very picturesque. At 5 P.M., we reached Visp, a quaint old place, and crossed its river, coming to join the Rhone by a covered wooden bridge. Zermatt is a good day's march up the Visp Valley, due south, and some fine masses of snow were visible in that direction. The Fleighthorn, a fine cone of snow, with some other masses near it, was visible all day after the sun mounted a little, and seeming to bar our progress eastwards.

We reached Brieg at 6-30 P.M., passing through a fine and long avenue of poplars, and by a good sized college or school; all else looked poor. An hotel high up across the river to the north, seen just before we reached Brieg, called the Hotel of the Bel-Alps, and close to the grand Aletch glacier, must be a glorious place in summer.

I found good accommodation at the Hotel d'Angleterre, and though not much tired I felt sun and dust worn. Moreover, as I had, upon looking at the map at Geneva, feared the distances laid down for our fine marches would be too much for me, and so had decided on taking an extra day for an intermediate halt or short march—whereas now at the end of the first day, and with the long "carriage" lift I began to feel confident my walking powers would hold out—it occurred to me what a great pity it would be to pass Brieg at the foot of the Simplon, without seeing anything of that fine mountain, and the grand carriage road over it. I therefore determined to utilize my spare day by going up the Simplon, or as far as I found conveniently manageable. The guide made no objections, and I at once went to bed, having really had little or no sleep the last night, with the intention of getting well-rested, and having a good day at the Simplon. The diligence leaves Brieg daily at 5 A.M. for Duomo d'Ossolo on the Italian side, some forty-two miles of carriage drive to the Italian railways, but I preferred walking, and so would not make any enquiries about diligence' seats and fares.

Second day, 23rd May.—From Brieg, up the Simplon, and back to Brieg.

Started at 5-10 A.M. Returned at 6-12 P.M.

Walking	...	...	11 hours	35 minutes.
Halting	...	...	1	„ 27 „

Total 13 hours 2 mins.

The guide had over-slept himself, and did not call me until after 4 A.M. Then my morning cup of coffee was not ready, and we did not start until 5-10 A.M. The morning very fine, though with a few clouds about. Much honey is produced in the Swiss valleys, and it is usually placed on the hotel tables to form with bread, butter, and coffee the plain and very good breakfast everywhere charged $1\frac{1}{2}$ francs. The honey at Brieg was, I think, the finest I ever tasted.

Many of the old women in the Swiss valleys are so like those in the Kumaon province in India, both in dress and features, that at a little distance I could have often fancied myself in the far away Indian hills. Is there a tendency in mountain air and habits to produce the same characteristics in countries so far apart? I find this note in my book, and give it here, for what it is worth, before turning over the page. The children, too, in Kumaon and Switzerland, especially the girls, are often very handsome, but in both countries they soon appear to grow old, under the heavy field-labour that falls to their lot, and the large dung heaps, festering with flies, close to the village houses, is another, and an unpleasant feature common to both countries! Many more could, I dare say, be found, though not I hope "polyandry."

The carriage road over the Simplon necessarily winds much to overcome the ascent of about 4,032 feet between Brieg and the summit, which is about 192 feet of ascent per mile for a total length of about twenty-one miles, or less than four feet ascent on the average of every 100 feet in length of road. This proportion is, I think, exceeded in some parts, and I judged the steepest to be about eight feet in 100 for some short distances, but the whole is a splendid road, easily ascended or descended by carriages, about thirty feet wide, and with stout upright stones let in on the outer edge at intervals of eight to ten feet, instead of a continuous parapet wall. These stones appear but slight protection against jibbing or frightened horses, and there are, of course, numerous spots where the fall of a carriage over the road-side, would be inevitable death to passengers and horses; but practically the protection seems efficient, or, in an important road, so carefully kept up as this is, it would certainly be made so. The line has been skilfully marked out, and its construction

is a noble and enduring monument to the great Napoleon and his engineers. Would that every principal act of the great emperor had been equally beneficial to mankind!

We passed through Brieg, and struck up a short cut by the line of the telegraph posts through fields and up the bare hill-side, then among fir trees and juniper bushes, the ascent moderate but at parts steep, and at 6 A.M., halted on a knoll to enjoy the view northwards. Brieg was far below, the Rhone beyond it like a tiny cord of glass, the base of the hill beyond studded with chalets and villages, then crags, and, above all, the grand snow mass of the Bel-Alps, with the glen of the Aletch glacier east of it. Sundry other "horns" were in view, nearly every snow peak having a name ending in "horn," but I did not note their names. Across a deep ravine to west, in which flows the Saltine River to join the Rhone at Brieg, was a steep pine-clad hill, and above it the bare crags of the "Grand Powy," with south-west over its shoulder, a portion of the snow-clad Fletchhorn visible. Many snowy peaks were to be seen far away eastward, also north-westward; and the whole view, if enjoyed on such a fine day as we had, cannot, I think, fail to repay any traveller for an hour's walk up from Brieg. After a few minutes halt we proceeded, and soon came into the old road, which, coarsely paved, winding, and steep, had been the main road until the completion of the present one. It is now deserted, passable enough for foot travellers, but with some ugly precipices below here and there; and at 6-40 we came upon the carriage road near to Refuge No. 2. There are six refuges on the line for the shelter of travellers during bad weather, and very welcome they must be during a winter snow storm! We proceeded along the road, refusing a tempting short cut down a glen to our right, because told that it was impossible, though I may here say that we took it in returning, coming out close to No. 2 Refuge, as will be seen, without any difficulty; and the great saving in distance was so obvious, as we could see the road in the distance opposite that I would have taken it in going but for the overruling of my guide. At 7-45, we passed a good wooden bridge of about fifty feet span, seventy or eighty feet above a torrent coming down the steep hill-side, some fine masses of avalanche snow higher up in the torrent's bed, and close above the bridge was the dirt-covered remains of what had been a grand avalanche not many weeks ago, now rapidly melting and disclosing broken trees, rocks, &c., that had been borne down by it. Many flocks of fine goats were being herded on the hill-side, all with long hair, black head, and fore quarters, body, hind quarters,

and all four legs white. I noticed one fine Ibex—looking animal in a flock, but could not understand the guide whether it was a cross or not. These goats with their sweet tinkling bells are very pleasing objects, but they are far from pleasant when on the hill-side above you, and but for the guide's caution I might have been severely hurt by some large stones rolled down by one flock, browsing, as they seem to delight in doing, on a loose rocky slope, the remains of a landslide.

Beyond the bridge we took a short but saving cut of ten minutes, and thenceforward continued along the carriage road. At 8-10, the remains of a late avalanche, cut away to clear the road, were standing like a wall of ice some ten or eleven feet above the edge. And at 8-30, we halted for breakfast, which the guide had brought in his wallet—bread for myself, raw bacon in addition for the guide, and a bottle of good vin ordinaire, costing 7d., for us both. Our halt was in the bed of a torrent, just above a stone bridge about thirty feet span, and the view down the torrent, its water falling rapidly in a tangled mass of pine trees and rock, with snow patches here and there, was very fine. Upwards the view was still finer, and the spot, as seen by us, would have delighted an artist in quest of really fine subjects for his brush.

My breakfast was soon discussed, but the guide had a longer job with his bacon, and doubtless a better appetite, so I left him at 8-45, and sauntered on, leaving him, as I believed, the guide book to carry. This was an English version of Baedeker's "Switzerland," and no traveller should begrudge paying seven francs for it, as the descriptions are very good, and the discriminations between good and dear, and good and cheap hotels, throughout the country, are so impartial, that I believe many times seven francs could be saved, with additional comfort too, by following Baedeker's recommendations in this respect. Well, I walked on, passing No. 4 Refuge at 9-12, several remains of avalanches, and, at 9-40, under a short tunnel through an overhanging mass of rock, with fine icicles hanging from its sides, and some beautiful ice crustings over old sticks and grasses, like the purest of diamonds, and in most fantastic shapes. There is an ugly precipice above and below the road near here. On the guide's rejoining me, I asked for the Guide Book, and to my dismay found that he had it not. I at once started him back to the breakfast spot, where I knew we had looked at it, and shouted after him to mind and ask any traveller he should meet if they had seen the book. The words were hardly uttered when two lads turned the corner in view, and in asking them they at once produced the book. They were Italians and

spoke very little French or German, but we made out that they would have left the book at the hospice. I gave them half a franc, which seemed quite to please them and they passed on, but they afterwards waited for us, having quarrelled about the division of the half franc, one wanting nearly all, and I hope our equal division was the means of restoring harmony between them.

At 10 A.M., we passed No. 5 Refuge, much snow above and below the road in advance, and, a little further on, through a deep snow cutting, with a short tunnel heavily snow-covered, ice under foot and hanging in heavy icicles from the roof—all very fine. A dismounted diligence on sleigh slide, and several common sleighs packed at the road side or above, recently in use, showed how troublesome the passage must be in winter and stormy weather. A heavy snow cutting, and two more tunnels in advance, brought us to the last Refuge, No. 6, at 10-22 A.M., a great snow bed above and below the road. We here passed a drove of Italian pigs, black and lean, with enormous pendent ears covering nearly the whole face, and at another place I saw a man and woman halting for their meagre breakfast of bread, with a solitary pig which the woman was treating to occasional pieces of bread, just as a pet dog is ordinarily treated, and on quite as familiar terms.

From No. 6 Refuge there is a fine view across to north of the fine Aletsch glacier, and many snow peaks, the grand Jungfrau included.

At 10-38, we reached the hospice, close on left of the road, a large four-storied and very substantially built stone house, with a good flight of steps leading to the first story, as in winter the snow accumulates, I was told; to this level. The hospice is situated in a flat or bowl of some extent, shut in by rock and snow on all sides, and it was founded by Napoleon, though not completed until 1825, in substitution for the old and smaller hospice which stands seemingly deserted some distance further on and below the road. Several fine large St. Bernard dogs of a sandy brown colour with white necks, came frisking good humouredly round us, with a welcome all but spoken, and I was much pleased to see them. A pleasant-spoken, gentlemanly, young monk invited me in French to enter the hospice and dine, and he was the only person, besides two monks working in a small garden, the cook in their large hospitable-looking kitchen, one lady looking from a window, and one attendant at dinner, whom I saw of the whole establishment.

I thanked the monk, and said I would gladly dine at one o'clock after seeing a little of the Italian side of the road, and then, leaving the guide at the hospice I strolled on. The road

goes level and west for about a mile, and then turns down south. I ascended a small rock to the left, one of the few spots not covered with snow, and found some low juniper bushes coming into bud, some short coarse grass, and a pretty crocus-like flower with white petals and yellow inside, also two or three small pink and blue flowers just out. A black ant and a black and yellow striped caterpillar were frisking about in the warm sunshine, and I marvelled how they could have existed during the long winter only just clearing up! How indeed, save by the wonderful power of God, some of whose mighty and almost minutest works were here at the same time displayed. Indeed, I cannot say how often during my trip the thought occurred to me, that Switzerland appeared one vast cathedral in honour of the Deity; and I can think of nothing more likely to awaken, or increase a sense of His almighty power, than a contemplation of His works in this country, where there is so much of varied grandeur to excite a man's best feelings. I felt supremely happy lounging on the rock, with the most intensely blue sky over head, and snow all round, some heavy overhanging masses near the summit to the south-west, amid the most profound silence, though one or two small birds were flitting about, and it was with reluctance I got up to see a little more of the Italian side of the Simplon. I went on, however, passed above the old hospice, a massive square chapel-looking building, but of five stories besides the attics in slated roofs, with a small bell-turret at one end. Not a sign of life about it, but a pretty little oasis of green turf which showed in front of the entrance door, fringed with snow, was very pleasant to look at.

It seemed to me as though I could easily have walked on to Duomo d'Ossolo, and but for the guide left at the hospice, and scant time for the rest of my trip, I should probably have tried it, returning next day by the diligence. I, however, turned back at 12-15, from where the road goes south-east, down a deep glen, snow, rock, and low fir trees below, on all sides. Vast masses of snow visible in the far south-east, and a brawling little torrent rushing away south, probably to join the Lago Maggiore as a large stream. One solitary hut was visible below the road where I turned, which was at the 381st telegraph post from No. 1, at Brieg. The diligence passed me, a huge lumbering carriage with guard and driver, five horses—three in front—and no passengers that I could observe. It takes $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours from Brieg to the hospice, and as I had walked up in $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours, my pace must have been good, and the short cut at first a very saving one.

I returned to the hospice soon after 1 p.m., and was again welcomed by the courteous monk, who showed me into the fine reception room hung round with engravings, chiefly illustrative of Napoleon's reign, with a good oil portrait of Napoleon. There was a most comfortably furnished suite of rooms for visitors, with engraved portraits of our Queen and Prince Albert, and, on the whole, I was much pleased with the neatness and extent of the hospice. The monks' apartments are on either side of wide galleries, running lengthwise and crosswise, all numbered, and my conductor's apartments, two rooms with a piano and small select library in one, which he kindly showed me, were very comfortable. After a very good dinner—although I was told it was a fast day—and sundry refreshing glasses of good white wine, I was shown the library—a large room well-stocked with manuscripts, theological and historical books, and some stuffed birds and other curiosities: also the chapel, a fine and handsomely ornamented room, where I put a modest contribution into the alms box, by way of acknowledgment for my dinner and the kindness experienced, as no payment is taken for meals. And at 1-50 p.m., I bade adieu to the good monk, whom I hope some day to meet again, and started for Brieg.

The sun was very powerful, and water was pouring down over the covered tunnels, and in every little hollow, where, as I ascended, all was silent and cold. At 2-37 p.m., I turned down to the left, not far from Refuge No. 5, for the short cut noticed in the morning, a deep ravine leading to the glen of the Saltine, and reached the bottom at 3-12, many crocusses in flower, and bulbs spring up on the moist bare spots. Our path now lay along the right bank of the stream, the hills on both sides very rotten, and somewhat dangerous from loose stones. We passed over, and saw on the other side many remains of heavy avalanches, now however rapidly melting, with torn and twisted trees, masses of rock, and débris of soil and gravel, indicating their huge power in falling. The stream twice passed for some distance under large snow-beds, and, on the whole, this was a charming though not very smooth short cut. At one place we saw a little niche cut in the rock, with a poor image of a monk carrying a child in his arms (seemingly the child had a red coat on!) and little branches of fir trees, and bunches of moss, let into holes drilled round the edge; doubtless a shrine of much repute and comfort to simple villagers and goatherds. The lower part of the glen was well wooded, chiefly with pine trees, some of enormous size, and the mouldering

dust of some giants of the forest that had flourished for ages, and probably taken many years to decay, seemed to speak eloquently of the incessant process of vigour and destruction, pervading all nature, in this beautiful but constantly changing world. At 4-40, we crossed a small stream coming down from the east, and after a toilsome and rough ascent, the sun very hot, we came out upon the main road just on the opposite side of the wild ravine we had mounted from in the morning. The main glen below has some grandly desolate rock and cliff, the river diving into a gorge that seemed as narrow and high as that of Trient, and perhaps it is if one could traverse it, which however seems impossible. We at once left the road again by the morning's short cut, and, at 6-12 P.M., reached the hotel at Brieg, after a good day's work, and to me one of the most pleasant in my life. I believe no traveller can fail to be pleased with a walk up and down the Simplon, whether wholly by the main road, or by the short cuts we took, which I should recommend, and the earlier in the season the better he will be pleased, as later on nearly all the snow I saw and traversed will have disappeared, leaving only the less interesting hill-sides to look at, with, however, occasional fine views of the distant snow peaks.

My walking to-day must have been a long one, but I enjoyed it too much to feel any great fatigue, taking, however, the precaution of going early to bed for the long walk in prospect on the morrow.

Third day, 24th May.—From Brieg to the glaciers of the Rhone.

Started 4-42 A.M. Arrived at 7-15 A.M.

Walking	...	...	10 hours 35 minutes.
Driving	...	...	0 „ 10 „
Halting	...	...	3 „ 48 „

Total ... 14 hours 3 mins.

I was called at 4 A.M., breakfasted, and started up the valley of the Rhone at 4-42 A.M., weather again gloriously fine. In about three-quarters of a mile the road crossed to the right bank of the river by a three arched wooden bridge, a grand snow view looking back towards the Simplon. There had been frost during the night, and the air was very crisp up the valley through the fields and fine walnut trees. At 5-32, we crossed the Aletch river, coming from the Aletch glacier, an opaque sea-green little torrent, by an old stone bridge of about fifty feet span. Birds were singing merrily, and all seemed joyous. At 6-5 passed the village of Rinoo, looking into its church, and seeing the usual too gaudy decorations. Beyond the

village on the left hand side or north of the road (our progress to-day being north-east), was a grand upburst of clay slate, nearly perpendicular and many hundred feet in height, extending far to the north-east, but gradually diminishing in height. Huge masses have fallen into the valley, and one of the largest was a large triangular band of quartz, perhaps forty feet each side, the parent mass of which was very evident at the top of the slate cliff. The valley of the Rhone is narrow here, but the hill on the opposite side shows no similar stratification.

At 6-30, we passed Virs, a good sized village with some neat inns, where the guide procured some hard boiled eggs for our breakfast. Guides for the Eggishorn and Aletsch glacier are to be found here. In advance, a continuous but gentle ascent, good road, the valley much narrowed, and in fact only wide enough for river and road, but the sunny slope of hill on right bank often cultivated and studded with neat-looking chalets; the left bank all in gloom, crag, and forest, at times fine pine trees with small graceful birches. We crossed to the left bank of the river at 7-20 by a good wooden bridge of about fifty feet span, to avoid a land-slippery hill-side; and at 7-47, we re-crossed to the right bank by a narrow bridge about 100 feet above the river, over a vertical gorge of rock with the river foaming below—a fine view. Then up a zigzag road to some elevation above the river, many good patches of cultivation and happy-looking villages on both sides. A worthy Bible colporteur here joined us, and kept company for a few miles. He had, I think, been more than twenty years employed, said his business was extending, and showed me a kind letter from an English lady which he was very proud of. I abstain from giving the writer's name, but if—as I fear is very improbable—she ever reads this brief notice of her kindly interest in the good work, I hope it will not be distasteful to her.

* At 9-2, when the road descended to the valley again, we crossed the Fensch river (or some such name), a stream from the Fenschhorner, and halted for breakfast at Viesch after a good 4½ hours' walk, enjoyed some bread and cheese and eggs, with good vin ordinaire, and started again at 10 A.M. Apple and cherry trees in full bloom up a zigzag road, fine view of the Eggishorn to north, an hotel some way below its summit, and of the Fensch glacier to east. The road passed well above the river, affording glances of it now and then as it rushed through a deep rocky and pine-clad gorge with fine scenery; snow peaks often visible on looking back, and up the occasional lateral valleys, as indeed has been the case all the

way from Sion. At 11-15, the river again opened out, with the remains of a grand avalanche coming down to it on the south or left bank, and, further on, a high ruined face of the mountain. The hills on both sides slope rather steep down to the river, and are well cultivated for some distance up, then pine forest and crags to the summits.

At 11-40, we passed Seltzingen, a neat village, the sun very powerful but fortunately tempered by a cool breeze. Fine snow masses in advance, and as I looked at them I noted—"but I hope "to be nearer to them this evening," and then plodded on under the hot sun. We passed several fine villages, looking much like Kumaon villages with their low black huddled wooden houses, save only with the exception of the neat stone-built white-washed churches, with their high pitched slated roofs and usually a small thin spire. The common houses are low and almost flat-roofed, but on closer inspection many of them are large and neat, with small paned and white edged glass windows, some evidently belonging to men well off in this world's goods, and their superiority to a Kumaon village becomes apparent!. The cultivation seems all by hand and spade; and, extensive as it is in the Swiss valleys, it conveys a very favourable idea of the constant hard work endured by the people. Much use is made of manure, the collecting and arranging of which seems the daily task of many a pretty girl, and, indeed, it is almost repulsive to see them thus employed. Much transplanting goes on at this season, and watering the young plants, but with great diligence there seems a want of neatness, such as lines for the planting. Setting sticks appear unknown, and it was painful almost to see girls and women, on whom very much of the works seems to fall, scraping out holes for the plants, and punching them in with the hands: very sore must be many a hand at the end of a day's work, or at least I thought so.

There were many remains of avalanches, chiefly on the side of the valley facing north, some of huge size, and the devastation left in their tracks speaks loudly as to the danger too often involved by them to life and cultivation. The valley changed much in character as we ascended it,—herbage much poorer, and cultivation backward.

We reached Münster, a large village or town with a church and several chapels, at 1-30 P.M., and I halted for dinner, pretty well used up for the time being by heat and length of road together! However, I soon got my remedy, plenty of water for a good splash all over, and after drinking a bumper of good white wine, I turned into bed for a nap until dinner

time. I dined poorly at the Hotel Croix d'or, but the people were kindly and willing, and my bill of only twenty-two pence for cutlets, a quart of wine, and a good wash, was indeed very moderate.

Nearly eight hours' steady walking in the forenoon had so broken the neck of this long days' march, that I indulged in a good rest at Münster, and it was 4-20 P.M. before we started again. The weather had changed and become cloudy, almost cold too, and a light drizzling rain began to set in. A man passing with a smart pony in his light wagon, gave us a ten minutes' lift for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles into Oberwald, for the moderate charge of twopence, and as the guide made the bargain I afterwards suspected he was not sorry for the short ride. The valley at Oberwald, which we reached at 5-50 P.M., is open but poor. Untervasser ("under water") village is a little to the south, and in advance eastwards the valley is a wide-spread mass of shingle, with some patches of alder and fir wood, shut in by hills.

My guide now began to think that the weather was too threatening to admit of reaching the glaciers of the Rhone, or for taking the Grimsel pass on the morrow, and he proposed our remaining for the night at Oberwald. This I steadily refused, having always made it a rule not to be deterred by any threatening appearances, or anything short of downright bad weather, and frequently in my wanderings elsewhere having found the rule answer well. I, therefore, said I had no time for halting, that I did not know what real difficulties there might be ahead, in event of bad weather, but that I was not afraid of them, and it rested with the guide to say whether we should go on, or he be paid then and there for past services, and I retrace my steps towards Sion. Under these circumstances he decided to go on, and I was very glad of it, for the Grimsel and Gemmi passes seemed at one time very likely to evade me. People at Münster had tried to persuade me to remain on account of the weather, but the guide then told me that it was not an unusual thing to endeavour to secure a traveller's custom for the night, so tourists who have arranged their plans should not be persuaded to alter them for slight or assumed difficulties.

After deciding to go on, and ratifying it with a moderate sup of brandy, of which we daily consumed about half a pint, or less, in occasional small sups from my flask, we proceeded up a good zigzag carriage road, just being finished through a pine forest, patches of snow on both sides a little way up; and further on, we turned north up a grandly wild

ravine or glen, huge rocks and a few pine trees with much snow, and the Rhone usually far below us. The good new road was often heavily blocked by snow, and in advance was a wild snow-covered steep. At 7 P.M., we crossed to the left bank of the river by a good stone bridge, a fine but not deep gorge below it, and on the upside, just above the surface of the water at the foot of a snow-bed, was a little snow table fringed with icicles exactly like a toilet-table cover. At 7-10, we re-crossed the river, now a small rivulet, by a small wooden bridge, the upper course of the stream nearly all under snow beds, with some grand ones lower down in the glen, and five minutes' more walking over heavy snow brought us to the Hotel du Glacier du Rhone at 7-15 P.M. The rain we had in the valley turned to rather heavy snow as we ascended, and I was glad to find myself at the hotel rather than waiting at Oberwald for a fine day, and to have got into something like snow-clad mountains! Much of what I now saw reminded me of what I saw in going up the Juwahier pass in Kumaon in 1842, when I crossed at an elevation of 18,500 feet, being the first European traveller, I believe, since Moorcroft crossed in 1817. But the Alps lack the grand back ground of the Himalayas, as on the Juwahier pass I had the huge Nundee Devi rising about 10,000 feet higher than where I crossed, the upper 12,000 feet at least being a cone of pure snow. Still there is grandeur enough in the Alps, and even at the Glacier du Rhone, to satisfy any one, and in mentioning higher ranges I am far from wishing to disparage the Alps, which indeed I greatly admire.

The hotel is of good size and well built, with abundant accommodation for travellers, and it stands in a small basin of table-land with the glacier to the north, though I could see nothing of the glacier as one vast sheet of snow covered everything. There is a small hot spring close to the hotel, furnishing hot baths, but I felt it only moderately warm, and the snow creeps too close up to the edge for any great heat.

Fortunately for me, a woman servant had arrived at noon to commence preparations for the season, and as she was a kindly body she soon made me comfortable with a nice cup of coffee. Fresh paint was about the house, snow all round it, and the kitchen fire very pleasant. A jolly old soldier, formerly in the Neapolitan Army, when "good old Ferdinand was king," remains in charge of the hotel during the winter, and has done so for thirteen years, descending occasionally to Oberwald for supplies, and a weary time he must have of it from November to April, one would suppose, though he does not seem to think

so. He pointed out to me marks on the wall indicating that some fourteen feet of snow surrounded the hotel during winter, and I could well believe it upon seeing the heavy mass around, almost within arm's reach, on this 24th of May. The keeper had a St. Bernard's dog, about ten months old and barely half-grown, as his valued companion; and no wonder when he told us that only three days before the puppy had come bothering and coaxing him early in the morning, until he was forced to go out and follow it. The puppy led the way joyfully to the foot of a deep snow-bed, about 400 yards from the hotel, and there, within a few feet of a steep cliff, lay a poor helpless traveller. This was a Prussian who had come over the Furca pass (which here joins the road) in search of work, and with no guide he had fallen over the path and rolled down several hundred feet of snow, only just stopping short of eternity in the shape of the precipice! Assistance was procured, and the poor Prussian, not much hurt but nearly frozen to death from having laid helpless all night, was taken to Oberwald and made comfortable. His first enquiry was for his purse, containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ francs, and probably all he had in the world, and great was his delight on finding it safe. I much regretted not having known the poor fellow was at Oberwald in passing, as I would gladly have helped him if in want, but I doubt not he will be helped, and I hope he may never again have such a narrow escape. The keeper told his story simply, with no little honest excitement, and it really was a moving one. I hugged the dog in admiration of his intelligence, thinking him far more handsome than I had at first sight, and from his manner, and the keeper's pointing to the locality when telling the story, I had and have no doubt that the animal knew exactly what we were talking about. It appears that many poor Germans wander about in search of work, and indeed we met two coming up the Grimsel next day in a snow storm. They are often, and perhaps usually too poor, for paying even a trifle for a night's rest, they must push on, cannot engage guides, and, of necessity almost, some must occasionally perish in bad weather on an unknown and most desolate road. Some are afterwards found; how many sleep under snow-beds, or in glaciers or torrents, will never be known in this world! But they sleep soundly, and it is a sleep we must all sooner or latter take, whether under the green turf, the snow-bed, or a costly tomb, and when once there the difference will be unknown!

During the summer months very much of the snow I saw in ascending, and round the hotel, whether on level or hill-side, will no doubt have disappeared, but in the season this Hotel du Glacier must be a pleasant abode with many interesting spots

within easy reach, and the road is so good all the way up that it can be safely ridden, if not ready for carriages which I understood it would soon be.

Certainly the great change in climate and scenery, between the valley below and the Glacier du Rhonc, an almost easy one and a half hour's walk up, is very remarkable, and it alone can hardly fail to interest a traveller, even should he decline to explore the glaciers, and the neighbourhood, if the season and weather admit.

I went early to bed, and found damp sheets, fresh I fancy from the wash in the valley below; these, however, I got rid of by sleeping between the blankets, and at 8 A.M., I was called to determine our future plans. Snow had fallen all night and was still falling heavily, and the guide rather doubted the expediency of our pushing on, especially as in coming to Sion he had taken a different route from the Grimsel to Oberwald, and so did not know exactly what difficulties lay between us and the Grimsel. My decision was, either to go on or return, but no halting or losing time, and as the old soldier said that although heavy in snow, he knew every inch of the way, and would put us well on our journey, it was settled we should proceed.

Fourth day, 25th, May.—From the glaciers of the Rhone to Reisenbach.

Started 4-0 A.M. Arrived at 4-45 P.M.

Walking	9 hours	20 minutes.
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Halting	3	„ 25 „
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	Total	...	12 hours	45 minutes.

After a good breakfast of coffee, bread and butter, and honey, we said good-bye to the kindly woman servant and started at 4 A.M., the old soldier leading, and his dog frolicking about in the snow, rubbing his nose under it for several feet at a time, scenting for marmots, I fancy, just like a pet dog romping in a hay-field. I now began to find the use of my Alpen-Stock, which I had bought rather unwillingly at Grindelwald, and left with the guide to bring to Sion. Indeed, it was very useful, and often, no doubt, saved me from falling, so I would recommend travellers in the snow always to have one, though lugging it home some hundreds of miles afterwards, very awkward to pack and ungainly to look at, is a matter of taste. Mine remains with the guide for the benefit of his next companion.

Our route lay up a steep snow-bed westwards, chiefly old avalanche snow, but thickly covered with the fresh soft snow, into which we sunk thigh deep at every step. It was rather a

toilsome ascent, and I was glad to reach the summit at 5-15, when the Todlensee lake, or what should be the lake but now was one sheet of snow, lay before us. Doubtless in summer the scene, which now was heavy snow all around, is very different, and probably little or no snow remains between the lake and the Grimsel pass, or in the immediate vicinity, but the rugged and barren nature of the hills, almost inaccessible one would think to soldiers with their many *impedimenta*, must always remain. And it seems almost marvellous that the passions or ambition of mankind could lead them to fight on a large scale in such a country. What, however, is impossible where rulers will sternly dare, and men will devotedly obey their orders! I give in a note* an extract from "Baedeker," page 154, a most interesting though brief account of what really took place here in 1799, hoping that in so doing I do not commit piracy, and believing it will be read with more interest perhaps than any part of my "Notes." And I need hardly say that, after having read the account, I looked with mournful interest over the pure sheet of snow now covering the Todlensee, and wondered how many poor Austrians might yet be sleeping calmly, deep under its cold surface.

We now turned northwards along a steep and soft snow-bed, and at 5-35, the way to the Grimsel being evident, the old soldier proposed turning back. He asked one franc for his trouble, and I willingly gave him two, feeling that without his guidance we could hardly have proceeded. He then asked for a sup of brandy to give him "*bon courage*" for his walk back in the snow storm, and we parted good friends. Further east was the

* "In the summer of 1799 this lake was used by the Austrians and French as a burial place. The former, with the Valaisians, had intrenched themselves on the Grimsel, having extended their advanced posts as far as the bridge of the Aare. All the attempts of the French under Lecourbe (stationed at Guttanen) to drive the Austrians from this position were ineffectual. However, a peasant of Guttanen, named Fahner, at length conducted a small detachment under General Gudín over the Gelmer, Dölti, and Gertshorn by paths hitherto untrodden, except by goats and herdsmen. Being thus brought close to the Grimsel they attacked the Austrians, and after an obstinate conflict compelled them to retire into the Valais and in the direction of the hospice. Many of those who sought to escape by the valley of the Aare, perished in the crevices of the mountains and glaciers, whilst others fell by the bullets of the French. Relics of this straggle in the shape of human bones, rusty weapons, and white uniforms are occasionally found to this day. The French, at the demand of their guide, presented him with the Räterichsboden as a reward for his services (p. 151), but the Government of Berne annulled the gift some months later. The ridge from which the French poured down upon the Grimsel, on the north of the pass, is named Nageli's Grätti (8,609 feet)."

path to Oberwald, taken by my guide in coming, marked by post at intervals.

We now proceeded over some easy snow, and then down a steep snow-bed, the Grimsel hotel visible in the hollow below, and on shouting our loudest two huge St. Bernard dogs came out barking and frisking in the snow, evidently welcoming us, and gamboling about us in the snow, up to the door of the hotel. We entered at 6 A.M., two good hours' walk from the Glacier du Rhone, very glad to find a warm kitchen fire. My hair and whiskers were matted with frozen snow, and the guide looked such a figure, all crusted over, that I should much have wished our photographs could have been taken. But a good shaking and brushing down with a besom soon put us all right, and I felt very glad to have made a start and got on thus far, notwithstanding the snow storm which still fell heavily. It had almost wholly precluded any view as we travelled, save only a dim outline of snow here and there, consequently I had no view of the surrounding hills. I, however, enjoyed the variety of a snow storm, and in many respects preferred it to the fine weather we had previously been favoured with. Indeed, those who travel only during summer or autumn, can form but a faint idea of the grandeur of these mountains while covered with the winter's snow, and I strongly advise tourists, who wish to enjoy grand and wild scenery, to travel early in the season. I should prefer leaving England about the 20th May, between which date and, say, the middle of June, a great deal of most interesting country may be traversed with, I believe, no danger.

We found one man at the Grimsel hotel, its winter keeper, and two strapping peasants who had come up from Guttanen the previous evening. They started for Oberwald at 6-45, evidently carrying nothing for the snow-storm. Both had backloads in long conical baskets, and one load consisting of heavy rolls of leather would have been no easy work for an ordinary bullock. I could barely lift it from the ground. These men had long woollen snow-boots, and they were accustomed to traverse the mountain at all seasons. They said they would reach Oberwald about 2-30 P.M., but I should have thought much earlier, albeit I did not envy their heavy tramp and loads which none but strong, practised men could carry over such ground. The Grimsel hotel is a plain but good building, with forty-one apartments for visitors, and a large dining saloon. The summer visitors are very numerous, as last year's book showed, but as yet only one German gentleman had passed this year, I think three days before us, when the snow

was probably much lighter and firmer than we found it. There is a small lake in front of the hotel, but at present it was deeply covered with snow.

After getting well rested, though with very cold feet, and buying a few cigars and some good rum from the remains of last year's hotel stores, we started again at 7-50, the snow storm much abated. Our track was first north-west through heavy snow, and then turned north along the right bank of the river Aare, which comes down under snow-beds from the west, a grand mass of rock on the other side. At 8-4, we crossed the river by a stone bridge of one arch, a few yards of the stream visible below the bridge, but all the rest of its course above and below being under heavy snow-beds. The glacier of the Aare is about one hour's walk westward, said to be very fine. The snow now ceased, and I hoped the day might prove fine, but it soon recommenced, turning to sleet and rain as we descended, and for many hours we had a very wet tramp, quite a variety, and on the whole an unpleasant one, to the fine weather previously enjoyed, and very cold after the great heat in the valleys.

When near the Grimsel I observed four or five of the red-billed crows, and afterwards a few on the Gemmi. I had seen them in considerable numbers long ago in the Kumaon mountain, and I believe they never leave the high elevations or the immediate vicinity of snow. What they find there to live upon is a marvel, but "He who feedeth the ravens" knows how best to support all His creatures!

We passed along a tolerable road some distance above the Aare, the stream occasionally visible, but generally flowing under snow-beds, and the road nearly everywhere snow covered, and, at 8-40, came to some empty huts on a wide flat called Reitreichs, whence the guide told me the French troops were led by the peasant in 1799. Their track was across the river and behind an ugly looking mountain, with no doubt very difficult paths before reaching the summit of the Grimsel. It would be interesting to explore this route. We here met a young man arranging his gaiters preparatory to ascending the pass, snow again falling; gave him a sup of brandy, some bread and cheese, and matches, all of which he stood in need of, enjoined him to keep our track and make the best of his way up as the weather looked unfavourable, and he thankfully bade us good-bye.

We passed on over snow-beds, the road appearing more and more in patches, as we descended, and, at 9 A.M., came to the first stunted fir trees, and the Rhododendron (alpen-rose), a tolerably

sized shrub, though we had seen it much higher up and very small. This I understood to be the emblem of the Grimsel pass, as tree moss is of the grand Scheideck, and heather of the Gemmi. Travellers ought to put a sprig in their hats, as a token of having crossed a pass, but I always declined these marks of distinction, being content with the simple pleasure of having traversed and seen the passes.

We now made a zigzag descent, and, at 9-10, crossed to the right bank of the river by a stone bridge of one arch: again re-crossed about a quarter of a mile on by another stone arch, the river foaming grandly under in a narrow opening it had cut through the hard granite, which was scooped and scalloped out in curious shapes far above the present water-level, proving, I have no doubt, and as I have elsewhere often seen on a larger scale, the immense period of time during which rivers have flowed in their present courses, while cutting deeper and deeper by imperceptibly small degrees.

In advance there was a grand precipice of rock across on the right bank, and pine trees of good size became common on the hill-sides. At 9-45, we crossed the bare sloping mass of granite, called "*Heilee-blatti*" or clear rock, from the lower part of which some huge fragments have recently fallen into the Aare. Opposite, and above, was the rugged Kabbelhorn, and further north, the Gelmerhorn. A good but broken water-fall comes down many hundred feet from the flank of the latter; and nothing can well exceed the desolate grandeur of the masses of crag and rock all around this spot.

In advance we soon left the snow, and had a fair plain road. At 10-5, we turned down a rather steep zigzag descent to the Handeck falls of the Aare, the finest I had yet seen, whether viewed from either side, or from the little wooden bridge here spanning the river, which is, perhaps, the best point of view. On the left bank a small torrent, called the Arlenbach, comes in just below the bridge. The river rushes under the bridge in masses like liquid crystals of green glass, the turmoil below taking a purple white hue, from some refraction of the air and the colour of the rocks combined, I suppose. From the right side of the bridge you see the main fall rush against a steep face of rock, and thence deflected over to the other side in a most graceful double wave-like curl, and then the whole mass of waters foams along in a grand rocky gorge. The height of the falls is said to be 225 feet, but in the turmoil of waters we could not see the bottom. The view up the Aare from the bridge is very grand, and the scenery all round especially so, with rock, crag, and snow; but the falls

are superb, and I was delighted to have seen them, as I am sure all visitors must be at any season of the year.

After lingering pleasantly at the falls, reluctant to leave, but knowing there was yet a long stretch of road to travel, we returned to the road, and entered a chalet in which benches, tables, broken glass, &c., denoted tourists' accommodation; and in another close by there are eight bed-rooms, &c., but at present all were deserted as the season had not commenced, and the only signs of life, besides our own presence, consisted of two goats, standing disconsolately under the eaves for shelter from the heavy rain. We had a piece of bread,—small enough for breakfast, to which the guide added a portion of the bacon he had saved from three days ago,—and after resting a little and taking a small portion of the little brandy left, we started again at 10-50, having halted since 10-5, so far as the road distance was concerned. The Handeck falls are easily reached on horseback, or in a chair carried by porters, from Imhoff or Meyringen, and in fine weather they must form, with the grandly wild scenery of the valley of the Aare, a most pleasant day's trip,—very easy too.

At 11-20, we crossed by a bridge to the right bank, re-crossing, at 11-38, some grand scenery, and huge masses of rock fallen from the cliffs above into the valley, or rather, as it should be called, the glen thus far.

At 11-52, the valley opens out to a good width of poor grass land, and the very wild hill sides recede, though within a short distance further on they are almost as grand as ever, with some fine masses of snow on the summits, and frequent remains of heavy avalanches below. In the far distance to north-west, down the valley, was a fine long mass of snow, called Reviergratz, above and beyond the Brunig, which I had crossed between Lucerne and Interlaken.

At noon we reached Guttanen, a good sized village in the valley, where general Lecourbe's head quarters were in 1799. This was the first village seen from the Grimsel; and around it were the first attempts at cultivation, where the large heaps of stones of all sizes, collected to make little bits of fields, give one a painful idea of the hard work performed by the honest Swiss villagers to earn what would seem a very scanty return.

The hill-sides are by degrees better wooded after leaving the Handeck falls, though with abundance of the wildest rock and precipice, one huge pyramidal mass particularly prominent on the right bank; and the Aare, though still a roaring torrent, has lost much of its wildness as Guttanen. The general course

of the Aare is north-west, which was our direction all day after clearing the first heavy snow-beds and reaching the glen of the river.

We halted 20 minutes at an inn, enjoying a pint of good vin ordinaire, but pestered by flies, and, the weather having cleared up, we started again. At 12-35, we halted to watch an avalanche, the loud rumble of which attracted our notice as it fell from a broad mass of snow high up to our left. A succession of heavy falls rolled slowly down the mountain side, until on reaching a high precipice the snow poured rapidly and continuously down between two cliffs; and, seen with a good glass from about one and half miles distance, the appearance was exactly like a fine waterfall. In fact, had I not seen the snow rolling down from above, I could not have told the difference. After reaching the base of the cliff, the snow rolled gently down another slope in balls of various sizes, until it at last came to rest far down towards the valley.

Another, and then another avalanche followed on the same mountain side, all three within a length of a few hundred yards, and for some time all three, and then two of the three, were pouring over simultaneously. I was very reluctant to leave the largest and last, wishing, in fact, to see the end of it, but the road before me was long, and I at last turned away, leaving the avalanche still pouring its masses of snow over the precipice, and then gently rolling down the base. It was a grand sight, and perhaps so long a continuance of good avalanches in sight as seventeen minutes, how much longer, I know not, cannot often be witnessed. I now rather regret having left the best one "speaking," as reporters at times say of our longest-winded public men!

We here met a nice young fellow, a travelling tailor, on his way up the Grimsel in search of work. It would have been nightfall ere he could reach the summit, and if, as was probable, our track had been obliterated by the new snow, the guide thought he might never get there, young and delicate as he was. We soon found out that money was scarce, and he could not spare enough for a night's rest at Guttanen, so must push on. But with a little difficulty I persuaded him to take what would give him a dinner and night's rest in the village, and he left us with tears in his eyes, poor fellow! promising to halt for the night. I sincerely hope he did, as, if not, he may well have lost his life in attempting the ascent.

At 1-25 P.M., we crossed the débris of a huge avalanche that must have fallen weeks back, yet extending to and partly

spanning, the river below. Its downward course from the base of the hill fully 300 yards was a very gentle and winding declivity, and I marvelled, as I had often before done, how there could be such enormous pressure from above to force the huge mass of snow down to and probably across the river. Truly the force in this case must have been enormous!

A few hundred yards further on was a still larger avalanche, blocking up the Road for at least 200 yards in width, and just beyond it was a party of men at a "woodfall," rolling over lumps of pine stems, about three feet in length and often as much in diameter, to topple into the river, and be thence floated down for firewood. The guide, who was in advance, beckoned to me urgently to hurry across the path, and I did so without at the time knowing the risk incurred from some of the lumps striking me in their descent. Fortunately the workmen were either resting or had seen us coming; but they were high above the road, and I would not willingly attempt another leisurely passage of such a spot. The pine trees are cut high up in the forest, toppled down to the first convenient spot, and there sawn into lengths preparatory to rolling down into the river. I had seen a very large float of these logs in the Sarnen lake, when travelling to Interlaken, and wondered what they could be for, or whence they came, but now I knew it all, and was somewhat interested in the process.

At 1-50 P.M., we crossed to the right bank of the river by a wooden bridge, at the small hamlet of Sorvaie, the river much as before, but of a purer green colour. Our road then lay up and down over a steep precipice, forming with the left bank a magnificently deep gorge for the river, which with the precipitous cliffs, dark pine, and light green forest foliage (the latter only seen since below Guttanen), formed a view hardly to be excelled in grand beauty. This gorge is perhaps a mile long, and on clearing it, and entering upon the comparatively open valley, the castle-like mass of rock, called Blattenberg, towers grandly up to the right, with the "Thumb," a huge thumb shaped rock, lower and a little beyond it. The height of the Blattenberg above the valley must be many hundred feet, and it forms a superb object, with the base covered by a long slope of forest in which the fine light green colour predominates. Beyond, in front, were snow, crag, and forest, over and over again, and across the river to left the cragged peaks of the south-east face of the Engelshorner run down, into a rounded bluff mass of rock, to the valley of the Aare at Imhoff, altogether a splendid view. I had passed on the other side of

the Engles-horner in crossing the grand Scheideck, and was pleased to see this end of it, which turns away north-west and then south-west to form, I fancy, the left side of the Brienz lake.

At 2-55, we reached Imhoff, a pretty and thriving place, in a wide and cultivated valley, with good hotel accommodation. This is, I believe, a favorite resort of tourists, and considering the grand scenery within easy reach of it, including the Handeck falls, and the romantic valley of the Aare, I can well understand its being a favorite and favoured spot. A fine, new, covered wooden bridge was just being completed over the Aare, and a good carriage road from Meyringen over the basaltic ridge to be mentioned, so that travellers can now reach Imhoff with perfect comfort, money only being at command.

I halted a few minutes to let the guide execute a commission, and we then marched on. The valley of the Aare ends very abruptly, about three quarters of a mile beyond Imhoff, by a ridge of basalt, about 300 feet in height, thrown across from the left or west side in some grand convulsion of nature, and the river passes through a grand rocky and narrow gorge at the east end, for perhaps five or six miles, until it reaches the Meyringen valley, and thence passes into the Brienz lake. The two sides of this gorge, which is from 50 to 100 feet in width, are very similar, and even now, after the lapse probably of many ages, it is evident they would, if "closed up," match exactly in many points. Indeed, on looking back up the Aare, it is difficult to doubt that both sides of the valley have at one time formed part of the same range of mountains, so frequent and exact is the resemblance of the prominent parts, but now separated, whether by a grand convulsion, or by the wear of waters during countless ages of time, is probably known only to "Him who knoweth all things"—certainly it is very wonderful and interesting.

The current local belief is that "formerly" the basaltic dyke or ridge did not exist, and that the Aare flowed further west through a rocky gorge, which is now about parallel with the ridge, a short distance on the other side, and which I shall notice presently. But this hardly solves the question, unless the second gorge was made to turn at a right angle to its former course when the grand convulsion occurred, as I fancy it impossible for a large river like the Aare, when in flood, ever to have turned in its course at such an angle, and to have kept it for ages

After mounting the ridge by a good zigzag carriage road, and descending a little in the direction of Meyringen, we turned down to the right through a pretty hazel copse, with occasional pine and other trees, to see the Finster-Aare-en-Sleuch, which, tired as I was, I would rather have shirked. But the guide like a good fellow said I must see it, and very glad I was afterwards to have been persuaded by him, for it is indeed a wonderful sight.

After descending somewhat for, perhaps, half a mile or less, we came upon the "Sleuch," a deserted torrent bed, worn in the rock to a depth at greatest of about three hundred feet, by the most undoubted marks and swirls of long water-wear all down both faces of the rock, and descending rapidly, till at about the same depth, it reaches the present bed of the Aare, at right angles to the deep rocky chasm in which the river now flows. It is a wonderful and deeply interesting sight, and will well repay a visit. I looked longingly at the river as it rushed past, and would fain have explored its chasm by wading and swimming if time had admitted. Probably some Englishman has explored it, though I have never seen his account; and, with a companion and a light small India rubber canoe, I should much like to make the attempt coming out, as we should do, if at all, near Meyringen. I returned to the road much delighted with my hurried visit to the "Sleuch," and profoundly impressed with the idea that an enormous lapse of time must have occurred to admit of the water-wear I had seen on the faces of the (now and how long?) deserted torrent. I had often before noticed similar marks, swirls, and scallop shapes, high up in the beds of rivers in the Himalayas, but though perhaps as ancient, they had not made upon me anything like the impression this "Sleuch" did.

The long gentle descent to Reisenbach is very pretty, with much fine foliage in the woods, and grand masses of snow in the distance, north, beyond Brienz. We reached the hotel at 4-45, P.M., having occupied fully half an hour in exploring the "Sleuch," as the distance from Imhoff is not much, if at all, over three miles. And while the landlord at the hotel seemed pleased to welcome me after my wanderings, I was very glad to be at the end of a long day's travel, and refresh myself with a warm bath. Rarely if ever have I enjoyed a day more, the snow storm and rain notwithstanding, and as I sat tired at dinner, I thought with almost a sigh how soon this wandering life must end, and the quiet pleasures of home be resumed, though it would of course be, as I admitted, alike undesirable and unavoidable to do otherwise!

Fifth day, 26th May.—From Reisenbach to Kanderstig.
Started 4-45 A.M. Arrived at 8-3 P.M.

Walking	10 hours	15 minutes
Steamers	1	„ 32 „
Halting	3	„ 31 „

Total	15 hours	18 mins.
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Although last evening was fine, the night had been very rainy, and the rain continued when I was called early this morning.

I, however, hoped for a favourable change, was averse to losing time, and started after a good breakfast at 4-45 A.M., the guide borrowing an umbrella for me (he had his own), which was to be left at Brienz. We walked rather fast to Brienz, in two hours twenty-three minutes, down the valley of Meyringen; grand masses of clouds rolling along the mountains on either side, and the distant ranges hidden in gloom. The valley is broad and well cultivated, with the river Aare passing down to join the lake at Brienz, chiefly along the north side, and the waters of the Reisenbach falls in a made channel along the south side. Several fine water-falls are seen, and at one spot, soon after leaving Reisenbach, we had six in view, that is, by looking all round from the same stand point. After nearly an hour's halt at Brienz, not much to see at that early hour, or at any time unless perhaps wood carvings for which the town is rather famed, we started for Interlaken in the steamer at 8 A.M. The day began to clear up, but grand masses of clouds hung about the hills on either side of the lake, rolling along in most fantastic and rapidly changing shapes. Although heavily clouded over head, the sun was shining brightly on fine peaks and ranges of snow in the far west. A little below Brienz on the left side we passed Giesbach, the hotel prettily situated a short distance up the hill-side, among trees in all the beauty of spring foliage, the dark pines, with their light new shoots peeping out, and the bright green of walnut and other trees, forming a pleasing contrast. The Giesbach water-fall is considered good, and probably I did not see the best part of it, but what I did see looked very tame after the Handeck falls yesterday, and the Reisenbach water-fall which I had twice enjoyed. By degrees the sun shone out a little, and the almost perfect reflection, in the still blue water of the lake, of the mountains on either side, producing as it were a double of their forests, peaks, and snow, was exceedingly beautiful. Indeed, the Brienz

lake scenery is very fine, second only to that of Lucerne, so far as I have seen, and perhaps more admired by some tastes. The contrast between the placid beauty of the lake and the wildly desolate route I had travelled yesterday, was very striking and enjoyable.

We reached Interlaken at 9 A.M., and the guide would have it that we should not reach Neuhaus on the Thun lake in time for the steamer, though I assured him it would not leave until 10-15, and the distance was only three miles. Perhaps he wanted a carriage lift, as several drivers "chaffed" us, and said we could not arrive in time. However, I let him walk his own pace, merely calling at an hotel to ascertain if some friends had left, and at the post office for letters; and the consequence was we reached Neuhaus in fifty minutes with twenty-five minutes to spare, when the guide pronounced himself wet through, which, under a hot sun and at the pace we had walked, did not surprise me. I was much in the same condition, but I kept my own counsel, and merely told the guide he should not have been in such a hurry.

The Thun steamer left Neuhaus at 10-15, and after a pleasant half hour on the lake we landed at Spiez, the church-bells ringing sweetly. Spiez is a very pretty village on a knoll on the left bank. Here we breakfasted on delicious bread and cheese, with a pint of the best white wine I had tasted anywhere, in a neat little inn close to the lake, and the charge for all was only one franc! How it could have repaid our pleasant hostess I know not, for the guide's appetite was excellent, and mine hardly less so after the morning's walking.

I saw at this time a wonderful game never before met in my wanderings, *viz.*, a box with a large open-mouthed iron frog on the centre of the lid, and sundry openings on either side, the mouth and openings leading to compartments ticketed with various numbers up to thousands! Small iron discs are used to pitch with from a short distance, and I could well fancy the honest peasant enjoying a game after their day's work, though what they played for or paid in when "thousands" were lost, I could not make out! The game seemed to me more amusing than any I had seen at English fairs, and I wonder it has never found its way to England, where it might prove quite a taking novelty. Certainly few ought to play at "Aunt Sally," if they had such an alternative, though tastes will and do differ!

We started quite refreshed at 11-23, a long moderate ascent and good road, through fine orchards and fat meadows, large walnut trees, and many neat chalets. Altogether I thought

Spiez an exceedingly pretty place, just the kind to dream away a honey-moon in, or to forget all care and the rest of the world in pure idleness, with flower, fruits in their season, and excellent wine to enjoy when the material things of this world must be attended to! The view across the lake, and also in the direction of Thun, is very fine.

The good carriage-road necessarily winds about before settling down in the valley of the Kander river, to reach which we had crossed a prettily wooded low ridge, and in taking a short cut at noon, to avoid a considerable detour, we were warned off by a peasant some way up the road. The guide was inclined to demur, saying we were doing no harm, that he had never known travellers interfered with in this way, but I at once made him turn back to the road, which indeed we had not left for five yards and we proceeded quietly along the highway. The peasant however came up, a big and unpleasant-looking fellow, and commenced abusing us violently, all in German of which I understood not a word, but in terms as the guide declared the very worst a man could make use of, and with most energetic gesticulations. I looked at the man and spoke mildly in French, which most probably he did not comprehend, but I at once saw he was very drunk and fiercely angry. The guide was a short tempered man, and he declared he would not stand having his charge abused in this way; but his remonstrances only increased the drunken man's anger, and I had to tell him quietly but firmly that he must be silent, that I was not afraid of anything but being detained, and that unless he or I were actually struck, he must positively do or say nothing, but follow me at best walking pace. The man followed us for a considerable distance, incessantly shouting out abuse, and several times coming up so close and in so threatening a manner that I hardly hoped to escape without a struggle. I therefore kept my Alpen-stock well in hand, determined to knock the poor fellow down, drunk as he was, if he touched either of us, but fortunately he did not. We walked very fast, the sun was fiercely hot, and the liquor, I doubt not, began to unsteady our tormentor. To my delight, therefore, he began to drop astern, after a long chase, and I was glad when a turn in the road shut out the last sounds of his abuse.

I mention this instance as the one exception to much civility experienced everywhere, believing it to have been very unusual; and because a very little giving way of temper on my part, under most annoying provocation, might have led to serious consequences, and must probably have ended, with or without other mishap, in a more annoying detention before the nearest

magistrate. This would have been fatal to my hopes of crossing the Gemmi next day, or probably at all, and if other travellers should unfortunately be persecuted as I was, I hope they will be rewarded by as easy an escape, in return for the exercise of perhaps a difficult control of temper under unsought for irritation. The guide afterwards took pains to inform me, that it would have been his duty to fight to the death if I had been touched; and I could see from his eye and manner that he meant it, and was probably sorry I had not allowed him to have a tussle with the poor drunkard, who, I hope, soon forget all about us!

We pursued our route up a fine undulating and rich valley, and, at 12-54, reached the turn to Henstrik-bad, some baths of good repute across the valley to the west, near the foot of the grand Niesen over 8,000 feet elevation, with fine forest and crag above the baths, and the remains of some large avalanches. Heavy rain came on here, lasting about an hour, when the day cleared up again. At 1-14 P.M., we passed Reichenbach, a neat and thriving village, and, at 2-10, crossed to the left bank of the Kander by a good and new wooden bridge, heavily covered with wood-work as these bridges usually are. I was often puzzled to understand why so much expense is incurred to cover over the bridges, without finding any one to explain the reason, and perhaps it is for the double object of protecting the main wood-work of the bridge, and of giving stability by weight to resist the violent rushes of wind often sweeping down the valleys. A notice is common at these bridges, that any one riding over them except at foot's pace will be severely fined, though they appear built with an excess of strength that should render all loads or paces immaterial!

On nearing Frutigen I noticed a very curious appearance high up on the mountain-side in advance. This was a long slope of snow, rapidly melting, broken into long even ridges of snow and dark furrow, exactly like what one could fancy a giant's potato field in winter. I never before noticed any thing of the kind so regular and curious in my snow wanderings. We saw hereabouts a weazel running down the road towards us; I stopped the guide and we remained quite still. The little animal came on, sitting up twice and looking around as if suspecting danger, but he came to within a few feet before noticing us, and then dashed rapidly into the hedge, evidently much frightened. But as it happened he must have run in upon an unfortunate mouse, for he re-appeared almost instantaneously with the mouse in his mouth, and scampered away up the road again—home no doubt. It seemed odd how, while

running in fright from us, the weazel could have retained coolness enough to snap up the poor mouse thus accidentally met, but so it evidently was!

This valley of the Kander ought to be a very paradise for birds, abounding as it does in woods, copse, and fields, but we saw or heard very few. Yesterday, in the copse leading to the Finster Aare en Sleuch, I saw a jay, the first yet. Blackbirds, thrushes, and chaffinches are not uncommon, and magpies seem everywhere numerous compared with the few to be met in England; indeed they are perhaps the most frequently seen bird, but, on the whole, the absence of life in so much wild country is very remarkable, and forms, as I have before said, a defect amid the general beauty.*

We reached Frutigen, a neat and thriving village, at 3-15 P.M., and halted for dinner. My feet were very painful from the tightness and thinness of my boots, and it afterwards turned out that the guide was even worse off, though at the time I did not suspect it; in fact we had probably walked too much without any previous training or practice. I soon, however, got a liberal supply of water for my midday splash, and after a good dinner I felt quite fresh for a new start at 4-53 P.M. Thus far our course had been south up the Kander valley, fertile and well-populated, with snow masses here and there up the lateral valleys, and in grand masses far up to the south-west. We now had to turn nearly due east, some grand snow visible in the distance, perhaps twelve or fourteen miles off.

On coming out I perceived the guide was very lame, in fact his feet were painfully sore, and after trying in vain to engage a conveyance on to Kanderstig, we halted for a few minutes at a peasant's house, got an obnoxious nailed patch removed from one of the guide's shoes, his feet well rubbed in butter and wrapped in cloth, affording him great relief, and we then moved slowly on.

Below Frutigen a good sized stream coming from the west is crossed, and in advance on a low hill to right is a huge white house. A little rain fell, and on the opposite hill to the left we saw the most perfect double rainbow I ever remember to have noticed—very beautiful it was. The road, still good and passable for carriages, ascends rather steeply, and the valley becomes grandly wild, enormous crags on either side, with trees here and there, and in advance huge masses of snow. At 6-35, we passed a deserted old castle, a massive square ruin, perched high up above the road to left, and formerly no doubt enabling its

* It is due entirely to the absence of Game Laws in Switzerland.

possessors to levy tribute from all travellers to or from the Gemmi. Now, however, its baneful influence has ceased, and a large tree growing apparently from the summit tells how long it has been abandoned. From hence in advance there is the best view I had yet seen, and the fine clear evening enabled me to enjoy it to perfection. Due south the Dame Blanche rises up, a glorious pyramid of snow; a little west of it is the Rinderhorn, almost as magnificent; and then the Alshills with a comparatively bare sheet of rock. To east is the Eischenhorn, a long flat of snow, and beyond it the Toldenhorn with a snow slope on its left, cragged bare top, and huge steep cliffs facing us, also a grand slope of snow behind and beyond it. Altogether this was a grand panorama, and the guide assured me it was seldom the Dame Blanche stood out so long and so perfectly in view. Two fine water-falls came down from the range across to our right, and the nearest objects on either side were some grand and steep cliffs. At 7-15, we had a grand precipice above to the left, fully 1,500 feet of sheer rock visible above the pine trees fringing its base, and the summit showed a really fine profile of a majestic old lion, which the guide had not before noticed, and which he agreed should in future be pointed out as "*Le Lion Suisse*." It really looked as fine as Thorwaldsen's at Lucerne, but on an infinitely larger scale, chiselled, as it seemed, by some freak of nature. I shall be quite disappointed if future travellers do not recognize and admire this remarkable object, which, from the other side, a good way further on, changes to a good resemblance of a venerable and bearded old man, eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, all appearing quite distinct.

At 7-20, the road winding a good deal, we had a superb pyramid of snow to the left, and beyond it the flatter Radelhorn, with the full moon rising grandly between them. Far, far away to the north north-east the Hotel du Niesen was dimly visible, on the very summit of that mountain, which rises above the Henstrik-bad baths.

Further on, the grand masses of snow to our left assumed very different outlines, and I got a little confused about their names with the guide. Probably I have misnamed some, and the order in which they come; but the view is certainly there, and any traveller who enjoys it on a fine evening will, I am sure, admit that I have not at all over-rated its grandeur. The Blumels-Alp, seemingly highest of all, a grand cone of snow, with a long flat snow table is also visible from hereabouts.

We reached the Kanderstig hotel at 8-3 P.M. The village is small, grandly shut in by crag and snow on every side, save the valley approach we had come by, which on looking back is

tolerably open. The day's travel had been long, more so than it looks on a map, but without any tiring ascent, and probably owing to the cool evening, and the glorious scenery on approaching Kanderstig, I felt very little fatigued on reaching the end of it. My guide too had freshened up, and pronounced his feet quite good for the Gemmi pass, so I went early to bed in good spirits, hoping for a fine day on the morrow, sleeping indifferently however, and dreaming of wonderful glaciers and adventures on them!

Sixth day, 27th May.—From Kanderstig, over the Gemmi pass, to Susten.

Started 3-35 A.M. Arrived at 2-35 P.M. .

Walking ... 9 hours 48 minutes.

Halting ... 1 „ 12 „

Total ... 11 hours 0 mins.

I was called very early, and started at 3-35 A.M., after a good breakfast. The Victoria Hotel very comfortable, and people obliging; and the view from it very fine. The morning was cold, but our road lay chiefly along the right bank of the Kander, till on passing a large new hotel (de l'Ours) at 4-20, the ascent began, a good zigzag of road from seven to ten feet wide, protected at the bad places by a stout hand-rail, winding west and east under the base of the cliffs. At 4-50, Kanderstig was far below us to the north-east, seeming in a plain, but the river—a rather fine torrent—had trended away north and north north-west. The ascent continued up through pine forest, or winding about to clear the high crags, chiefly to our west, a little snow here and there, but only for about the last quarter of a mile over the road, and, at 5-40, we had mounted the chief ascent. The road latterly not so good, but perfectly easy for horses and mules.

We now halted to smoke a pipe and enjoy the prospect. North-east, immediately below where we sat, is a very deep and dark ravine, leading up east to a pass into the Leutchine, seen by us from Tourtemagne. The opposite side, Schwarzenbach rises, a steep rocky mass to about 2,000 feet above the ravine, with snow-beds on its jagged summit, sides, and east face, and forms a grandly wild object: north and north-east were crags and snow, and a little east of north the sun was shining brightly on the little green valley of Kanderstig.

We started again at 6 A.M., southerly through pine forest, the Altis mountain across a ravine to south, its summit

a fine pyramid of snow, and its east face a grand perpendicular face of rock, I should think fully 2,000 feet in full view; west of the Altils the fine snow mass of Rinderhorn. At 6-25, the long steep and pure slope of snow on the north face of Altils, with a huge jagged mass of blue ice below, was grandly in view. Many pretty flowers were along the road, crocus, heath, cowslips, &c., and to our right all view was shut out by a low range of cliffs close above, which, however, opened out in advance.

We passed on over an uneven basin shut in on all sides, a few summer huts near the path, and here, as in the dark ravine below the Schwarzenbach, heavy work has been performed to keep the now tiny water-courses from cutting away a few roods of poor grass-land.

At 6-52, a few small trees about, we commenced a moderate ascent over snow-beds, and here, as elsewhere during my trip where the localities were pronounced favourable, I took a long but useless view with my glass in hopes of having a passing glimpse at a chamois.

After a rather steep ascent over an avalanche, firm snow, to 7-35 we had an easy path to 7-40, and halted at the small Hotel Schwarzenbach for a rest. A peasant from Frutigen (he had started at 2 A.M., he said, but I should think much earlier) had joined us on the way up and kept company. There were also two young fellows who had come up from Loik this morning, and we all had a good meal of bread and cheese, with three pints of very tolerable white wine, for the moderate charge of 2s. 3d!

We started again at 8-10, as the snow in advance was said to be heavy, and we wished to pass it before softened by the morning's sun. Up over heavy snow, fair footing though we sank in knee-deep now and then, wild crag and snow all round, and along over a waste of snow, passing sundry spots pointed out to me as where poor travellers had been killed by falls or avalanches; and over the bed of what is a pretty little lake, round which the road usually passes, now covered with from four to six feet of snow. Then up a tiring ascent of deep new snow, the worthy peasant producing a little paper-bag of lump sugar and giving us each a piece as good for the wind, which, I dare say it may be; certainly it pleasantly moistened the mouth. Some of the snow was intensely blue when pierced by the Alpen-stock, which the peasant seemed to enjoy, working down five or six feet every now and then. At 10-10 A.M., we reached the crest, and, at 10-20, we sat down at the commencement of the descent to Leukerabad. A grand panorama of

snow-peaks visible far away in our front (south), and the Lammer glacier, with its parent camel's back—like mass of pure snow, being some three or four miles westward; while below in the valley were the green fields and trees near Leukerabad (the village not visible hence), which, however, were not to be reached without a toilsome descent.

Two young Germans passed us here coming up, and they gave a very bad account of the snow on the descent. They were tired, as well they might be, and much they enjoyed a little drop of brandy, and a couple of cigars each to smoke on their way to Kanderstig, being unprovided with anything of the sort. We commenced the descent at 10-32, but had scarcely proceeded a few yards, when my guide, whom I had seen in conversation with the peasant, said he would be thankful if I could let him return at once, as the weather looked threatening, and he wished to be spared the risk of coming back in a storm. He said, too, that the peasant would carry my hand-bag, and take me safely to Loik or Susten, and though I could not understand a word of the peasant's German, and he barely one of my French, I thought it only reasonable to let the guide turn back, as he had been a very civil and intelligent companion. I therefore settled with him on the spot, and we parted with a few kindly words and mutual hopes of meeting again.

I now commenced the descent with the peasant, who soon informed me that it was "nicht commode," we could not understand each other. To this I naturally agreed, and I believe it was nearly the only occasion we did understand, all else being managed by my saying "Loik" or "Susten," and waving the hand in that direction. In fact I ought to have kept the guide, and but that I thought he was foot-sore, and that the weather had become overcast and threatening, I should have done so. I was, however, very glad I had let him turn back, when a violent storm of wind and rain, which would be snow on the mountain, came on soon after I was comfortably housed at Susten.*

The Leukerabad cliffs, down which the road zigzags, are really stupendous, a mass of castle-like projections with alternate deep recesses, all nearly perpendicular. The height is stated at 1,560 feet, which it must fully be, and though what I saw of the road was not good, it would soon be put in order for the season; while as a work of great difficulty and expense it is much to the credit of cantons Bern and Valais, at the joint expense of which it was constructed. Some way down I was shown the place marked by a rude cross cut in the rock, where an English lady fell from her horse and was killed two or three years ago. The cliff side was protected by a few feet of hand-railing, but as

most of the descent was deep in snow, and we had to toil almost waist-deep in a narrow trough of it, there may have been railings or parapets at other spots which I could not see. The spot whence the poor lady fell is not particularly bad, having a fair width of about five feet, and she appears to have become frightened, and to have fallen from her horse into the zigzag below, about 100 feet, while the horse remained safe. But the whole ascent is too dangerous for riding, especially on strange horses, and travellers who cannot walk up or down it, which by going very slowly ought, I think, to be within the compass of any one fit to travel, should be carried in a kind of sedan chair, which, I believe, can always be hired.

At 11-27, we reached the base of these grand cliffs, and I was not sorry to be out of the only part of my trip I had considered at all dangerous, though it was so merely in consequence of recent heavy snow. The path zigzags down the long base of *débris*, formed by ages of crumbling from the mass above, and covered towards the bottom by fir and other trees, and, at 11-57, we reached Leukerabad, a collection of poor hovels, some fine hotels, and a neat little church. It stands in an undulating grass valley, shut in to north and west by the grand cliffs, and to the east by a softer looking hill, snow clad at present, and with patches of snow in the ravines, also in the indentations of the cliffs. It must be a very hot place in summer.

I would fain have seen a little of the famed baths here, where the bathers sit for hours in sociable chat, with floating tables for their requisite mental or creature comforts, and tired and heated as I was, I should greatly have enjoyed a dip. But my absence from home had already been too much prolonged, and I was forced to move onwards, without seeing more of the place than a few ladies and gentlemen sauntering about on a neat grass flat.

* A man who spoke French offered me a conveyance to Sion for fifteen francs, would not take ten which I thought quite enough, so I walked on. The sun was now intensely powerful, as is often the case before a storm, and I had a very hot walk down the valley. The scenery is very fine, in parts grand, and a drive along the good carriage-road must be very enjoyable. We took short cuts when available, which my new guide well knew, and, at 1 p.m., halted for a few minutes at Inden, a pretty village on a flat projecting into the valley. Some of the rocky gorges in the ravine above Inden are very fine. The church-bells were ringing sweetly, as we refreshed ourselves with a modest pint of good *vin ordinaire*,

and I would fain have halted longer, but there was a long and hot stretch of valley-road yet to be traversed, and we moved on after a brief ten minutes' rest, taking a short cut down through a pretty wood to the fine and lofty stone bridge over the stream in our way to Loik; another good carriage-road going from Inden to Sion. There is a fine view from the bridge of the rocky gorge above, and the more open but deep ravine below, with the little torrent foaming along.

We now took the good new road towards Loik, and I somehow managed to understand from the peasant that I was to have left the guide's certificate with my Alpen-stock at an inn at Leukerabad, instead of at Loik as I had supposed, having had no means for writing when we parted on the Gemmi. This determined me on pushing on to Susten, where I knew the landlord of the inn would take charge of the certificate, instead of sleeping at Loik, as I had latterly purposed. We passed through Loik at 2-15 P.M., a large village, most of the shops closed, and the people sauntering about in their best clothes, with rifle practice going on close by. Another short cut and rather steep descent brought us to the Rhone, crossed by an old wooden bridge at 2-30, the sun intensely hot, and the good peasant, well tired as he must have been by his long walk from Frutigen, dropping asleep in an instant as I stopped on the bridge to write a few notes. Indeed, the heat was very oppressive, and had been so all the way from Leukerabad. Five minutes' more walking brought us to the hotel at Susten at 2-35 P.M., and while delighted with my day's march, I was very glad to have reached the end of the long descent from the Gemmi.

I had a little trouble with the peasant, who claimed three francs for having accompanied me from Leukerabad, to which place only he said he had agreed with the guide to conduct me, but in the end I gave him one franc, which with sundry glasses of wine was fair payment for his extempore guidance, and we parted good friends.

The diligence from Brieg to Sion was reported due at Susten, about 8 or 9 P.M., no one seeming to know the precise time, and I determined on proceeding by it according to my original intention. After dining comfortably, I was enjoying a nap on the sofa, when a violent storm of wind and rain came on, and, I felt thankful to have got over my wanderings and be safe under cover, with the high road and diligence to complete my round.

The diligence arrived about 8-30 P.M., and I took possession of the one vacant seat inside, though had all been full a

“supplementary” conveyance would have been ordered from the hotel, as it seems the custom, a very good one, to forward all travellers at no charge beyond the ordinary diligence fare, which to Sion was only three francs forty centimes, or under three shillings, for about twenty-five miles of road.

Heavy rain fell all night, and it was twenty minutes past mid-night when we reached Sion, the huge diligence with its roof-load and guard’s perch making good progress with its four horses, when in motion to the most terrific, but, I fancy, harmless cracks of the coachman’s long whip, every crack ringing like a pistol shot! But we had unconscionably long stoppages when changing horses, on the whole confirming the axiom, that “Heavy bodies move slowly.” I was very glad to find myself in bed again at the Lion d’or, after having been up nearly twenty-two hours, but my neighbours were very merry, carriages seemed to rattle over the cobble paved street below nearly all night, and I slept but very indifferently, perhaps over-tired.

28th May.—Here ended my walking trip, and the streets being hopelessly noisy from a grand fair going on, I rose at 6 A.M., and looked out upon a sea of heads thronging the main street of Sion (the grand part) in wonderful variety of costume. Many of the women were very pretty, and the great variety of their head-dress, due, I fancy, to people having assembled from several cantons, was interesting, the broadest and jauntiest of straw hats contrasting with gaudy but tasteful head-dresses of variegated and handsome ribbons of all colours and edged with gold or silver lace, nine or ten inches high, and grouped vertically round the head, with a broad fall behind, in a very graceful fashion. The men, with some marked exceptions, were not good-looking, a strong lower Irish cast of countenance prevailing, which I think other travellers cannot fail to notice, and their coats of every colour, from brown frieze to pure and bright blue, were of the old, old fashion I remember in England as a boy more than forty years ago. Much buying and selling was going on, every one seemed happy, and altogether there must have been many thousands of visitors to the fair, which I heard was one of the two great annual fairs.

I now close my hurried, and, I fear, somewhat unconnected notes of a month’s tour, which to me was productive of much pleasure, and not a few novel ideas. In dwelling at length on the details of my six days’ walk, the object has been to show intending tourists how much may be done in a short time, where the inclination and fair walking powers exist. Switzerland

abounds in many such rounds as I took, often no doubt with grander scenery and more of general interest, and I feel assured that any one arranging his trip beforehand, and carrying it out despite any little annoyances of weather or fatigue—the latter to be much relieved by occasional carriage-lifts if desired—cannot well fail to be much delighted with all he sees and does. The particular round I took could be managed in ten days, by arranging for a guide beforehand, as Geneva is to be reached in twenty-four hours from London, and Sion easily the next day from Geneva, thus giving four days for rapid travelling, and six days for the walk. Any one writing beforehand to guide Furor at Grindelwald, with time for his reply, could, I think, rely upon having him or a good guide ready at Sion, and I believe that no one who desires to see and admire a portion of beautiful Switzerland, will be disappointed by such a trip.

On reading over what I have written, it appears as though I had too often indulged in almost hyperbolic expressions of “grand” “sublime” “very fine,” &c. But this has not been my intention. I have honestly and within fair limits endeavoured to convey the impressions made upon my own mind, by many varied and beautiful scenes I had the pleasure of seeing, and I feel assured they will be, at the least, highly appreciated by any traveller who visits them, albeit that later in the year much of the wildness, and not a little of the discomfort of my trip in the mountains, will have disappeared under the rapid melting of the snow. Enough, however, will remain to delight the traveller, and whether in May, as I recommend, or at any season of the year, I heartily wish him *bon voyage et bon courage*, being satisfied that once on the way he will not regret having decided on a trip over my route, or any similar one.

We now part from ‘the old Bengallee.’ We have inserted his travels at full length under the impression that the adventures of Colonel Samivel cannot fail to be interesting to those, to whom long absence from Europe has caused a forgetfulness of things European, and who may be glad to see that nearly forty years of Indian service impair neither the will nor the power to enjoy.

- ART. V.—1. *Three Military Questions of the Day*. By Sir Henry M. Havelock, Bart, Major unattached. Longmans Green and Co., London, 1867.
2. *Notes on Cavalry*. By Captain Montgomerie, 20th Hussars, Clowers and Co., London, 1866.

“THREE Military Questions of the Day” is the simple title of an original and striking book, recently published. The author is an officer of reputation in his profession, and the son of one of the most distinguished generals and military writers, that India has seen in its more recent history. An Indian turns with a natural interest to the work of an author, who bears the name of Havelock, and his interest is confirmed by the important connection of the “questions” it discusses with Indian politics, and the stability of our rule in this dependency. Every consideration that affects the strength and efficiency of the English army is a material one to the Indian politician. The English Government of India has been always based on a military tenure, and there is little hope, that it can ever be otherwise. It is almost disheartening to find that the advantages of a civilized, peaceful, and humane rule have not sufficient innate force to compel a loyal and grateful attachment to the foreign rulers; but our most happy efforts are apparently unable to produce more than a passive obedience in the people of the country. Our native army once revolted, and the maintenance of British supremacy is henceforth ultimately dependent on the British army. The military tenure of India is, in fine, a tenure by British troops.

Sir Henry Havelock’s book is not a technical work. In language, which every civilian will understand, he describes the effects, which his proposed reforms will produce, not only on the fundamental conditions of the army, but more particularly on the tactics to be adopted in actual warfare. In this age of popular science it is especially satisfactory to have the discoveries and changes of a science, which in this country at least may affect the security of each man’s life and property,

so recorded as to be intelligible to the unscientific. It requires no further preface for heartily recommending to the attention of the Indian public the book, which stands at the head of this review.

It commences with an exposition of the author's views on the formation of an army of Reserve. Then follows a historical disquisition on the bearing of the new inventions in gunnery on the cavalry arm of the service. The book closes with an application of the facts of a changed army and changed tactics to the more economic military tenure of India. The first point affects us remotely; the second, as it appears, directly; in the third to the Indian lies the gist of the whole matter. We propose to place before the reader as briefly as possible the facts and arguments of the author.

On the question of the Army of Reserve Sir Henry Havelock is in advance of his age. On the 13th of May, Sir J. Pakington introduced in the House of Commons three bills to regulate enlistment and organize a Reserve. One extends the first period of service in the Infantry from ten to twelve years; the others form a Reserve of men, who have completed at least the first term of service in the regular army, and of a fourth of the militia, if so many can be induced to volunteer. The advantage, if not the necessity, of a Reserve is thus freely admitted; and it is further certain that the surest and most efficient recruitment of it will be from the men, who leave the line regiments. It is true that this source has hitherto yielded a most limited supply. The "Army of Reserve" in 1866 numbered 2,081 men, and the "Enrolled Pensioners" but 13,328. Soldiers, however, seem to be ignorant of the existence of the Reserve [*vide* p. 21], and it can hardly be doubted that terms, such as those proposed by Colonel Havelock, if thoroughly made known to the men, would persuade many to enrol themselves in its ranks. The pension of the old soldier does not enable him to sustain a family; his training has seldom taught him the means of earning a separate livelihood. It is certainly probable that the discharged private would gladly embrace terms, which, though requiring from him attendance at an annual drill, would leave him free for the greater part of the year, and afford him material assistance in the prosecution of the trade, to which he might devote himself.

The manner, therefore, of recruiting the Army of Reserve is undisputed. The issue is, will the main army, as at present constituted, yield a sufficient supply of recruits? It is possible, that good terms, if freely notified, would attract men who have already taken their discharge, but of men, whose time is about

to expire, Colonel Havelock, sanguine as he is, does not expect a larger annual supply than 3,000 to 5,000. In an Indian Mofussil station there are neither actuaries nor war-office data, but if Sir Henry's assumptions formed at head-quarters are correct, it requires no abstruse calculation to discover that at this rate we should have with difficulty an "Army of Reserve" of 40,000 or 50,000 men in twenty years. This will be well when attained. Sir Henry Havelock does not want more. He contents himself with the defensive policy, which gave birth to our volunteers and guides our cabinets; he asks for a trained force of only the numbers we have mentioned, to co-operate with our Home Army of 55,000 men in case of invasion. Small as it is, compared with those gigantic Reserves, which were the secret of Prussian successes, and British misgivings, this "just line" of 100,000 men is the desideratum. Sir J. Pakington's bill will not give it from this source for a period so protracted, that we in India might safely put the proposal aside, as not affecting the destiny of our empire here.

But the nation proclaims like its former king,

"Let our proportions for these wars,
"Be soon collected, and all things thought upon,
"That may with reasonable swiftness add,
"More feathers to our wings."

Sir J. Pakington accordingly remedies the deficiency by asking the militia to volunteer for the Reserve. This, as the army stands, and as the Enlistment Bill has been framed, may be the only means of obtaining an early accretion to the stinted ranks of the Reserve. Sir Henry Havelock alters the premise, and proposes a different plan. He suggests a modification of the discharge rules in the present army, and a change in the terms of enlistment for at least the next five years. Both suggestions are included in the one proposition, that the term of service in the regular army should be shortened. It may be useful to compare the two schemes. Sir Henry Havelock would reduce the service with the line regiments of men now in the ranks, on the condition of their giving two years' service in the Reserve for one in the line, and he would require in future from the recruit an engagement to serve in the Reserve Army at the expiry of his period of short service. The first point of comparison is therefore in his favour, for in the one case every man who leaves the regular army passes, as a matter of course, into the Reserve, while in the other the consent of each is bought. Further, the militiaman is at the present a half-trained soldier, and Sir J. Pakington provides only for his future improvement by stipulating that he shall drill eight weeks in each year with

regular troops. Sir Henry Havelock on the contrary provides a trained soldier, who has already passed five years in the army, and who would not require more than fourteen days' annual drill. There are few trades, in which a man could yearly absent himself for two months without injury to his prospects—few, in which an absence of two weeks would not benefit him by the exhilaration of a holiday and a change. Sir Henry Havelock's proposition, moreover, has a material bearing on a point, which has attracted the most serious attention of the Home authorities. He maintains that the mere fact of shortening the term of service will do more to make the army popular amongst even a better class of recruits, than any other measure, which can be conveniently adopted. His argument in its favour is excellently put.

"Many a well conditioned lad, who will not now look at the recruiting sergeant's shilling, because he is forced to bind himself for ten or twelve years, would be glad, from the mere love of change, to go for five or seven, and would have no objection to the additional bond for seven or nine years in the Reserve, that ensured his being brought home at the end of a short foreign service to spend the rest of the time at home in an almost nominal military service that would not debar him from more profitable employment amongst his friends, and only liable to be broken in upon in time of war. . . . By giving a greater impetus to recruiting, it would enable us to draw sufficient men from various portions of our service (for whom it would find immediate substitutes in recruits) to enable us speedily to raise the Reserve to respectable numbers, and thus early to obviate our present danger."

In a more remote fashion also short service would eventually conduce to the popularity of the army by removing the class of half-starved pensioners, of whom it has been well said that they are permanent scarecrows to warn their neighbours from a military career. These men are scarecrows, because they shew the result of the longest service under the present system. In their place we should have men living in comfort in their native land, earning their bread in a trade possibly learnt in the ranks, but assisted to maintain a reputable position, proud in the relation of their youthful adventures and in the right to the retention of the red-coat, which is still a passport to the respect of Englishmen and the regard of Englishwomen. The mention of Englishwomen reminds us of the argument, that has been elsewhere urged, that the adoption of a system of short service would enable the Government to prohibit marriage during the period, in which they kept their soldiers on active

duty. The saving to the Government, and the convenience to military commanders, to which such a regulation would lead, are not likely to be under-estimated, but the financial recommendations in favour of the change are sound. The curtailment of the term of service would remove the necessity for permanent pensions, except to such men, as had been actually invalided from service, and it would provide an army of young privates, cheaper than the existing body, which comprises so many old and often married soldiers. It is the opinion of men, familiar with the facts, that the re-engaged soldier is not superior to his younger comrade, as a military machine. A continuous drill of six months to a year will enable recruits to perform the evolutions required of them with tolerable correctness. As a combatant, the recruit is probably more courageous in battle, more active and energetic on the march, than his married or ambitionless senior.

When therefore, it is remembered that the intended additions to the soldier's pay and pension will increase the cost of an already expensive army, there must be some remaining consideration of exceptional weight to out-balance those in favour of a system, which will provide a better service at less direct cost to the State. It appears, then, that with the present system of a general service for colonial as well as for Home defence, a service of short terms cannot be adopted without necessitating an enormous expense in the accomplishment of the reliefs. Had India possessed a separate local army, had the Colonies their own arrangements for their own protection, England might at once have effected a substantial, and beneficial change in the construction of her army. It is not long since the English Parliament abolished the local European army in this country, the removal of the colonial garrisons would not be immediately possible if desirable, and it is scarcely to be expected at a time of such engrossing interest in political reform, that the house should have leisure to reconsider the grounds of the abolition of the separate Indian army or to subvert the time-honoured institution of the defence of the Colonies.

Colonel Havelock accordingly proposes an intermediate measure, the withdrawal from the European force in this country of 15,000 to 20,000 men, and the restriction to the next five years of the enlistment for short service. The policy, or in other words, the safety of the withdrawal of so large a force will be hereafter considered, but even this proposal is based on the assumption, that India will pay for the transport of these troops from her shores, as well as the cost of the extra reliefs, which will follow from the adoption of the system. Colonel Havelock

argues that the formation of a Reserve being partly intended to provide a force for the assistance of the Indian Government in the event of another Mutiny, and a Reserve of European troops being more cheaply maintained in England than in India, India may be equitably expected to bear this cost. It is overlooked, that the voice of general opinion in this country is opposed to such a reduction, and till a Home danger arose, no one had discovered the idea of a Reserve, which should be so economical and at the same time beneficial to India. To grant, however, for the moment, that such a reduction can be safely made, and that the cost of the formation of England's Reserve can fairly be saddled on the revenues of India, it still remains, that, if the scheme is to produce an improvement in our army, it ought to be adopted, if possible, rather as a permanent measure, than as a temporary one. There can be no doubt indeed, that, if once adopted, it would be permanently maintained. With the creation of an Army of Reserve, it is to be feared, the patriotic enthusiasm of the volunteers would fade, and that the paid Reserve might be required for the double duty of Colonel Havelock's second and fourth lines, *i. e.*, as a Reserve for the Home Army, as well as for foreign service. The authorities of the War Office and Horse Guards would also doubtless prefer an army of trained soldiers to a body of volunteers, valorous and eager, but not a third of whom possess the mechanical skill in evolutions, or the experience of a soldiering life acquired by their military brethren. They would not likewise be regardless of the fact, that the services of the Reserve are compulsory during war, of the volunteers compulsory only for a fortnight. A campaign of longer duration than a fortnight might be ruinous to many a volunteer, fresh from the bar of the Old Bailey, or the counter of his haberdashery shop, and personal and domestic cares might prove too much for the most public-spirited citizen-soldier. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that the system, once started, would be continued, and that India would have to pay for the relief of 50,000 men every five years a sum amounting to nearly three quarters of a million per annum. But there seems no reason from an Indian point of view, why India should not secure these 50,000 men for herself for twelve years or twenty instead of for five, and thus save the cost of a constant transit. However prematurely, therefore, it might be well to consider the obstacles to the reproduction of the old local army, and the consequent release of England from engagements which prevent her adoption of the most beneficial reform in her army, that has yet been suggested.

It would appear from the evidence taken before the commission on recruitment, that the recruits obtained for the Company's

European Army were men of a different class from those, who enlisted into the Queen's service, and were much more readily procured. They were "mostly men, who had been in a better class of life—some were medical men, some attorneys, and some had been clerks in ranks." The reason, why they selected India, was that "a great many of them wished that they might never turn up again; and then there were situations in India, which were not exactly like the position of a private soldier, they were conductors up the country and places of that sort, and they made themselves very comfortable." It seems, then, that in former days the local Indian service attracted men of a different stamp chiefly because it offered a different career. If the general service were made one for a short term only, and confined to the garrisoning of stations at Home or in the neighbouring Colonies, there would be a separation of services so distinct, that the two armies could hardly be rivals in the recruiting field. For a short service of five years in England, or England and Canada, we might confidently expect to find men of a better class than we obtain at present, enlisting under the natural "ambition of being able in five years to resume their peaceful occupations, richer men by four pence or six pence a day, and wiser and better from the experience of life, which five years of active soldiering would have given them." For a long service in this country, "the Indian service may be expected still to absorb a fair proportion of men, fond of pleasure, eager to become rich, not very scrupulous as to the means to be adopted to attain their end, broken sometimes in fortune, sometimes in character, sometimes in both, impatient of lives of steady industry, and burning for adventure." Each army would possess an attractive feature, not possessed in force by the army, as it is, and the result, we anticipate, would be an impetus to the flagging recruitment, which the Government hope to remedy by the Bills they have introduced. It is true, indeed, that since the days of the Company's army there is a large increase in the number of what we should call interlopers, if we might use without offence an expressive epithet. Men, unconnected with the Government at arrival in India, are at hand in numbers to compete for the posts once given to the Company's soldiers, but the soldiers of the Queen's local army would have an advantage in their known character and experience of the country, which would lend them unquestionable weight in the competition. It is further true that the Pagoda tree does not drop such golden fruit as of yore, and that the increase of emigration has made known to most parts of England, openings for the acquisition of wealth at least, which were possibly not so

familiar to the people in the days of recruitment for the Company's army. Still the opportunity for the attainment of honorable distinction, and the excitement of war's alarms are such as the Colonies furnish but barely, and must always attract the more martial spirits of the population.

It is certain that some men, who would enlist for one or other of these services, will hardly join the army on its present conditions of service, and if, by separating the armies, we can increase the field of recruitment in England, as well as lessen the cost of the army to India, a fair argument in favour of separation has apparently been made out. Nor are the political objections to a severance unconquerable. The Indian army would not be under the exclusive control of a local government, as under the Company; nor is there the tendency in this country, which exists in the Colonies to deprive the English Government of all voice in its disposition.

The one obstacle to the adoption of a scheme of short service, which would supply England in a few years with the trained Army of Reserve, now so anxiously demanded, does not therefore seem to us insurmountable, and on its removal India would be furnished with a standing army, the strength of which would be measured by *her* wants and *her* means alone, at a smaller cost than she now pays for a force of similar numbers.

The second point taken up by Colonel Havelock is the introduction of a novelty in the art of war—the substitution for a great part of our cavalry of a body of mounted riflemen. Novelties are perhaps no where more deprecated than among military men, till a clear advantage has been proved to attend them. The armies of Europe were slow to avail themselves of the improvements in gunnery effected by rifling, till experience shewed their value. England is even yet slow to adopt a trained Reserve, or to invent the means of rapidly forming it, though its necessity for the purposes of modern war has been amply demonstrated. There are proverbial objections, moreover, to a Jack of all trades, and Colonel Havelock has to contend against a double prejudice, when he suggests the formation of this new force, cavalry equipped as infantry, and expected as a rule to depend upon and use with precision the arms of the foot-soldier. He puts a fair analysis, however, when he considers the cavalry-soldier as the union of man, horse, and equipments. The first two factors we cannot change, and we will further allow, that the third sanctioned by experience, should not be altered without due cause shewn. Colonel Havelock proves by a reference to the history of warfare

and the opinions of distinguished Generals, that cavalry as hitherto armed has not been of signal value as an attacking force. Its place is to complete the work of its steadier and more deadly associates in arms, to give the final shock to an exhausted, bewildered, or flying enemy. Till the enemy is exhausted, bewildered, or put to flight, the cavalry is for the most part inactive.

" All out of work and cold for action."

The reason of its defects as an attacking force is its want of the equipments to fit it for any but a hand to hand conflict. For this reason it is supplemented with artillery and infantry; for this reason it is not trusted alone. This reason has increased in weight as the arms of the fusilier and the gunner have had their range extended. Arithmetical calculations as to the number of bullets lodged in an advancing squadron between 800 and 200 yards may not be borne out in the field of battle. Smoke, dust, and excitement may interfere with the precision of volleys, and the ability of a regiment to discern its enemy at the furthest range of its rifles. But the infantry of Queen Victoria are more skilled in the use of their rifles than the footmen of George III. with their Brown Besses, and on a cavalry charge the breech-loader will enable a regiment to deliver a continuous fire without moving their weapons from the position, which bars the passage of the attacking horse. The gallant officer, whose pamphlet in defence of his service heads this article, himself admits, that "it would be absurd to deny, that cavalry on a modern battle-field would not (*sic*) run more risk than it formerly did" and it is apparent that, for the future, cavalry cannot be used alone against infantry in good order.

Colonel Havelock then asks, whether it is not possible so to equip our cavalry that they shall be able to take an active part in the attack, as well as in the climax of the battle or to act alone if necessary, and so be rendered more useful in the conflict and adapted for manœuvres which are not feasible at present. He instances the case of the Horse Artillery to shew that the combination of infantry arms and cavalry drill will not affect the mounted rifleman in either department of his duty, will not in short produce a Jack of so many trades, that he may not reasonably be expected to be master of them all. He further adduces the history of the late American war in evidence that mounted riflemen have already been found of use in this particular way, have supplied the desideratum in our cavalry, and are the exposition in practice of the manner, in which the strength and speed of the horse may be still

turned to account in warfare not only to conclude a fight and secure its most material results, but to create a line of tactics as brilliantly effective, as it has been hitherto impossible. The American "mounted riflemen" are cavalry soldiers, armed "with the best repeating rifles, and trained under an organized system of drill and manœuvre to the practice of fighting with them on foot, always when possible from behind cover; the horses mean while, each held by a mounted man, or never by less than one man to two horses, being kept out of harm's way further to the rear, but ready at a moment's notice to pick up their men, or to meet them half-way, in falling back for any necessary change of position." A corps of such men, so armed and so drilled, Sir Henry Havelock would now substitute for part at least of our cavalry. It does not appear that he is inclined to substitute it entirely for the cavalry, and when the special use of cavalry is considered, it may be thought advantageous to have in battle a Reserve of fresh soldiers neither reduced in numbers, nor exhausted by fatigue, to close the action.

Of the success of the mounted riflemen in America there can be little question. The military journals at home give the idea, no particular support. They assert that the mounted riflemen of America existed only because the old United States cavalry were simply mounted infantry, and that on these all subsequent corps on both sides were formed. But the question is not why the mounted riflemen existed, but what they accomplished during their existence. In a chapter of great interest, Colonel Havelock gives an account of two engagements, which have a special bearing on his argument. The details of these actions we must leave to be read in the pages of his book, let it suffice to place before our readers the more important facts, which they illustrate. At the battle of the Five Forks, which was one of the most decisive in the war, and which resulted in the fall of Richmond, the Federals were not on the whole successful in the first day's action. It closed, however, with an attack by the enemy with all his cavalry, and two divisions of infantry upon five brigades of the Federal cavalry on the open plain. The Federal cavalry *dismounted*, and the attack was repulsed. The Federals were thus able to retain a position, which was a vantage-ground for their advance on the following day. The second day's attack on the enemy's works, in which the dismounted cavalry took an active share, was entirely successful.

"With their ranks reduced and wearied, and seeing it to be useless to try longer to check these desperate onsets, the Confederates, turning, now rushed to the rear through the only outlet left to them. The dismounted cavalry had swarmed over the

works and entered them simultaneously with the 5th corps at many points. The Confederates were completely routed; the 5th corps 'doubled up' their left flank in dire confusion, and Merritt's mounted reserve brigades immediately seizing the happy moment, dashed forward at a gallop, passed the White Oak wood, and riding into their broken ranks, so demoralized them, that they made no serious stand, after their works were carried,* but fled in disorder. The cavalry finally turned their own captured guns upon them in retreat. Between five and six thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the Federals; and what was almost of more importance, the fugitives were by the quick action of the cavalry, driven off westward, and thus completely cut off from Petersburg. Merritt's and Mackenzie's mounted brigades pursued them till dark over a space of six miles. By this heavy stroke nearly 13,000 men out of Lee's feeble remnant of 42,000 were either killed, captured, or so driven westward as to be completely isolated from him, and no longer serviceable to his defence." On the first day the mounted riflemen were effective infantry; on the second effective cavalry.

Upon this conclusive defeat Lee suddenly evacuated Richmond. There were several lines of retreat open to him, and in consequence the Federal army had been divided into several corps for the pursuit. Sheridan with the 5th corps headed General Lee, and sent intimation to General Grant to bring up the rest of the army of the Potomac. Lee, however, turned off to the West, and Sheridan immediately assuming charge of the cavalry pushed on in a still more westerly direction, while the infantry went in direct pursuit. "When near Deatonville, at Sailor's Creek Sheridan overtook the confederate trains (waggon) moving in the direction of Farmville, escorted by heavy masses of infantry and cavalry, and it soon became evident that he had before him a very strong rear-guard of Lee's army attempting to cover and make good the retreat of the main body. This force (probably at first 10,000 men) was too strong for him to check by confronting it; but he hit upon an ingenious device for *delaying* it with the cavalry, which, under the circumstance of the rest of Grant's army, drawing every moment nearer equally answered the purpose. Crook's division was at once ordered to attack the flank of the trains and the escorting column, and if the enemy was too strong, one of his brigades was to pass on at once *in rear* of his line (while the line, dismounted, held fast and pressed the enemy with their fire,) and attack at a point farther on. Each division doing this in alternate succession delayed the enemy; and this constant searching fire discovered his weak

points. Passing on successively in this manner, Crook's, Custor's, and Deven's divisions crossed over from northeast to the south and west of Sailor's Creek before the Confederates could reach the stream; and getting on the high ground on the farther bank they took post, formed up, faced about, and routed their enemy, thus disputing his passage. They thus captured sixteen guns, 400 waggons, and many prisoners, and by aid of their strong commanding position and superior 'repeating' rifle fire, actually intercepted and turned off their line of retreat, so that they were delayed, until eventually captured, three whole divisions of infantry. . . . Had it been any European cavalry, unarmed with 'repeaters,' and untrained to fight on foot, that was barring the way, any cavalry, whose only means of detention consisted in the absurd, ineffectual fire of mounted skirmishers, or in repeated charges with lance or sabre, the Confederate game would have been simple and easy enough. They would merely have had to form battalion or brigade squares with their baggage in the midst; to have placed these squares in echelon so as to support each other; and then, advancing, to have steadily shot their way through the opposing horse. . . . But the 'mounted rifle' plan of fighting on foot from behind cover made the detaining fire of the Federal cavalry as galling and effectual as that of the best infantry; while by their method of the alternate passing on of mounted bodies in rear of their dismounted skirmishers, these mounted bodies again dismounting in selected positions further on in their turn, they were enabled to present to the Confederates an impenetrable hedge, constantly falling back, and thus avoiding actual contact, but unbroken, continuous, sheltered by obstacles of ground, and constantly emitting in their faces a fire most deadly in its precision and sustained rapidity. They were thus enabled always to keep ahead, and always to present an impassable barrier to further retreat, while they themselves, from being completely covered, avoided any serious loss. The Confederates could not form square against them; because on this formation their repeating fire would have told with ten-fold effect."

The "mounted riflemen" followed up their success, three days later by cutting off the supplies of the Confederate army. The next day Lee's army surrendered.

The argument with its illustrations is before the reader. Let him judge between it and the author. It is to its application to the reduction of the army, that we anticipate an Indian public will alone demur. It commends itself to the reader of Indian history. No one, who has heard of Lord Lake and his galloper-guhs, no one, who remembers the camel-corps of the Mutiny,

will withhold his assent to a proposal, which in the field will bring the British soldier unexhausted alongside his more enduring rival, the Indian Sepoys. The brilliant and detailed comparison, drawn by Sir Henry Havelock, between the tactics of the British Commanders in 1803 and in 1857, should be read *in extenso*. It is perhaps the most effective passage in his book, strong in its deduction, that the wily, active, irrepressible Asiatic can only be conquered by a system of tactics, that combines rapidity of motion with solidity of action. No more happy thought towards this end has been hit upon, than the mounted rifles of the Americans, and their success on another continent against a more vigorous and better equipped foe might well give us confidence in introducing them in this country.

In proposing their introduction Colonel Havelock quotes Napoleon's dictum that an army of 10,000 men, that can move 20 miles a day is superior for war to one of 20,000 whose average speed does not exceed 10 miles a day. From this he argues that in giving India 8,000 mounted riflemen, the English Government may fairly withdraw 15,000 to 20,000 infantry, to form their Home Reserves. He supports his argument by contrasting the condition of the country as it is now with its condition before the Mutiny. Look here upon this picture, and on this—a country disarmed, furnished with a native army of only 130,000 men, provided with railroads and telegraphs in every direction, garrisoned by a British Army of 70,000 which revels in the proud superiority of Enfield rifles, and Armstrong guns—on the other hand, a country full of arms, with a native soldiery of 250,000 men, who held our very magazines, with slender means of communication, and a British Army of only 45,000, armed for the most part with Brown Bess alone. With mounted riflemen, breech-loading rifles, railways, and Lord Lake's tactics, we should be able, urges Sir Henry Havelock, to hold India with a very much smaller force.

The argument deserves attentive consideration, for a reduction of the European army in India is the cry of the every English periodical. That old friend of India Maga himself, fixes 60,000 as the limit, and would keep 15,000 of these in reserve in England. Macmillan calmly resolves to restrict us to 40,000. A Royal Engineer in *Fraser's Magazine* is convinced that 20,000 men in forts, and a similar number in movable columns with some stray out-garrisons would be amply sufficient, if we would only recruit our native army according to correct principles, and locate our valuable British soldiers among the "kuds."

Sir Henry Havelock has moreover carried his arguments to their remote issue. He has calculated the saving, to the country

which his reductions would bring about, and in two of his four chapters has euded an eloquent peroration on the material benefits, which those savings otherwise applied would bestow. The seer pales, as the vision of long canals, pukka roads, and Addisonian Baboos rises before his enchanted eyes.

Unfortunately the vision partakes of the usual characteristics of such phenomena. Shall it be said of it, that it has a 'baseless fabric?' Colonel Havelock calculates at page 31 from the estimates of 1865, that a reduction of 18,000 men from the permanent British garrison of 68,000 would effect a saving of £2,500,000 per annum. But he had just stated at page 27, that he would 'substitute' for 15,000 or 20,000 of our slow-moving line infantry, a body of 7,890 mounted riflemen. Accordingly if Napoleon's dictum be kept to the letter, we should have a reduction of the British garrison, not by 18,000, but by only 8,000 men, and the gorgeous palaces of the sequent vision have their proportions mournfully curtailed. The slip may be forgiven to Sir Henry's enthusiastic nature, but it cannot be overlooked in practice, and the material assistance to the revenue is not so enormous as to out-balance all other considerations.

It would appear, that, substituting for 16,000 infantry a body of 8,000 mounted riflemen, he leaves a garrison of 60,000 men, and that consequently he does not consider that number too large for the requirements of the country. It is true that towards the close of his book (page 190,) he states that 53,000 would not be too few, but he has there evidently deducted the 20,000 for his Home Reserve from the nominal 73,000 of the previous page, and forgotten to add the 8,000 mounted riflemen, whom he was to substitute for the 20,000 withdrawn. We gladly allow this point in his favour, for it brings his views into unison with those of a still more experienced and able soldier, the present Commander-in-Chief in India. Sir William Mansfield in his place in Council stated during the chief debate of the present year, that the actual number of British troops in India was under 61,000, and that he held very decided opinions, that we could not safely make any further reductions.

In that opinion Sir Henry in fact concurs, if we have rightly assumed that his omission to add as well as subtract was a simple oversight. He would even leave of the 60,000, 8,000 mounted riflemen, and to this we give our hearty support. The idea has been tried in the field in America, and apparently with marked success, and there is probably no country in the world, where it could be worked to such advantage as in India in the hands of British soldiers.

In a vein of curious humour the great Scotch poet has said.

“ The best-laid schemes o’ men and mice
Gang aft agley.”

And the simple fact, that Sir Henry Havelock did not possess correct information as to the real numbers of the British forces in India, has vitiated his pet device for the immediate formation of an Army of Reserve. The error in his calculation is not to be regretted, when it affords such unintentional testimony in favour of the views of the Commander-in-Chief. His espousal of the principle of a short term enlistment will do good service, we believe, in a good cause, and one cannot read his book without admiring his warm and honest advocacy of ideas, which will doubtless bring forth their fruit in due season.

For the rest, it is not incumbent on us here in India to defend against the theories of magazine writers the practical opinions regarding the defence of India of one, who has had in fact to defend it in its need, and is now entrusted with the chief command of the defensive force. The Indian public does not require to be told, that prevention is better than cure, and that we want an army of sufficient proportions to check a thought of revolt, rather than one, which we are assured would eventually quell it. We have only 16,000 more men, than we had before the Mutiny and this is probably the minimum compatible with peace and safety. Nor is it a force inconsistent with the revenues of the empire. With the burden of the expense of an army, much larger than it will have in the future to sustain, the empire has passed through an era of unexampled prosperity in the last decade, and we will not yet forego the prospect, which is our author’s refrain, India, peaceful and happy, pressing on in the race of nations, advancing in education, refinement, wealth and virtue.

ART. VI.—*The Land and Labour of India.* A Review. By W. Nassau Lees, L.L.D. Williams and Norgate. 1867.

THE Land and the Labour of India are two subjects of such momentous interest, as to justify us in devoting somewhat more space than usual to the examination and criticism of the statements and opinions set forth in the essays, which have been published under that title. The various publications too, which Dr. Lees has from time to time put forth on subjects of political economy in this country, no less than his practical experience in the development of its resources, entitle him to a patient and attentive hearing. It is true that the present volume is but a reprint of a review which appeared four years ago, and that, in place of the meagre notes which have been added here and there throughout the book, the whole work might possibly have been re-written with advantage. Yet we observe that Dr. Lees' object in leaving the original text untouched, was to show that the views which he now advocates in 1867, and which have been fully borne out by the experience of the last four years, differ in no way from those views which he advocated in 1862, when, he says, they were almost universally condemned in England as erroneous. The form of the re-publication, therefore, is not to be ascribed to carelessness or indolence; it is rather to be regarded as a mode of self-vindication, or an attempt to prove, by further evidence, the same issues which lay between the writer and his critics four short years ago.

It is unfortunately but too often the case, that those who devote themselves to the study of Political Economy, while ever ready to acknowledge that theoretically their principles and axioms depend upon certain external conditions, omit altogether to take them into consideration in their practical application of the results, using those results rather as though they had been deduced with all the exact precision of mathematical demonstration. It was thus that the cotton-spinners of Manchester, in 1862, chose to let their operatives starve rather than guarantee payment for Indian cotton, because it would be a direct interference with the regular course of production and trade. It was thus

that the Board of Revenue, in 1866, pinned their faith to an immutable law of supply and demand, when they should have been urging forward the importation of food into Orissa. And it is in the same spirit that many excellent and well-meaning individuals, especially in England, discuss some very important questions relating to the good government of this country. To counteract this tendency and to remind his readers that the abstract principles of economic science are not of universal application, is perhaps the main object of *The Land and Labour of India*. This is the first position Dr. Lees would impress upon us—the foundation, as it is, of all subsequent progress. For, having once admitted that the general law will not apply, we may then proceed to ascertain the disturbing elements. But if, on the other hand, we set out with maintaining that the same maxims and principles, which obtain in England and Europe, are applicable also to this country, and endeavour to bend circumstances to our own obstinate will, we run a fair chance not only of being unsuccessful in the measures we propose, but of making ourselves ridiculous. In this view Dr. Lees combats some of the more frequent errors into which economists of the class we refer to are liable to run. "Thus," he writes, "the entire theory of value and prices rests on the assumption of a state of society, in which that healthy competition, which arises from the self-interest of all parties concerned, exists. Here the *idea* has not been born. Again, in drawing conclusions in accordance with the laws of this science, such an amount of knowledge on the part of buyers and sellers as will admit of both making themselves acquainted with the ordinary circumstances and conditions of the trade in which they are engaged, and sufficient intelligence to enable each to know what is best for his own interests, must be premised. Neither the one nor the other can be predicated of Indian traders generally." And in his second chapter he details certain peculiarities in the circumstances and condition of India, which are not found in the countries of Europe. He reminds us, for instance, that we have to deal for the most part with an uneducated people, in a very primitive agricultural stage of civilization. He contrasts the state of opinion in England at the present day with what it was before the abolition of the corn-laws, and he contrasts again with that opinion the blind ignorance prevalent in India, which in time of scarcity obstructs the importation of food from other districts. In a comparison between the *laissez faire* school of economists and those who would advocate the interference of the Government in the business affairs of the people he

shows that the fundamental principles of each pre-suppose very different states of society. "If we take twenty highly cultivated and highly educated men and set them around a board groaning with delicacies, served by a *chef* of distinguished merit, it will not follow that all, or even a majority of them will eat and drink only those things that are good for them, or that the proportion of the twenty that will do so, will be the same, if their numbers be composed of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Indians, Chinamen, or any other of the families which compose the human race. So it is with the business of life; and it is consequently wholly impossible to define or determine the proper functions of Governments in the abstract, for it is abundantly clear that those functions which are *obligatory* in one state of society will be only *expedient* in another, probably *unnecessary* in a third, and possibly *mischievous* in a fourth." Dr. Lees chooses to regard the people of this country as eminently in a state of *infancy*, and the Government as bound to stand towards them in *loco parentis*. And proceeding on this assumption, he explains the policy which he would have the Government adopt by an illustration taken from common life. Jones is supposed suddenly to come into possession of a large, though only partially developed, estate, which he wishes to bring into full cultivation. There are three modes of action open to him—to leave the task to his tenantry, to undertake it himself, or to invite the agency of foreigners. Possibly, as in India, the tenantry might lack the capital, intelligence, or enterprize necessary for so extensive an undertaking. Or, if he invited foreigners, and "if a few responded to his invitation and *failed*," "as almost all pioneers do, it would damage the credit of his scheme, and thus materially injure his prospect." Even if they succeeded, they would absorb and carry off with them the profits, which ought to be employed upon the estate. It would be better, therefore, both for himself and for his tenantry that Jones should take in hand the improvement of his own estate himself, provided that he could find the requisite capital or credit for the undertaking. But in this emergency it would be necessary that Jones should secure the services of an intelligent and efficient manager, in concert with whom he might work out his plans. And this last consideration leads the writer to suggest the appointment of a Minister of Commerce for India, whose duty it would be to study the economic requirements of the country, and to advise the Government in all matters which concern the development of its vast resources. "England has her Board of Trade with its President—a Minister of State.

“ Almost every Government in Europe of any respectability has its Minister of Commerce. And until India has *her* Minister with an efficient staff competent to take charge of the vitally important and responsible duties, which in this country attach to such an office, I do not think that the undirected and desultory efforts of Government officials or private individuals will effect a tithe of what might be accomplished in this direction with better management, in a quarter of the time, though it is quite possible that they may do a great deal of mischief.”

Before, however, passing on from the illustration of Jones and his Yorkshire estate, it will be convenient to notice certain remarks which Dr. Lees makes further on regarding the introduction of English capital into India, and which, from their having been somewhat misunderstood, have already, we observe, been made the subject of criticism. We quote the passage at full length; the more so, as by the manner in which the concluding portion is printed, the writer would seem to lay particular stress upon it. “ English settlers and speculators, as pioneers, and by the introduction of capital, will do much for the material progress of the country. But it must never be lost sight of that Englishmen in India are but a means to an end, and that though in the attainment of this end, the interests of both races may be well served, as long as the existence of the one race is exotic, the interests of both must, in no small degree, be antagonistic. * Englishmen in India, from this point of view, are useful only in so far as they supplement deficiencies of the natives, for, birds of passage as they are, if they bring one rupee INTO the country, *it is only that they may take two, or, more probably, four OUT of it. India is certainly the ONE rupee richer; but still the TWO or FOUR poorer than if the developers were true sons of the soil.*” +

Now Dr. Lees appears to us to confuse Englishmen with English capital, and capital with profits. It is true that Englishmen in this country are only birds of passage, but English capital can scarcely be said to be only temporarily introduced into India. The greater part of it becomes *fixed* capital in the shape of railways, canals for irrigation, and factories for the manufacture of indigo, tea, sugar, silk, and the like. And even such portion as may be considered to be *circulating* in the hands of merchants, is never practically entirely withdrawn from the country, the business being either sold or handed on to others, and the capital being added to rather than diminished. The fact is, that English capital is attracted to this country by the higher rate of profits, which

prevails here than is common in England; and Dr. Lees probably meant to say nothing more than that the withdrawal of these large profits from the country was prejudicial to the accumulation of capital. But his assumptions are altogether out of proportion. The *one* rupee which is introduced into this country is *capital*; the *two* and *four*, which represent the *profits* upon that capital are such exaggerated assumptions that they have caused a confusion of ideas. Or, if Dr. Lees is thinking of the case of the speculator, who, after spending a quarter of a lakh in planting a tea-garden, sells it to an English Company for a lakh, and retires with the proceeds, India cannot be said to be poorer by the difference, which probably never found its way into the country at all. But the allegory of Jones and his estate shows that our interpretation of the passage is correct, and that the writer simply meant that, "though the condition of the operative classes would be much improved by the working expenses, the profits would not remain in this country to be again spent in it, but would go to enrich the foreign proprietors of the capital."

On the question of Waste Lands and the means of bringing them into cultivation, Major Lees is in his element. In the first place he is careful to point out that the term *waste* is not synonymous with *unowned* or *unclaimed*. The quantity of unoccupied and unclaimed land, actually at the disposal of Government, is very much less than was formerly supposed, though it still amounts, as Dr. Lees tells us, to a hundred millions of acres, more or less. To effect reclamation of these extensive wastes, the Indian Government has for many years invited both native and European agency on terms, than which, Dr. Lees admits, nothing short of giving the land away could be more liberal. But, with the exception of certain localities in which the success of tea-cultivation, with its large profits, out-weighed the risk to life and health, these very favourable conditions of tenure have, for the most part, failed to achieve the object in view. The question, according to Dr. Lees, is in fact one of profit, and *not* one of tenure. But it is to be observed that, throughout the discussion of this very important subject, the writer confines his observations to the reclamation of wastes by means of European agency and European capital. The question of colonizing India's waste land with India's own sons, though admitted theoretically, as we have seen, to be the best policy for the country, finds no place whatever in the practical discussion of the subject. A note to page 188 tells us of the author's gratification at Mr. Schiller's scheme for the reclamation of the Sunderbuns, "*the natives being its chief supporters*;" but for any scheme of developing India's

resources by the agency of the true sons of the soil, we may look in vain in Chapter III., which professes to deal with this part of the subject. Nay; we think at times we can detect therein a certain hostility to *native* enterprise, as, for instance, when he regrets the possibility of natives out-bidding Europeans. "Were the rights of the people in the soil to be confiscated to-morrow," he writes, "and all the cultivated and culturable land in India to be put up to auction, the next day, except in unpopulated and wild tracts and a few districts favoured by a soil and climate suitable for growing an extraordinarily remunerative crop requiring European skill in its management, not an acre of it would come into the possession of Englishmen, for the sound and very simple reason *that it would be worth the natives' while to pay more for it!*" If Dr. Lees means to say that the natives can produce rice, cotton, and sugar at a smaller cost than Europeans,—and if this is his meaning, we are not sure that we do not agree with him,—there is obviously a sacrifice of some portion of the country's wealth for every acre which is cultivated by the latter.

Dr. Lees takes objection to some of the conditions with which the old rules were fettered. The requirement of a minimum clearance periodically, for instance, is considered obstructive, though the author is not aware of this clause having occasioned much inconvenience. But when the early reclamation of waste-lands is important, when, to borrow again from the allegory of Jones, "every day passed in inactivity is certain loss," some such condition is necessary, not only to prevent speculators from applying for more land than they can possibly bring into cultivation, but to stimulate the energy of those who have abundance of labour and capital at their command. The very reason why the Government leases these lands on such remarkably easy terms, is the desire for their speedy reclamation. Possibly the forfeiture of the *whole* grant in case of failure to comply with the condition, is a somewhat stringent penalty; still, if the rule were that the uncultivated portion *only* should be forfeited, it is obvious that, as a penalty and as a stimulus to exertion, it would have no force whatever. A man might apply for the whole of Assam, not with any intention of cultivating it, but simply that he might enjoy a monopoly of tea-cultivation for a certain number of years. Practically we believe that no injustice would be allowed to follow from the rule. We ourselves are aware of several cases in which grants have been resumed by Government, but in no one of them had a single rupee even been laid out upon the estate.

Regarding the sale of waste-lands in fee-simple, Dr. Lees speaks in decided and authoritative terms, and the event has

fully proved the truth of his remarks. The measure itself he condemns as being unnecessary: the agitation for it was mischievous, and its concession inexpedient. That tea-planters were much better off under the old rules than they are at present, is proved by the number of estates which have lately been abandoned in preference to payment of the purchase-money due to Government. The price bid in some cases was absurdly disproportionate to the value of the land, and generally it may be said that even the upset price of Rs. 2-8 an acre equivalent at $8\frac{1}{2}$ years' purchase to an annual rent from the commencement in perpetuity of nearly five annas an acre, was rather above than below the average rate at which land in the plains could be leased. Planters, too, found that at the outset, they wanted all their capital for purposes of cultivation, and so they soon had reason to regret the abolition of the good old rules. But the temporary agitation for the sale in fee-simple of waste lands, however mischievous and suicidal it has proved, succeeded in obtaining what was demanded at the hands of Government. That concession Dr. Lees condemns as *unnecessary* and *inexpedient*—unnecessary, because English capital was already being embarked in tea-cultivation with sufficient rapidity for the enterprise to remain in a healthy condition; and inexpedient, because of the utter impossibility of determining the real value of waste land by public auction. It is impossible to refute Dr. Lees' conclusions on this point, or to deny him the credit of sagacity and prescience in the criticisms which have been so fully justified by the experience of the past two years. All that can be said for the Government is that, in a weak moment, it yielded to the pressure of a small class who were blind to their own interests, and that now it is reaping the reward of its policy in the prospect of tea-gardens fast relapsing into jungle, and the partial ruin of a most promising agricultural enterprise.

The land-revenue of India is again another of those questions which so happily illustrate the principle for which Dr. Lees is contending, that Indian questions cannot be cursorily treated from an English point of view, without due consideration of the special circumstances of the country. It is unfortunately but too patent at the present day how in their blind admiration of English systems, and in their short-sighted determination to 'adapt them' to India, Lord Cornwallis and his advisers, in granting the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, committed an egregious mistake, the evil effects of which can scarcely be over-stated. The Permanent Settlement may be traced solely to that tendency to apply the economic laws, which obtain in one country, to the widely different circumstances and conditions

of another. ✕ This part of his subject is eloquently argued by Dr. Lees. It is admitted that, contrasting Bengal proper with other parts of India, an amount of wealth has been created in the Lower Provinces, which is truly remarkable. But, as Dr. Lees rightly points out, this increase of wealth is due "not to the activity, energy, and enterprise of an intelligent landed proprietary; but to the extraordinary fertility of the Gangetic Delta, its greater freedom from famines, and to those gains arising from an increase of the area of cultivation, to which the landlords of Bengal had no right or title, and which, however upright the intentions of the law of 1793, can be viewed in no other light than the illegitimate and unjust alienation of the property of the whole community for the benefit of a favoured class." ✕ In 1793 there were thirty millions of acres under cultivation in Bengal; in 1857 there were no less than seventy millions, without any corresponding increase in the Government revenue. ✕ Supposing the difference to have been assessed at the nominal rate of one rupee an acre, Dr. Lees estimates that the Government must have surrendered by this measure no less a sum than one hundred and forty millions sterling, which might fairly have been brought into the coffers of the State. This fact is in itself sufficient to account for a great portion of the wealth which has centred in the zemindars. Now the question which arises is this:—what has the State or the country gained by this act of renunciation? If it is argued that it has placed the zemindars in a better position to contribute to the State's necessities, Dr. Lees would retort by quoting the opposition raised by them when called upon to aid in defraying the charges of the village-watch. In 1859 too, when the income-tax was proposed, the zemindar of Bengal, "claiming immunity under the very Act that effected, it may be said, the creation of their wealth, stoutly resisted its incidence, loading the Government with accusations of injustice and bad faith in lieu of those outpourings of gratitude and substantial donations which might have been looked for." And if there is a particle of logic in the arguments that have lately been used in relation to the License Tax, we must believe that the Government has already abandoned the position of expecting to make up by direct taxation what it has voluntarily relinquished in the concession of the Permanent Settlement. For that position to be sustained, it would be necessary that some special tax should be devised, which should fall with its heaviest weight upon those who have enjoyed and are enjoying the surplus rents of the soil. It might even be a matter of consideration whether some local impost might not with

justice be imposed upon the zemindars of Bengal. But what, on the contrary, is the action of our Government? While the whole labouring community is forced to give up to the State a portion of its hardly-earned income under the mis-nomer of a License Tax, the drones of society, who are living on the fortunes which the liberality of the Government has enabled them to amass, are exempted from the payment of a single rupee. Or, have the mass of the people benefited one jot or one tittle by the Permanent Settlement of the Government revenue? Is the Bengal ryot in any sense a richer, a happier, or a better man than his neighbour in the North West? Is he at all better educated? Have the zemindars "aided in improving the means of land or river inter-communication; have they made roads; built bridges or canals; have they established hospitals for the sick, almshouses for the poor, caravansaries for the weary and exhausted; have they assisted in the maintenance of an efficient police; have they built colleges or schools, or attempted to improve the existing wretched village *patshallas* of the country, or expended any portion whatever of their accumulated savings in elevating, morally or intellectually, their less fortunate fellow-countrymen; have they given long leases to their tenants on such terms as have enabled them to improve their holdings, and attain a small degree of prosperity; have they built houses for them, drained or banded their lands, or in any way cared for their comfort or welfare; finally, have they shown a particle of that enterprise, energy, and activity of character, which in other countries tend to divert the surplus wealth of one section of the people into channels from whence all derive advantage, and to which England owes her fine roads, her many railways, her steam companies, her mining, iron-working, and other companies?" And who will not reply with Dr. Lees, "They have done none of these things."

Regarding the land-revenue, however, Dr. Lees seems to us, if not to be in error, at least to state his views with somewhat of indistinctness. "In India," he writes, "the land-revenue is not a *tax*, and never has been a *tax* in the sense in which that term is understood in Europe. Nor yet is it *rent*. Fusing the elements of the different systems we have to deal with in India, without violating the fundamental principles of any, the question may be fairly thus simply resolved 'The earth, the source of all wealth, is the Lord's. 'The produce is his creatures'. Kings are God's vice-gerents on earth. As such, they have certain duties and responsibilities to perform towards the rest of the creation. In consideration thereof they are legally entitled to a portion of

“ ‘the produce of the soil—a tenth, a sixth, a fourth, as the laws of the land or the necessities of circumstances may determine.’ ” Similarly, if we regard all labour as the source of wealth, the State is entitled to a portion of its produce, and, by whatever name it may be called, that portion is a *tax* in the one case no less than in the other. The fact, indeed, would seem to be this. Land, which is unoccupied and which has never been brought into cultivation, may as a monopoly be regarded as the property of the State, and its value as waste may fairly be taken as Imperial revenue. So soon however as the land is brought into cultivation, and capital begins to be laid out upon it, any increase of value which the land sustains thereby is at once private property, and any attempt to levy a portion of it for the State is simply a tax. The difficulty of the case is this,—a difficulty which Dr. Lees has himself pointed out at pp. 92-7,—that, until the land is brought into cultivation, and in many cases until it has been in cultivation for some years, it is absolutely impossible to determine the value of the State monopoly. For, under this theory, and assuming that the improvements are not effected by the Government, the State monopoly is not identical with *rent*. When once however that value has been determined, any increase of revenue which may be derived from a proportion of the *produce*, is a *tax* upon the labour and capital expended upon the estate. As regards the right of the State to the monopoly, all are agreed; it is as regards the further tax, that opinions differ whether it should be realized through the land or otherwise. In the Lower Provinces the land-revenue is so nominal, that it may be said to be no more than the value of the monopoly to which the State is entitled. But in the North-West Provinces it partakes of both *rent* and a *tax*, falling upon the actual cultivator or the middleman. Dr. Lees would uphold a land-tax on account of its greater popularity with the natives of the country, than other modes of taxation, and for our own part we are disposed to agree with him.

On the subject of population we must confess that our own views and those of Dr. Lees do not accord. In the first place we believe,—and the late census in the North-West Provinces would seem to confirm our opinion,—that Dr. Lees greatly underestimates the population of India. And in the next place we apprehend that he has been carried away into the error, which he himself would be the first to condemn, of applying to this country the laws regarding population in Europe. Estimating the area of British India at not less than 1,000,000 square miles, and taking the population at 135,000,000, Dr.

Lees would infer that there is an average of only 135 souls to the square mile. He says it is a most erroneous idea to suppose that there are millions of people in India starving for want of employment. Now we would refer the writer to the commencement of his second chapter, and submit that such an estimate based upon the whole area of British India,—a continent, as Dr. Lees tells us, as large as Great Britain and, Russia excepted, half the rest of Europe besides,—is calculated to convey a most erroneous idea. The census of the North-West Provinces which was taken in 1865, shows that the population in those provinces is 351 souls to the square mile, or denser than any European country, with the exception of Belgium. But, without contrasting statistics, which, owing to different stages of civilization, are not always a faithful criterion of an excessive or deficient population, we think the following fact is worth a hundred theories. Notwithstanding the frightful loss of life from wild animals and those famines which periodically decimate the inhabitants of particular localities, the people of India have been emigrating for the last quarter of a century at the rate of about 20,000 a year. In the year 1865-66 alone, between sixty and seventy thousand coolies emigrated to the Tea Districts and the West Indies. If the population is not excessive, we should like to know where these 70,000 came from. But Dr. Lees himself distrusts his figures. Let us, therefore, examine his other tests.

The general law is thus stated: "The produce of the soil of any country only reaches its maximum, when the pressure of population forces cultivation up to the highest possible point; and as it is an axiom that each increase in productive power is gained at a higher proportional increase of labour and outlay, the tendency of population is to increase beyond the power of the soil to support it,—or in other words the ratio of the increase is always in favour of consumption and against production. The maximum attained, should population still increase, in a self-supporting country, one of two courses only remains—population must be checked, or emigration must carry off the surplus." The maximum of cultivation then is here made the test of population, and Dr. Lees, we presume, would have us hold that, until every acre of waste land in this country is cultivated, and that to the highest possible extent, India must be considered to be under rather than overpopulated. But the principle is not applicable to the continent of India, as a whole, any more than to the whole of Europe. If we apply it to particular provinces, we shall find in truth, not only that cultivation is carried to such a point that two;

three, or even four crops are obtained in a year, but that the population is actually emigrating.

Neither can we altogether accept Dr. Lees' other test of population—the price of grain. "The truest test, for general purposes," writes Dr. Lees, "is the price of grain, and in most parts of India, making all due allowance for the dearness of money, except in times of dearth, it is comparatively cheap." Now prices must depend upon the demand,—the demand, that is, of the non-agricultural community; and the reason why grain is cheap in India is not so much that the population is sparse as that it is mainly agricultural. The price of food is no doubt an excellent test of population in a certain stage of civilization, but it is scarcely safe to rely upon it in a country of so primitive an agricultural type as India, where the town-population is small, and manufactures may be said to be unknown. In such a state of society in which each family produces its own requisites, in which there is no co-operation between the industry of the town and the industry of the country, there is but little demand either for money or for food. Wages will be low and grain cheap. But this does not prove that the country may not be over-populated. Suppose two countries of equal fertility and population, but in one of which the non-agricultural community is twice as numerous as in the other; it is obvious that, supposing each country to be self-supporting, the demand for food and, therefore, its price will not be the same. It is said that the number of agriculturists employed in the cultivation of a given area, is ten times as great in India as in England. The late census of the North-West and Central Provinces shows that at least two-thirds of the whole population is agricultural. Of course a large proportion of this number is now-a-days employed in raising produce other than food for exportation, though the majority doubtless are engaged solely in the production of food. And this has been the great misfortune of India for ages, preventing the accumulation of capital, and the increase of the population. Holdings have been divided and subdivided to that extent that a ryot now thinks himself fortunate if he can secure a holding of five or six biggahs. Dr. Lees would seem to have a prejudice in favour of the peasant-proprietors of Norway, France, and Belgium. Let him study these remarks from a late number of the *Saturday Review*. "The life of a French small proprietor is a very hard one. It is hard even in the genial climate of the Pyrenees; it is much harder amid the rigours of the Department of the North. His house is comparatively comfortless, his food coarse and poor in the extreme, his debts heavy and oppressive.* But there are other countries where the condition of the peasant-proprietors is

“ worse even than it is in France. France is a land of varied
 “ climate and productions, a land of corn, olives, mines and
 “ manufactures. Norway, on the other hand, has no manufactures.
 “ Norway is essentially an agricultural country. Most of the
 “ heads of families are proprietors of the soil. Their lives are still
 “ harder, and their food coarser, than those of French peasants.
 “ An English labourer would turn up his nose at the bread which
 “ a Norwegian proprietor habitually eats.” Yet a Norwegian
 can get land at a tithe of the rate which the Indian ryot pays for
 it. What does our author himself say on this subject? “ The
 “ masses, *the tillers of the soil*, have little, indeed I may say
 “ no education whatever; their food is a few handfuls of rice,—it
 “ may be wheat or pulse; their clothing covers their nakedness—
 “ no more. In many parts of this country the substrata of the
 “ people hardly know what money is.* * * They literally have
 “ *nothing* but the land, and their interest in that generally consists
 “ in the right to live on and cultivate it.* * * Their crops are
 “ almost invariably under hypothecation to the money-lender of
 “ the village, or in remote regions to the nominal lord of the
 “ soil.” And this, we venture to assert, is mainly the result of
 an excessive agricultural population. There is no doubt that
 agricultural labour in this country might be economized enor-
 mously. At present the land is made to support as many human
 beings as it can, and far too many for their own happiness and
 comfort. Every man in India who is withdrawn from the pro-
 duction of food, contributes so much to the rise in prices and the
 accumulation of capital,—the more, if his labour be employed in
 other branches of industry. Thus the employment of labour in
 vast public works, and the expansion, which the trade of the
 country has received from the enterprise of British rule, have, in
 the last few years, nearly doubled prices; but would Dr. Lees
 maintain that the population has doubled in the same period?

The deductions which Dr. Lees draws from his theory of the
 population of India are (1) the impolicy of allowing foreign countries
 to entice away labour from India, so long as so large a part of
 India is still lying waste and uninhabited; and (2) the greater
 expediency of diverting that labour into the Tea Districts of Assam
 and other wastes which it is desirable to reclaim. He writes—
 “ Since it has been shown that the labour of the whole of India,
 “ as compared with its area, is short of the average of European
 “ countries, that it would be *politic* to endeavour to prevent the
 “ labour that is wanted in India being diverted to other countries,
 “ will, I think, be conceded.” “ That it is the *duty* of a Govern-
 “ ment, with population excessive in some parts, and large tracts
 “ of rich land unpopulated in others, to take some measures to

"encourage the transfer of the surplus population to the surplus land, no reasonable being will deny." It will be seen that there are two questions mixed up in Dr. Lees' argument, (1) the foreign emigration of coolies, and (2) their migration to Assam and other wastes of India; and although the writer has interwoven these two questions so intimately in the discussion, that it almost seems as if he objected to emigration because coolies cannot be procured for Assam, we propose to discuss them separately.

Dr. Lees objects to the policy which allows the Agents of the Colonial Governments of such places as Mauritius, Trinidad, and Demerara "to entice away the labour which this country requires for reclaiming culturable waste land, making railways, building barracks, and other public works." He is inclined to regard foreign emigration "under the bondage of a five years' contract," as partaking of the nature of the slave-trade, possibly a slavery of the mildest form, but with no guarantee whatever that it is so. Now the strongest argument against this objection is, that after so many years' experience, so large a number of coolies are always found willing to emigrate. Even in the case of Assam, Dr. Lees does not positively say that there has ever been a dearth of labourers for importation. In 1865-66, there were no less than 44,000 coolies imported into Assam and Cachar, against some 20,000 only who emigrated beyond seas. It is possible that the author, while giving undue prominence to the "crimping and kidnaping" which he asserts is practised for foreign emigration, somewhat under-rates the natural forces, which are always in operation with a tendency to check it. There must be causes at work more powerful than the mere prospect of high wages, to induce the Hindu to break the ties of kith and kin, cross the black water, and toil for the white man under a foreign sky. There must be pinching want, perhaps, starvation, somewhere. There must be plenty of labourers out of employment, although the Department of Public Works may not consider it its duty to find them out. Dr. Lees himself writes, "The Indian's love for his village home is proverbial. To desert it is his last resource." We maintain that, for the area under cultivation, the agricultural population has long since attained its maximum. The ryot's eight or ten biggahs (and we believe that this average is not an under-estimate of holdings in Bengal) are scarcely sufficient to provide food and clothing for himself and family, as well as pay his rent. If his implements or stock require renewal, he has to borrow. As for accumulating capital, he has no surplus to save. The new comer cannot get land at all, and if

he did, he would not have the funds wherewith to stock it. In such a case emigration is the only resource open. And unless the Government of this country is prepared itself to find employment for the surplus population, it ought to feel obliged to any colony that will undertake to import it.

And this brings us to the second portion of the argument, in which Dr. Lees holds that the equal distribution of labour throughout the country is pre-eminently the business of the State. And in treating this portion of this subject, we must emphatically express our regret that the author has not re-written his remarks with special reference to recent events. Notwithstanding the interference of Government and the exceptional legislation of the past four years, the Cooly-Trade of Assam is not a whit more satisfactory in 1867, than it was in 1862. Nay further; we are inclined to assent with Dr. Lees that it never will be so, until the Government takes the whole business into its own hands.

Now although, as we have hinted above, it is possible that Government might have done, and might in the present day be doing more towards the colonization of India's wastes by the *natives* of the country, we are not disposed to admit the assertion, that it is the business of Government to go to the expense of finding labour for the Tea-planters of Assam. But Dr. Lees tells us that the planters expressed their perfect willingness to pay all expenses, and only requested the Government to establish an Immigration Agency after the pattern of Colonial Governments. To this we see no objection whatever. The Commission of 1861-62 confirmed the statement of the planters that any system of immigration into the Tea-districts, "to be successful, would require to be conducted under the auspices of Government." Recent events have only tended to expose the evils of the present system, and to show that the day must ultimately arrive when the Government will be forced to acknowledge its responsibility in the matter.

The reason why the importation of labour into Assam should be undertaken by the agency of the Government rather than by that of private individuals, is simply this, that, while the Government stands between the planter and the cooly as a wholly impartial and uninterested go-between, it has the power to compel both to conform to those rules and regulations, under which alone the system can be worked successfully. It then becomes the interest of Government to *protect* both parties; its action ceases to be one-sided. It provides equally, that the planter gets strong, able-bodied labourers, who can do a fair day's work for a fair day's wages, and that the labourer is properly treated and

cared for by his employer. The existing system is a half measure only, under which the Government can impose difficulties in the way of the planters, without taking upon itself the responsibility of seeing that their grievances are redressed. But the whole subject is much too interesting and important to be fully discussed in a short notice like the present, and we must therefore postpone its further consideration to some future opportunity.

In his last chapter Dr. Lees treats of the enormous (though undeveloped) wealth of India, and the absence of capital available for works of public or private enterprise. Indeed, in this chapter he seems to us to disprove much of what he insisted on in the last. He shows, for instance, that it is capital, rather than population, that is wanting for the full development of India's wealth. The mass of the people are excessively poor, and they have few incentives to improve their condition. Dr. Lees would find the panacea in a re-settlement of the land-tenure, as if every sort of tenure had not already been tried. We quote his words: "The system of *advances*, so much railed "at in England and India, is simply a *necessity* arising out "of the extreme poverty of the people, and its only cure lies "in such a settlement of the land-tenure, as *ensuring* to the actual "cultivators of the soil a larger share of the profits resulting from "their own industry, will enable them, after providing themselves "with the necessaries of life, to call the crops at least their own. "The sale of land in fee-simple to *ignorant and unenlightened* land- "lords will not effect this. Nor yet the redemption of the land- "revenue. A perpetual settlement will be equally impotent "to accomplish the end. It has not accomplished it in "Bengal. On the contrary the ryots are admitted to be in "an extremely depressed condition. Before much benefit can "result from any improvement in the land-tenure of the country, "landlords must be better educated, and cultivators more "intelligent than at present. The former must learn that the "ryots, as the source of their wealth, must be solicitously "cared for, and that some better and more profitable use may "be made of their accumulated savings, than squandering them "in personal luxuries, marriage ceremonies, and barbarous festi- "vals. The ryot too must understand and be placed in a "position to prove that his thews and sinews are not merely a "means of maintaining his existence, but the means of enabling "him to live in a certain degree of comfort, and to bring "up his children to industrious and useful callings." The writer indeed does well to insist on the importance of extending the blessings of education among the lower classes, but it is something more than education or a more favourable tenure of the

soil, that is required to raise the Indian ryot to the level of a civilized human being.

We cannot close this notice of *The Land and Labour of India* without animadverting on the slovenly manner in which it has been allowed to issue from the press. It is not so much the consideration, of expense, as the expectation of securing superior execution, which induces writers in this country to forward their manuscripts to England for publication. Those who do so, are of course unable to read their own proofs, and it is therefore the more incumbent upon the publishers to whom the duty is entrusted, to see that they are corrected with all due care and intelligence. We are not aware whether Messrs. Williams and Norgate are responsible for the typographical correctness of *The Land and Labour of India*, but we certainly trust that for their own credit they are not. The letter-press unfortunately teems with inaccuracies. The laws of punctuation have been utterly set at defiance, and commas are with a reckless profusion inserted between almost every nominative case and its predicate. At page 171 the proverbial dislike of Englishmen to *continental* systems is corrupted into a paradoxical hatred of the *constitution*. The simple sentence, "Its produce is his creatures' (property)," is written, "It's produce is his creatures." A scholar like Dr. Lees would never be guilty of "Himaylayan." And to crown all, we are told in a note to page 21 that the adoption of certain principles by the Board of Revenue in Bengal was a material cause of the *interests* of the famine in Orissa. Even a Bengalee reader would have seen at a glance that the word in this last passage must be *intensity* !

ART. VII.—MR. MONTEATH'S EDUCATIONAL MINUTE.

ONE of the latest of Mr. Monteath's many services in the Secretariat of the Indian Government has been the preparation of his Minute, reviewing the condition of education in all the provinces of the Empire.

The diversity of results exhibited in it has immediately led to suggestions in favour of a Director-General or Minister of Education for the whole of India, in order to utilize the experience of one province in directing the efforts of the Department elsewhere. Could this be done without unduly restraining the independence of the local Directors and without sacrificing vitality to overstrained uniformity, such an appointment would no doubt be useful in many ways; but at the present time we conceive that in all departments of Government in India, centralization is the evil that has to be guarded against; the encroachments of the Home Government on the Supreme Government, and of the Supreme Government on the Local Governments, threaten more and more every day to convert the administration of the Empire into a vast bureaucracy, and to trample out and extinguish all individual energy and talent. Hence we fear that a Local Director of Public Instruction, who is already sufficiently hampered by general rules, imperial supervision, and the intervention from time to time of the Secretary of State, would find his action still more fettered were he subordinated to a Director General who, necessarily ignorant of the local requirements of many parts of the country, would in all probability be gradually led to aim at introducing an apparent uniformity throughout the Empire, and thereby aggravating the vices of a system which already prescribes the same terms for a grant-in-aid to a school in Hooghly or Nuddea, as to a school in Ungool or the Sonthal Pergunnahs.

With this admission, however, of the danger of centralization, it may fairly be asserted that it is most advantageous from time to time to compare the progress of one province with that of another, to be able to perceive at a glance where it has excelled, and where it has fallen behind, and thus to ascertain

the direction in which efforts are most required. The information necessary for this has now been brought together into one volume, we believe for the first time, in the minute under review, and the results exhibited by comparing one province with another are in some cases most striking.

The first and most remarkable contrast which Bengal presents with other parts of India, is in the state of education among the upper as compared with the lower classes. Schools for boys are now ranked as Higher, Middle or Lower, according to certain lines of distinction, which are more or less definite.

If we place these three classes of schools, and the expenditure upon them in Bengal and in the North-West side by side, the striking result of the contrast will be seen at a glance.

	No. of Schools.	EXPENDITURE.	
		From Imp. Rev.	From other sources.
Higher class. Bengal { Govt.	50	2,00,328	1,95,108
	Private.* 90—140	58,058—	1,30,860—
		2,58,386	325,958
" N. W. P. { Govt.	5	1,08,983	8,892
	Private. 4—9	18,333—	35,541—
		127,316	44,433
Middle class. Bengal { Govt.	117	45,405	19,863
	Private. 941—1053	1,51,169—	2,40,608—
		1,96,574	2,69,471
" N. W. P. { Govt.	265	60,633	28,130
	Private. 78—343	77,320—	101,838—
		1,37,953	1,29,968
Lower class. Bengal { Govt.	81	12,549	2,720
	Private. 1205—1286	57,595—	62,581—
		70,144	65,281
" N. W. P. { Govt.	3097	62,208	1,73,153
	Private. 5161—8258	18,815—	2,40,583—
		76,018	4,22,736

In the North-West Provinces education of the higher class is most rare and most expensive to Government. Every 3

* Aided and unaided.

rupees spent from the Imperial Revenue is met by only one rupee from other sources, and the expense per school is enormous. In Bengal, on the contrary, considerably less than 50 per cent of the total expenditure on such schools, comes from the Imperial Revenue, while the cost per school is less in the proportion of about one to four.

Descending to middle class schools we find that the comparison is far less adverse to the North-West, though still in favour of Bengal. The latter with three times as many schools costs less than half as much again to the State as the North-West Provinces, while the income from private sources in the former considerably exceeds, in the latter somewhat falls short of, the amount expended from public taxation.

Descending, however, to the lower class of schools we find the picture entirely reversed. The schools in the North-West provinces are nearly seven times as numerous as in Bengal, the expenditure from public funds is scarcely greater; while each rupee fails in eliciting an equal amount from other sources in Bengal, whereas it is met by 5 to 6 rupees in the North-West Provinces.*

In the above comparison it must be remembered that we have not included colleges, where the contrast is vastly in favour of the Lower Provinces, nor girls' schools in regard to which it is in favour of the North-West: we have confined ourselves to schools for boys and to their three divisions, because these exhibit so clearly the opposite systems at work in these two contiguous portions of the Empire.

Assuming then, as we are justified in doing, the approximate correctness of these figures, does it show that the poorer classes in the North-West are proportionately more taught to read and write than in Bengal? This is very problematical. It is well known that the *patshalas* in Bengal are innumerable, that they are far more than 8,000 in number, that therefore it still remains an open question whether if indigenous and Government educational institutions be taken together, the *patshalas* in the Lower Provinces would not be quite as numerous as in the upper, but the figures do conclusively show that the English system of education, modern geography, modern methods of arithmetic, the modern system of grammar, &c., have been extended to the classes who frequented the old indigenous institutions, very much less under the one Government than under the other. In Bengal the English or modern system of instruction has been readily accepted by the upper classes, it has been spread

* The effect we believe of a local cess.

all over the country in the form of what are called Higher class schools, that is, schools which educate or profess to educate up to the standard of the University Entrance Examination ; also in the form of Middle class schools which are supposed to include all other schools not designed for the education of the masses, but it has been found difficult to carry it further, and to introduce any taste or demand for it, among what are termed the masses.

As this has all along been *the* problem in the prosecution of educational operations in Bengal, we cannot do better than give a long extract from Mr. Monteath's Minute, showing the efforts that have been made, and his views, of the success which has attended them.

" 151. The Lower Class of Schools may be described generally as consisting of elementary Institutions for educating the lower orders of the people. The subject of primary education is justly regarded as a most important one, and has had a prominent place assigned to it in the Educational Despatches of 1854 and 1859.

" 152. In the Despatch of 1854, the Home Government declared its wish for the prosecution of the object of Vernacular Education " in more systematic manner," and " placed the subject " on a level in point of importance with that of the instruction to be afforded through the medium of the English language." " An attempt will now be made to describe the measures taken in accordance with the above instruction, in the several Presidencies and Provinces."

* * * * *
Bengal.
* * * * *

" 155. Very little, if any, advance in these directions has until recent years been made owing principally to financial restrictions and partly to prolonged discussion which ensued between the Bengal Government and the Government of India, in which the latter argued that it was not the intention of the Home Government that the grant-in-aid system should be applied to the extension of this class of Schools, but that any measures which might be taken should be based on the principle of having the Schools under the direct management and control of the Government. The Bengal Government, having taken a different view, had contemplated a system of grants-in-aid to such Schools, and had asked for a relaxation of the Grant-in-aid Rules in its favor."

" 156. The Bengal Government maintained that the cost of any system of Vernacular instruction, by the direct instrumentality of Government, would make its general introduction impossible.

" It was argued that although cheap Schools, costing, as in the North-Western Provinces, from rupees five to rupees eight per mensem each, had been to some extent found practicable in Behar and Assam, they were not practicable in Bengal. Proper. The great problem of a sufficiently cheap system of Vernacular education, through the direct instrumentality of Government, remained the subject of discussion and report till 1860, when the Lieutenant-Governor, writing with reference to previous correspondence, and especially to a recent call for a definite report of the measures desired to be introduced in connection with the Secretary of State's Despatch of 1859, proposed a system, the basis of which was the encouragement of the best of the indigenous Schools by rewards to the Masters, supply of books, &c. ; a proportion of Model Schools being also established, and arrangements being made for maintaining an efficient inspection. "

" 157. Sir John Peter Grant's scheme was very much modified in its actual application. It was transformed into a scheme of which the following description was given in the Report of 1862-63 :—

The villages where *patshalas* are already in existence are invited to send, for a year's training in a Normal School, either their present Gooroo, or some other person whom they will undertake to receive as their future School Master. Their nominee, if accepted by the Inspector, is sent to a Normal School with a stipend of rupees five per mensem, and a written agreement is entered into on the one hand with the heads of the village, that they will receive him back as their Gooroo when he has completed his course of training and received a certificate of qualification, and on the other hand, with the nominee himself, that he will return to the village which selected him, and there enter upon and discharge the duty of Village School Master, to the best of his ability, on condition of being secured a monthly income of not less than rupees five, in the shape of stipend or reward, so long as he continues to deserve it.

Each of the three Training Schools at present established receives 75 stipendiary students. They have been opened but a few months, but no difficulty has been experienced in filling them. Each had its full complement at the end of the year.

" 158. There can be no question that this is by far the most promising scheme for encouraging primary education that has ever been tried in Bengal, and I shall, therefore, endeavour to follow out its later history somewhat at length. At first its operation was confined to three selected districts (Burdwan, Krishnaghur and Jessore), in each of which a Normal School for Gooroos was established. In the first year of their working they had an average attendance of 217 Gooroos come from their respective villages to draw stipends of rupees five per mensem, and be trained as Teachers. In the course of the year 171 students passed their final examination. In the second year of

“ their existence (1864-65) they had an average attendance of 234 Teachers,—certificates being given to 203. In the third year (1865-66) only 75 certificates were issued; the cause of the decrease being the great prevalence of epidemic disease, which necessitated the closing of one Training School during several months of the year, and greatly interfered with the operations of the others. During the year, sanction was obtained to the extension of the operations, under the same Inspector, to three more districts, *viz.*, Bancoorah, Midnapore, and Moorshedabad. Only one additional Training School was added on this account, four Training Schools being considered sufficient for the six districts.”

“ 159. In addition to this, another Inspector was appointed to superintend similar operations in North-East Bengal, in the districts of Rajshahye Dinagepore, and Rungpore,—three new Training Schools being opened for the purpose.

“ 160. So great is the number of applications for admission to the Normal Schools that, even in the newly created Institutions it was found possible to get several “Free Students,” *i. e.*, students in excess of the authorized complement (75 per School), for whom there are no stipends, and who yet entered into the usual engagement to remain at the School, and to return to the nominating village as Teachers when qualified.”

“ 161. It will be interesting to note the progress of this scheme in the three districts last taken up (Rajshahye, Dinagepore, and Rungpore), where Mahomedans constitute above two-thirds of the entire population; and where, from the small number of existing *patshalas*, it is necessary to get the villagers to bind themselves not merely to hand over an existing School to the Teacher when qualified, but, if there be no School, to get one up. The number of Mahomedan nominees is already reported to be considerable.”

“ 162. It may be explained here that the scheme contemplates not merely the training of Teachers, and the subsequent grant of rupees five towards the salary of each qualified Teacher, but it provides also for the inspection of the Village Schools. For this purpose each of the two special Inspectors has under him a staff of Deputy Inspectors. There were in 1865-66 altogether 19 Deputy Inspectors employed in this work.

“ 163. The salary of rupees five paid to qualified Teachers by Government, is calculated to represent about half of their total income. That this is actually the case will be seen from the following statistics for 1865-66 given by the Inspector in charge of the districts first selected ”:—

The *Patshalas* have, on the whole, gone on well during the year. They have increased in numbers and in attendance of pupils, and yielded no inconsiderable amount of income to their Gooeroos in the shape of schooling fees. Exclusive of the four Training Schools, and as many model *Patshalas* attached to them, I had under me, on the 30th April last, 521 Village Schools, with an attendance of 16,561 pupils, who paid Rupees 26,507-1 in fees and otherwise to their Gooeroos. The total cost to Government in these Schools was rupees 21,643-11, and therefore less than two annas per month per pupil. The scheme of *Patshal* improvement, therefore, still fully maintains its character of being the cheapest to Government, and most easily expansible of all the systems of elementary education yet brought into operation.

" 164. The model *Patshala* above alluded to, form another 'not unimportant feature of this scheme, for it is, of course, desirable that the embryo Teacher should have some practical experience in the art of teaching before he leaves the Normal School, and the means of this is afforded by the model or practising *Patshalas* attached to the Central Institution. In these model *Patshalas* the native system is adhered to as much as possible, so as to secure their being really models of what it is intended that the Village *Patshalas* should be. The following account of the model *Patshalas* is given by the Inspector of the Eastern Circle":—

In the constitution of the model *Patshala*, the Native *Patshala* system has been scrupulously preserved, but with such improvements as are desirable, which, while they promise success, avoid all unnecessary offence to established notions. The young lads attend School twice a day, and are arranged into the plantain-leaf, the palma-leaf, and the paper classes. Zemindaree and Mahajonee accounts are largely taught. The Schools open and close with the recitation of short songs in praise of our Maker, and on other appropriate subjects.

" 166. I have already devoted more space in this Note than can well be spared to the description of this most interesting scheme for encouraging the education of the lower orders of the Bengal people. There can be no doubt that it promises to be the best scheme that has been tried. It takes as its basis the national Schools of the country, and it improves them at a cost sufficiently small to admit of a really wide extension of the system. The schemes attempted hitherto failed in one or other of two ways, *viz.*, either—(1) by establishing Government or Grant-in aid Model Schools which were filled by a class of the people far higher in the social scale than the laboring and agricultural population whom it was desired to influence; or (2) by attempting to encourage good teaching in Village Schools, the Masters of which, however ready to take the offered rewards, and to do their best to win them, were, from defective education, quite unable to carry out the desired reforms."

"167. I do not mean to say that the new system affects only the laboring and agricultural population. In some parts of Bengal perhaps its principal effect is upon, what may be called, the middle classes of the people. This is shown by the following extract from the Report of the Inspector of the Central, or first instituted, Circle" :—

I tried to point out in my last Annual Report, as well as on other occasions, that the *Patchalas* are not and cannot be Schools for the masses *exclusively*. I showed in that Report that they are primarily preparatory Schools for the children of the higher and middle ranks; and, at the same time being extremely cheap, are attended largely by children of the lower orders.

"In the other or Eastern Circle, it would seem that the scheme is more directly operative on the agricultural population, as may be gathered from the following extract from the Inspector's Report" :—

I have heard it talked of, even in high quarters, that the *Patchala* system is not working among the masses. This, I think, is far from being the truth, though it is certainly to be owned that it does not influence the masses alone.

Of the Schools I visited in the Burdwan Division (belonging to the other Inspector) some had a sensible falling-off in attendance during the growing and reaping seasons, when laborers cannot forego the assistance of their children. These children will, on all hands, be allowed to belong to the masses.

My own Division, however, is peculiarly the land of the masses. In Dinagepore and Rungpore, I do really feel that I am working among the lower classes. There the bulk of the people are agriculturists, while the higher orders are almost unknown.

* * * * *

The diaries of Deputy Inspectors teem with names of villages composed entirely of agriculturists."

"168. It would be wrong if I were to pass from the description of this scheme without mentioning the names of the Inspectors* to whose able and zealous supervision the successful working of the system is doubtless due in no small degree."

* Baboo Bhooodeh
Mookerjee, Central
Division.
Baboo Kasee
Kanth Mookerjee, East
Division.

It may be assumed, therefore, that the object of the scheme has been to reach classes lower in the social scale than those for whom the grant-in-aid system was suitable, and as lower class schools have been defined to be schools designed for the education of the masses, and as those schools have from the very outset been treated and spoken of as lower class schools, it is easy enough to determine what is the light in which they have been regarded by the Home and Indian Governments. But if it is once settled that this is the object of the scheme we may proceed to argue, that it can be called a success only as far as it is accomplishing this end, and is useless or rather pernicious as far as it

fails in doing so. We say pernicious, because there are schools of another class for the education of those who are not regarded as the masses, which the Educational Department are constantly engaged in instituting or encouraging all over the country; if therefore the improved *patshalas* incroach on their field, it is evident that the different branches of the Department are competing against and impoverishing one another, the competition being sustained in great measure from public funds. Such a state of things cannot, be healthy or ultimately productive of good. It becomes, therefore a subject of the highest importance to ascertain to what extent the *patshalas* are schools adapted to and accomplishing the end for which they were instituted, and we purpose to devote a portion of our space to enquiring what the tests are by which this question should be tried, and what, according to our view, are the conditions on the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of which the success of the scheme must turn.

The first point regarding which a clear idea must be obtained is the meaning of the terms "Schools for the masses," "Education of the lower classes." From the very first many of the children of the comparatively poor and inferior classes, in fact, of the masses, have been found even in our most ambitious schools. The schooling fees have been so small, and, at first starting, the prospects held out by an English education were so brilliant, while the system of Government scholarships for the more successful pupils of all kinds of schools was so extended, that a great many (not of course a majority) of our English-speaking Baboos have descended from parents, who must undoubtedly be regarded as having belonged to the masses. Court chaprasees, dufftries, domestic servants, and many other persons of a similar kind, themselves without a particle of education, have from their position been able to perceive the great advantage to be derived from an English education, and have either found some indulgent and misguided patron to pay the schooling fee for them, or have been self-denying and shrewd enough to see the value of the investment of paying it for themselves for a few years, until their children have managed to get a scholarship, and thus have ultimately raised themselves to be educated English-speaking Baboos. At the same time no person in his senses would designate such results as these, as "Education reaching the masses." It is perfectly clear that when we speak of educating the masses, we mean educating them not with a view of taking them out of the masses, but of leaving them there. The great majority of men in every country must obtain their livelihood by work, in which a book-education can be but of secondary and indirect use. For such occupations as those of agricultural labourers, manufacturing labourers, soldiers, sailors,

menial servants, porters, those who take care of cattle and animals, and other petty classes too numerous to detail it is only very indirectly that a want of book-knowledge, even of the most elementary kind, is any drawback. At the same time, for the benefit of the individuals in their private life, apart from their daily labour, it is of the greatest advantage; it enables them to amuse and occupy, not to say, improve themselves in their leisure hours, as well as to correspond with each other in absence: in fact, it raises them somewhat in the scale of humanity.

It seems then incontestable that education of the masses, or lower class education, can only be properly applied to such education, as we have just described, to that elementary education which, though it does not, at least in any perceptible degree, enable a man to earn more by his labour, or to change the character of his labour, nevertheless confers on him in other ways benefits of the most substantial description; and in fact when general, elevates a country from a semi-civilized to a civilized condition.

On the contrary, *educationally speaking*, these should be described as upper and middle class schools, in which the students are either independent of labour of any description whatsoever, or are intending to make this education the means of their support: in the upper class by entering a learned profession, or at any rate by taking employment of a correspondingly honourable and lucrative kind, or in the middle class by becoming clerks, accountants, writers, shop-keepers, gomastas, or at least copyists. Adopting this distinction it becomes clear that, in order to understand the character of a school we must look to the object of the pupils, and to the end which they are encouraged to look to as the reward of their studies, rather than to the social position of themselves or of their parents, and thus we may be able to discriminate between education, which reaches the masses, and that which fails to do so. A school may be filled by the children of mehtars and coolies, but if the object of their coming there is to become keranees and vakeels, it cannot be said that such a school is in any real sense educating the masses; while if the views of the pupils are known to and encouraged by the teachers and superiors, then it cannot even be said to be *intended* for their education. We do not of course mean that honourable ambition must be rigorously repressed in a school for the masses, that the dreams of youthful hope or of parental fondness that the young student will end his days as a Deputy Magistrate, are to be rudely dispelled; we see no reason why a real genius should not push his way from a mass

school as well as from an aided-school, but there is a great difference between a vague and desperate hope of some marvellous success, which the parent or student knows cannot be fulfilled in the case of one in a thousand, though he hopes that his may be the thousandth case, and a sober, matured, and, as the parent or pupil at least believes, and is led to believe, reasonable expectation. We, therefore, regard ourselves fully justified in concluding that a school can be said *to be designed* for the masses, when it is not intended to encourage the students to expect to make their * book-education their direct means of support in after life, and that it has been successful in reaching the masses when it is frequented by children, who come there or are sent there without such intention: and on the contrary, that whatever its design may be, a school should not truly be denominated a school for the lower classes, if those who frequent it do so with the intention of making a livelihood afterwards by means of what they learn, nor can it be even said to be designed for such classes if such expectations are knowingly and intentionally encouraged.

Adopting, therefore, this canon for testing the success of the improved patshala system, let us next for the benefit of those of our readers who may be ignorant of it, give a very brief outline of the system of schools established over the country for the upper and middle classes.

The Calcutta University has colleges affiliated to it, both in Calcutta and scattered over the Lower Provinces. Into the character of its Degrees we need not enter now or into the scholarships allowed by Government to the most successful students at each examination. Admission to the University, that is, admission to study in the college department of one of the affiliated Institutions, and thereby to be a candidate for the Degrees, is obtained at a general annual examination at which some 1,500 students annually present themselves, of whom in round numbers 50 per cent are successful. On this occasion Government gives what are called Junior Scholarships of 18, 14 and 10 rupees a month to the number of 10 of the first, 50 of the second, and 100 of the third class, so that 160 of the best of the 1,500

* We are obliged to use the term book-education to avoid making the word too comprehensive; it is obvious that in a well organised school for the masses a good deal of useful practical instruction in ploughing, weaving, or other trades might be encouraged, such branches of education would of course be utilized directly in after employment. By book-education we mean reading, writing, arithmetic, together with such elementary instruction in geography, history, and other sciences, as may be included in the school course.

candidates are enabled to continue their University studies either entirely or in great part at the public expense.

All schools which educate up to the Entrance standard, whether Government schools, or private schools aided or unaided by a Government grant, are termed higher class English schools, English being *a sine qua non* at the Entrance Examination. Anglo-vernacular schools of an inferior kind are encouraged to send their pupils to the higher class schools, to complete their education, and for such students too there is an annual examination, at which scholarships of Rs. 5 a month for two years are allotted to the best candidates, to enable them to study at the higher class schools.

Below these again come the Vernacular schools, both Government and aided, and to students of such schools there are allotted annually in each Zillah from 5 to 20 scholarships of Rs. 4 a month, competed for at a formal well-known examination, and tenable for 4 years to enable the pupil to study at a higher class English school, and compete for the University Entrance. Consequently all the Vernacular schools aim at teaching up to the Vernacular Scholarship Course, to enable their best students to compete at this examination, which is regarded as affording the same common test to the Vernacular schools, which the Entrance Examination does to the English schools.

Thus far, therefore, there is an elaborate scheme providing for instruction by gradual stages from the first letters of the Bengallee alphabet up to the M. A. degree at the University. In each stage, expectations are deliberately and designedly held out to the very poorest of rising to a higher stage. A Vernacular student, however poor, is taught to look forward to the prospect of obtaining a Vernacular scholarship, and of thereby being able to go to an English first class school. Similarly the students of the English schools are encouraged to keep their eyes fixed on the 160 Junior Scholarships, and on being thereby enabled, however poor, to study at the University. And this is precisely the manner in which the system works. Those who are wealthy enough will go through with their studies, whether they obtain a scholarship or not; but a very large number follow the system as far their means allow, and then seek the highest employment, that their attainments justify them in hoping for. If after completing the Vernacular school course they fail in obtaining a scholarship, they desist from further studies, and try to become mohurrirs, or 2nd class pundits, or something of the same calibre. If they get through the course at an English school, but gain no Junior Scholarships, they make the most of their Entrance Certificate (if they

obtained it), and try for the lower employments in which English is required; and so one may proceed throughout the various University Examinations; at each stage many drop off, but always regard every step gained, every examination passed, as a sort of guarantee of so much better employment hereafter.

It is, therefore, evident that the provision for upper and middle class education was complete, and it was also clearly capable of indefinite expansion until it practically included all persons and classes in Bengal, who intended or expected to gain a living by what (as long as our meaning is not misunderstood) we may term book-education: and there can be no possible doubt that not only was it adapted to attain, but was actually attaining with great rapidity this very result. Grant-in-aid Vernacular schools, as well as Anglo-vernacular schools were multiplying rapidly over the country for several years before the *patshala* system was introduced, quite as rapidly as was consistent with sound and steady progress. Of this no one has ever doubted. It was no failure of the grant-in-aid system *within its own sphere*, that called for further efforts of the Department; it was because the system, however much it expanded, showed no signs or capabilities of success among the masses, no indications of being resorted to by those who might be tempted to seek elementary instruction without ulterior designs of thereby forsaking the ordinary path of labour, and becoming writers or something more, that it has been felt that further efforts must be made, and some different method resorted to before the wish of the Government to educate its subjects in a comprehensive manner could be accomplished. A moment's consideration must surely satisfy any one, that this is what the Government of India intended when it argued against extending the grant-in-aid system under relaxed rules to the lower class schools. It did *not* mean that in gradually inducing those classes who sought, for a livelihood by educated labour, to accept our education instead of their own as the means of success, we ought after reaching a certain point to draw a sharp imaginary line, and say that below this employment-seekers must be educated in schools, supported instead of aided by Government. It meant, clearly enough, that though, as long as education was to be the pupil's capital, his stock in trade and means of future income, expenditure from private sources might be fairly and legitimately insisted on as an essential antecedent to the expenditure of public money; yet when a totally different class were to be touched, when those to whom their school learning was not expected to be any source of

profit, were to be induced to receive elementary education, such a condition could be no longer consistently maintained, but Government should itself take the requisite schools in hand, and provide for their permanency and security.

This then being the object, it was admitted on all hands that the indigenous *patshalas* scattered in such numbers over most of the districts of the lower provinces, furnished the best opportunity of getting at the masses. It must not be supposed that these *patshalas* were in themselves schools for the masses. It was well known that they were in great part, perhaps the greater part, filled by those who looked to obtaining a livelihood out of their school-learning either as gooroos or sircars or gomastahs or in some similar capacity: but on the other hand they had never, like the schools set up under the auspices of Government, been looked upon as royal roads to employment, their course of studies was of the humblest and most conservative character, and therefore, together with the future sircars and gomastahs, they were attended by many others who either never intended to abandon, or at any rate subsequently acquiesced contentedly in settling down to, the old commonplace agricultural pursuits of the majority of their countrymen. Hence it is patent that merely getting hold of the indigenous *patshalas*, and moulding them into English *patshalas*, would not in itself be necessarily any real step in the way of reaching the masses; this would entirely depend on the manner in which the conversion was effected, and on the different degrees in which the two classes, we have just described as dividing the *patshalas*, were encouraged in their diverging objects. If those who looked for prospects, if the future *sircars*, as for convenience sake we will call them, were to be encouraged to think that they would under the new auspices be future *keranees*, it would soon result that the idea would communicate itself throughout the *patshala*, and that it would rapidly lose all trace of its character as a school for the masses, and would only be regarded as another channel conducting to employment, and to a contingent Deputy Magistracy in the background.

On the other hand, if the future *sircars* were discouraged in their hopes, were given to understand that they might become *sircars* if they liked and could, but that it was not the object of the *patshala* to enable them to do so, but rather to let them return to their plough and their sugarcane, after a few years' instruction, with the advantage of being able to read and write and sum during the rest of their days, if they cared to take the trouble of keeping it up; had this been done the *patshala* might have fallen through owing to

the masses being indifferent to the advantages held out to them, but if it did stand there could be no doubt that it was a real step in the direction of reaching the lower classes.

Now we suppose that no person, who has the slightest knowledge of the connection which the Bengallees consider to exist between Government education and Government employment, can doubt for a moment in which of the above directions, the tendency would be, as soon as an indigenous *patshala* was taken under Government control. The idea would at once be that a new path to the Government system of scholarships and University education was being opened to them, the future sircars would turn up their noses at any thing which did not at least lead to an eventual Head Clerkship; those who had never even raised their eyes to sircarships, would now have their heads turned by the unexpected prospects, and all who did belong to the masses would cease to be contented to regard their education in the only light in which real education for the lower orders can be properly regarded.

It seems therefore evident enough what the course of the Educational Department should have been in dealing with these schools, in order to accomplish the objects of Government. It should have taken care to draw the line very markedly between them and the aided vernacular schools; to make it perfectly clear that the *patshalas* were something apart and on a totally different footing, and that they furnished no opening into the regular educational system above them. That those who wished to try their fortune in that lottery should go to an aided school at once, and that those villages or groups of villages which contained enough candidates for such a career should endeavour to get up an aided school for themselves with which the *patshala* would have no connection and into a rivalry with which it would never be permitted to enter. All attempts to raise the *patshala* out of its sphere, to bring on one or two of the promising boys, and send them up to the Vernacular Scholarship examinations, or to astonish visitors by the extent of studies, should have been most firmly and unsparingly repressed.

* Prizes and money rewards, so long as they did *not* lead into the upper stratum of schools might have been freely multiplied, for they would have encouraged the scholars in their proper line without leading them to look beyond it; but it was manifestly of vital importance, that the line between the aided schools and the *patshalas* should be insisted on with the utmost rigour. Were this not done it must be evident that nothing could resist the natural tendency, no less on the part of the gooroos than of the pupils of the improved *patshalas* to assimilate themselves

to and imitate the aided schools, and, instead of accepting their true position as schools of a different rank altogether, to become adjuncts of the existing system and thus only anticipate the results which the vernacular aided schools were attaining more deliberately before, namely the bringing over to the modern system of teaching those who were preparing to make a livelihood by what we have termed book-education.

This then being the view which we think ought to be taken of the task which awaited the Educational Department in Bengal, in endeavouring to work on the masses by the instrumentality of the indigenous *patshalas*; we cannot help stating that we are unable to concur with Mr. Monteath in the opinion which he has expressed, 'that this is by far the most promising scheme for encouraging primary education that has ever been tried in Bengal.'

In one sense it is the most promising, because it is the *only* scheme which has been with any system, or at any great expense, put into practice; but it seems to us that those who have had the control of the experiment have fallen into every one of the errors which we have described above as endangering the fundamental intention of the Government and diverting it into another channel which was not intended or needed; and which in fact amounts to nothing more than the expediting by a different and inharmonious method the result which the grant-in-aid system was already accomplishing surely and quite quickly enough.

Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjee was only entrusted with the inauguration of the new scheme as modified in the manner described in Mr. Monteath's 157th para in the very end of 1862; let us therefore begin to trace its progress from the Reports of 1863-64, and the following years.

In the Report of 1863-64 we find one of the Deputy Inspectors appointed to inspect the schools under Baboo Bhoodeb Mokerjee, thus writing of some of the *patshalas* under him.

Bulgonah.—"One thing however struck me from the beginning. The dress and looks of most of the children *showed that* they belonged to the higher classes of the community.* It will not be long before their parents will begin to wish for the establishment of an English School in the village. *In fact it will be thus in most places.* The appointment of a certificated tutor to the village *patshala* will improve its condition and interest the people in the education of their children. That interest will of itself create a desire for English as the road to

* The italics are ours in almost all these extracts.

"preferment." Very good objects in their way no doubt, but we may surely ask, is this the purpose for which the *patshala* system was set on foot? Bulgonah might have been a very good place for the establishment of an aided school, but surely it was a complete prostitution of the *patshala* system to plant a *patshala* there, and thereby impede and probably prevent the establishment of an aided vernacular school!

On turning to the Report of 1865-66 we still find a *patshala* at Bulgonah which is ranked in the highest grade as 'excellent.' As an educational institution for grounding the upper and middle classes in the vernacular, we can readily believe, that it is excellent, but we must be pardoned if we are sceptical of its excellent effect upon the masses. While the anticipated demand for English education has been realised in the shape of an anglo-vernacular school at the same place, into a mere feeder of which we cannot repress a strong suspicion that the *patshala* has been permitted to degenerate! And yet the Deputy Inspector far from regarding this as an abuse or even abnormal application of the system, clearly refers to it as a specimen of how it may be expected to work.

A little further as we come to *Bursool*. "This is another of the transferred *patshalas*. There is an aided English School in this village and the Baboo who is manager of the aided school is likewise manager of the *patshala*. I believe also that the *children who attend the school also attend the patshala.*" Comment on this endeavour to 'get at the masses' must be superfluous.

Nyamutpore.—"The children who were mostly of the Brahmin or writer caste passed a very good examination. The villagers informed me that one of themselves taught English to the higher classes for an hour or so every day."

Duhpool.—"There is a grant-in-aid vernacular school here as well as a *patshala*. The certificated *patshala* tutor is strongly befriended by a few shop-keepers who have given him house accommodation in the bazar and who are endeavouring to secure him a respectable income from fees, The number of pupils at the *patshala* is daily on the increase, and I believe that unless they begin to teach English in the aided schools it will lose in the competition. I had an application from the manager of the latter, for an order on the *patshala* tutor prohibiting him from admitting boys that come to him from the aided school."

When this is the spirit in which the *patshalas* were established what more need be said? Here is a plain avowal that the *patshalas* which were intended to be radically and fundamentally

separated from the grant-in-aid institutions, are actually entering into competition with them at the public expense. The whole account suggests the suspicion that there was a *doladoli* in the village and that the opposite factions were making use of the two branches of the Educational Department as instruments of spiting one another.

With such an utter misconception or distortion of the objects of the system as the above extracts reveal, we are prepared for the proposal of the Additional Inspector at the close of the Report.

"My second suggestion is this. Now that the *patshalas* have been started, it is necessary to place before them a definite object of pursuit. Without such an object before them, their improvement can never be regular, steady or uniform. With men as well as institutions, there ought always to be some standard to aim at. The colleges have the University Degrees to strive for. The Zillah and aided schools compete with each other for the English scholarships, the vernacular scholarships are an object to the aided and model vernacular schools, the *patshalas* need have some object of the kind set before them and some standard by which their progress may be tested. I would propose the institution of a certain number of inferior vernacular scholarships, bearing a certain proportion to the number of *patshalas* in each district. Then will really be opened a way for the child of the poorest ryot to obtain within his reach the best education available in this country and the highest Honor of its University." It is quite evident that Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjee wanted to break down instead of to build up the wall of separation between his *patshalas* and the upper and middle class educational institutions, and we must again repeat that this shews a total misapprehension of the objects of the system. All that is here asked for was already provided by the grant-in-aid system. There was no necessity for organising a new system to meet the requirements of *candidates for preferment*. The Government of India would never have said that the grant-in-aid system could not be made properly applicable to the education of such classes as these, in such districts as Burdwan and Nuddea.

Organised rewards or definite objects for these schools to aim at, were most desirable it is true, but we argue as the Additional Inspector does that as the object held out such will the schools be. Hold out to your schools the prospects of a collegiate career and you will at once fill them with the classes you do not want, the classes for whom the aided system is perfectly adapted. Such a class of rewards should have been asked for, as would have shown decisively that the pupils were

not encouraged to look to preferment, as the object of their school career, instead of which Baboo Bhoodeb asks that such objects may be systematically held out as will lead them to do so.

What however did the Director of Public Instruction do? He might fairly be looked to to correct the misapprehensions of his lieutenant. Whether he did so or not we have no means of learning; from the aspect of affairs afterwards, we fear, that he did not; but in this case he fell into a worse mistake than if he had procured the institution of the proposed scholarships: he allowed the students of the *patshalas* to compete with those of the aided and other vernacular schools for the regular vernacular scholarships. This to our mind was the very worst and most pernicious step that could have been taken, it not only acknowledged but actually authorised the competition between the 'aided vernacular schools and the *patshalas* which the latter were only too ready to resort to. It was in fact little less than a definite assent to *an entire change of character* in the *patshalas* from that which had been designed for them by Government. No doubt the Director did not intend deliberately to further this change, he probably accepted the argument which was we may suppose laid before him, that if a boy at a *patshala* did possess such marked ability as to enable him to compete with those who were trained in the aided schools, it would be a shame to debar him from the career which was opening before him. But even Baboo Bhoodeb's own Report ought to have led him to see that the question was a much wider and deeper one. Was it not evident that the *patshalas* would take their impress from the character of the objects held out to them. If once allowed to compete for the examinations, was it not morally certain that they would rush into the gap thus created for them and that they would convert themselves one after the other into preparatory schools for this purpose; in fact be identical in their objects and character with the inferior aided vernacular schools and *pre-occupy* the field which these latter were intended to fill?

Under such auspices the first full year of the *patshalas* closed. Let us turn to the Report for the following year in order to judge how far actual results verify the anticipations that might have been formed.

In the Report of the schools visited by Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjee himself we read:

Bitoor.—"All the children belong to the respectable classes. The teaching is carried on entirely on the *plan of our superior schools* * * the tutor is a smart young man and takes

"pains with his pupils. He has succeeded in giving to his *patshala*, the exact appearance of a *Mofussil aided school*."

Sonacoondoo.—"A student from an extra class opened by the tutor, competed successfully at the last vernacular scholarship examination."

Cassiadangah.—"This school is very well conducted, progress excellent. This school can after a year or more send up candidates to the vernacular scholarship examinations."

Dadospore.—"This *patshala* would in my opinion compete on equal terms with the best conducted aided school, which I remember to have seen at any time."

In this Report Baboo Bhoodeb enters at great length into the questions which we have been discussing, and as his remarks bear out our views to a very remarkable extent we will hereafter extract from them fully; meanwhile however to continue the thread of our narrative it will be better first to pass on to the Report for 1865-66, and see the further progress made by the *patshalas*.

In that Report we find the Deputy Inspector of Goosheerah writing: "At four of the *patshalas* under me the villagers have appointed teachers of English." This is furthering education of the masses with a vengeance.

The Deputy Inspector of the Mymari Circle. "16 out of the 47 *patshalas* under me are getting on well, they are in no respect inferior to the aided vernacular schools which I have seen at different places; and as their Gooroos are equally attentive to their duties in the *patshalas* and to their self-improvement, I have every reason to hope that before long, they will be qualified to teach the vernacular scholarship course to their pupils who have been already well grounded in their elementary studies. With respect to those Gooroos who will prove incapable of meeting the now growing popular wish for teaching up to the vernacular scholarship standard, I would suggest that they be permitted to re-enter the training school by threes or fours every year in order to qualify themselves better." As might have been prophesied no sooner were those examinations opened to the *patshalas*, than both teachers and pupils began at once to lay themselves out for them and to make success in them, the main object of their existence. In fact to do everything that the aided schools were doing and we might safely add nothing more.

The evil results of such a system that is of the encroachment on a field not designed for them can easily be conceived. Let the Deputy Inspector of Kooshtea tell us: "The certificated

"Gooroos are no longer compared with the old Gooroos who offered in the beginning such a contrast to them. They are now compared with the Pundits of aided schools who are accordingly growing jealous of them, and, I am sorry, to find *endeavouring to undermine their influence, and popularity as far as they may.*"

Jessore Circle.—"In about 12 of these schools the students are preparing for the vernacular scholarship examination."

Bagirhat circle.—"There are 35 *patshalas* in this Circle inclusive of 10 night schools. The boys of the 25 day *patshalas* have made very considerable progress in their studies. In most the first class pupils have come up very near the vernacular scholarship examination."

Khoolnah Circle.—"I think that in a year more a few of them will be able to send pupils to compete at the vernacular scholarship examination."

The above evidence must be sufficient to satisfy any one that not only was it the tendency of the parents and children, who made use of the indigenous *patshalas*, to convert them into ordinary channels to employment, like the aided schools, but also that this tendency has been encouraged in every manner by those who have been entrusted with the supervision of the system.

So palpable had this divergence from the original objects of the scheme become by the second year of its existence that Baboo Bhodeb Mookerjee enters into an elaborate and, we may justly add, able justification of it. He writes :

"But the question now occurs: whom are we educating in our *patshalas*? I shall attempt to answer this question at some length, as a right understanding of it is absolutely necessary, for clearing up certain misconceptions with regard to the system now at work. The present scheme was at first designated as 'the scheme of *patshala* improvement.' It was known that there were in this country, from time immemorial, a large number of schools called *patshalas*, which might be made the ground-work for the further extension of our educational operations. The system of Circles had been working for some time previously on these indigenous schools, and all that was then expected from the present scheme was, to effect, at less expense and at greater speed, what the system of Circles was to have effected. In order to apprehend properly, therefore, the object and scope of the present scheme, it seems absolutely necessary to have at first a clear idea of what kind of institutions the *patshalas* are.

"Now, the history of any one of the thirty thousand *patshalas* said to exist in Bengal, is the history of each of them. Some respectable villager wishes to make provision for the elementary instruction of his children. He takes a gooroo into his service, gives him free quarters in his own house, feeds him and pays him a rupee or two per month, and accords him permission to take in as many children of the people as choose to attend his lessons. Thus a *patshala* is established. The *patshalas* are, therefore, in their very origin "preparatory schools for people in the higher and middle

ranks of life," and could not have existed, and cannot now exist, without their interest and active co-operation. At the same time the *patshalas* are very cheap schools. The gooroo does not insist upon large fees from his pupils; he does not deem high-priced printed books to be absolutely necessary; he makes use of no expensive school apparatus. The *patshalas* are therefore, attended by the children of the poorer classes. From the above description, it must be apparent that the *patshalas* are *not* schools for the masses *exclusively*, but at the same time there cannot be the least doubt that they *teach* the masses. The present scheme is calculated to *improve* these schools, and I do not fear the application of any reasonable test which may be proposed to try the improvement which has been already effected upon them. But I cannot regard without some apprehension the impression which seems to be entertained in certain quarters, that the *patshalas* *ought to be mass-schools exclusively*. The simple fact, however, is, that the *patshalas* never were, and are not now, schools for the masses *only*. Children of the highest as well as of the lowest classes have always attended them, and continue to attend them at present. My endeavour has hitherto been to *keep* them in this respect what I found them. It was my aim to *improve* the *patshalas*, not to *convert* them into mass-schools.

"In 1862, when reporting on the result of the experiments for '*patshala*' improvement which had been set a-foot in the Burdwan district, I had to notice how "the children of the lower orders had dropped off from the institutions which had been experimented upon." It has been my care, therefore, from the very commencement of operations under myself, to guard against the desertion of my *patshalas* by the children of the lower classes, and I flatter myself that my exertions have not proved unsuccessful. But the *conversion* of *patshalas* into *purely* mass-schools is what I never attempted, nor thought possible to attempt, under the provisions of the scheme of which I am in charge.

"The present scheme is calculated to improve the *patshalas*, and thereby act on the masses through and along with the middle and higher classes, but not in exclusion of them. The present scheme *requires* the people to set about the improvement of their own schools—it *requires* them to be bound to heavy penalties to keep up the schools upon which Government money is expended—it *requires* the payment of fees by the children who attend school—and in short, it proceeds entirely on the principle of the grant-in-aid system of "offering help to those only who help themselves."

"If then the provisions of the present scheme be not at all more liberal than those of any other system now at work, it is hard to imagine why it should be supposed as more fitted than all others to act on the masses *exclusively*, unless it be admitted, against every reason and experience, that the more stringent the provisions of an educational scheme, the more suited it is to act on people whose thoughts are all engrossed by present cares, who entertain no future prospects, and who feel no call for improvement. It is indeed impossible to understand how schools were to be formed for the masses *exclusively* under the present scheme. I cannot conceive how, on exclusion of the middle classes, I can receive applications for the nomination of goorooes or get my agreements signed, or the school fees paid regularly, or the school thatch built, or the village tutor housed and fed without any charges upon his small income. In schools designed *exclusively* for the masses, not only must every ordinary item of expenditure be borne by Government, but even their books must be supplied to the children gratis and occasionally prizes in cash or articles of food and clothing offered to them as bribes for their regular attendance at school.

"The present scheme is quite powerless to effect anything like what is above described. It but makes the grant-in-aid system work more widely and speedily than that system had been worked ever before. It takes but one step towards the education of the masses, and proves more strongly than anything else, that if we do not force down any mere theoretical classifications on our educational institutions—classifications not based on any definite social distinctions—the grant-in-aid principle will in time suffice to bring the masses fairly within our reach. It proves that, by following our present course, we may proceed safely as far downwards as we will, without putting any such strain upon the Government resources, as would certainly ensue, if we proposed to go plumb down all at once."

This contains a candid avowal of the true position of the improved *patshalas* and a defence of that position, "the present scheme is quite powerless" to reach the masses exclusively, "it but makes the grant-in-aid system work more widely and speedily than that system had been worked ever before." With this we entirely agree, but we dissent from Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjee entirely in his views that this is what was wanted by the Government of India or in fact by the Government of Bengal. Was it discontent at the rate of progress of the grant-in-aid system which led to the measure which was subsequently entrusted to the Additional Inspector? To our minds the uniform and steady progress of the grant-in-aid system was sounder than this forcing of it by means of the improved *patshalas*, and consequent checking of it, in its normal growth.

It would perhaps be unjust to say that Baboo Bhoodeb was solely or chiefly responsible for what we must call this perversion of the intentions of Government. He was appointed to work under special instructions and after the scheme had been already decided on, and he may be excused for shielding himself from the blame of having failed to further the general objects of the measure, by urging that he had faithfully carried out his definite orders of improving the indigenous *patshalas*. Without therefore endeavouring to ascertain who in particular is to be blamed for the misconception of the intention of the Government, let us rather again call attention to the manner in which it happened. The indigenous *patshalas*, as we have already said, and as very fairly stated by Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjee, were only in part schools for the masses, but it was this element which made them valuable to the Government as a field of operations. As long as the *patshalas* were merely aided by rewards, as long as the very name of 'scholarship' was probably unknown, and the dividing line between them and the rest of the educational machinery clearly distinct, the danger of exciting all the pupils to look for employment as the end of their schooling, and thereby

of depriving the *patshala* of any true adaptation to the masses as such, was little or nothing. It was hoped that the objects of the *patshala* and of the students attending it might be conserved and at the same time the Western instead of the Eastern system of elementary instruction introduced. But it was found that the old gooroos were incapable of being transformed hence the plan of educating them in normal schools, and then restoring them to their *patshalas* was adopted. It was in carrying this out that the original plan of Sir John Peter Grant was gradually and imperceptibly but vitally modified. Sir John Peter Grant proposed to leave the gooroo his present means of subsistence, but to add about 2-8 a month to his income as a reward for his adopting the Western system, he then proposed a further expenditure of about 20 Rs. per annum on each school in purchasing books and giving prizes, money rewards, &c., to the pupils. The first deviation the Educational Department made was in educating these gooroos too highly in the normal schools. It stands to reason that if many of the certificated gooroos have been able to pass pupils for the vernacular scholarship examination, they must have been trained more highly than an improved *patshala* for the masses required. Higher education brought expectations of higher pay, and it was proposed by an Inspector to guarantee them, a stipend of 5 Rs. for one year after their return to their *patshala*. This was soon altered to a guarantee for two years of Rs. 5, and then again into a guarantee of a stipend of 5 Rs. for two years, and of 5 Rs. composed half of a stipend and half of rewards for two years more, and lastly at one step into a permanent guarantee of a stipend of 5 Rs. for life. To meet this increase of salary for the now more highly trained gooroos, money must be obtained somewhere. One normal school swallowed up the expenses which Sir J. P. Grant had assigned for 6 model schools, and the new scheme not only retained the Deputy Inspectors contemplated by him, but also provided for a more highly paid Additional Inspector over the Deputy Inspectors. It was therefore already more expensive than the original scheme, and had a further allowance of 30 Rs. per annum been asked for per gooroo, the Government of India might have demurred to the proposal. Under this pressure the Director had recourse to the second blow at the masses: he laid his hands upon the 20 Rs., set aside per school for books and rewards, which were swallowed up in the additional stipends to the gooroos.

Now any one must see that this 20 Rs. was the very backbone of the education-of-the-masses element in Sir J. P. Grant's scheme. It just furnished the means whereby education might

be made popular among those who were not to look to it as a means of livelihood. Baboo Bhoodeb is himself our witness on this point in the passage we have quoted above. "In schools designed exclusively for the masses, not only must every ordinary item of expenditure be borne by Government, but even their books must be supplied to the children gratis and occasional prizes in cash, or articles of food and clothing offered to them as bribes for their regular attendance at school." This, in a modified form, is precisely what Sir J. P. Grant's scheme foresaw and provided for; and it would be impossible to find a clearer condemnation of the policy which over-trained the gooroo, and then, as a result, made over to him the funds destined to make the *patshalas* accessible to the masses, than the above passage.

The next feature which attracts our attention in all the Reports of the Additional Inspector is that he does not appear to observe the distinction between education for the masses and the education of individuals belonging to the masses in a manner *not* adapted to the masses. It does not seem to occur to him that if he has induced 100 boys belonging to the masses to come to school in the hope of gaining vernacular scholarships and becoming *keranees*, that he has not by so doing made any progress in the direction of real education for the masses. The pertinacious manner in which he speaks of future prospects of employment as being the one lever to educate the masses shews a kind of inability to comprehend the nature of the problem before him. We hold that any education for the sake of "prospects" is *ipso facto* not education for the masses in any true sense. One of two results must follow, either the education must be confined to a very small proportion of the population, since for only a very small proportion can employment of this kind be found, and can never become sufficiently wide-spread to be of any use; or many more than there are room for, having been led to educate themselves in the hope of success, there will be disappointment, and dissatisfaction, leading to a reaction and a general feeling of having been duped by false pretences.

We maintain that any system which raises false hopes and aspirations must eventually retard rather than advance the true progress of education, and that on this account, it is very doubtful whether the net-work of schools preparing up to the vernacular scholarship course, which Baboo Bhoodeb is scattering over the country at an annual cost to the Imperial revenue of over 100 Rs. per school, is not doing more harm than good, by stimulating a supply for which no demand exists. The districts in which he commenced operations are Burdwan, Krishnaghur, and

Jessore, and we appeal to any one who has ever had to advertise a vacant clerkship in any of those districts whether the supply of qualified candidates for such work is deficient. Is it a fact that the number of candidates is so few that the employer is obliged to offer an excessive salary to obtain what he wants, or is it a fact that he can if he likes procure qualified men for the merest pittance, till he is ashamed to offer so little as would be eagerly accepted? On the other hand is the labour market in those districts similarly overstocked? Are coolies or agricultural laborers, or palkee-bearers, or mistries, or peons or constables to be too easily procured, and at the same cheap rates as 20 years ago? How then is the country benefitted by reducing still further the supply for those occupations, which are already undermanned, and swelling by geometrical progression, the already overflowing ranks of *umedwars*? It is vain to suppose that such a system of education will penetrate downwards, it will lead only to disappointment and disgust. The first quarters where this will be visible will be near the large cities, where the already excessive supply of applicants will be earliest apparent. Accordingly in the latest Report for the Burdwan Circle of the Burdwan District, the Report in 1865-66, we find the Deputy Inspector writing thus :

"Of all the educational institutions under Government control, the *patshalas* come in for the smallest share of the Government patronage. During the year embraced in this Report no Government employment has been conferred on any *patshala* pupil of any Circle. The growing popularity of the *patshalas* has, in fact, received a sudden check. A feeling of disappointment has begun to rise up about them in the popular mind. Other results were expected in the beginning, some material advantages which did not belong to the *patshala* before they were taken up for improvement." The Deputy Inspector in every way it will be seen corroborates our views. The *patshalas* were taken up for improvement in such a manner and in such a spirit as to raise expectations of material advantages. The pupils and their parents are beginning to find out the delusive character of these expectations and the result is disappointment and a check !

For reasons indicated above we attach no value to the alleged evidences of partial success among the masses, which appear to have weighed with Mr. Monteath. Baboo Bhoodeb himself reported in a passage we have quoted that "the children of the lower orders had dropped off from the institutions which had been experimented upon," and as he has implied very unmistakeably the methods by which he has endeavoured

to retain them *viz.*, the holding out prospects to them we may assume that where they have remained, they have remained with an eye to prospects, which, as we have insisted upon, is no education of the masses in any proper sense.

If attendance declines during the agricultural season that shews that children of the agricultural population are attending the school, but it does not in the least shew that they intend to become agriculturists, and we are justified in doubting this when the converging mass of evidence which shew that 'prospects' and 'employment' are thus far the cause of all the vitality of the improved *patshalas*. We are bound to add that what we have said above does not apply to the operations under the other *patshala* Inspector, Baboo Kasikant Mookerjee. At the date of the latest educational Report he had only been 6 months at work, the gooroos were being trained but apparently none had returned to their villages, nor could it be ascertained how the *patshalas* would work. We greatly fear however that when it does get into working, we shall hear the old story again about vernacular scholarships, prospects and Government employment.

We have not attempted in this article to shew how the masses are to be reached, we have confined ourselves to what we admit to be the far easier task of criticism, to shewing that the present system is anything but calculated to accomplish this end, by its having been allowed to be worked on bad and vicious principles and that it is thereby in our opinion doing more harm than good at a great expense to Government. We may however express our firm conviction that no system will ever succeed in reaching the masses which is not based upon an educational cess, somewhat similar to the system adopted in the North-West. Large villages or villages which have already many *patshalas* ought to be required or, to use a more pleasing word which generally means the same, induced to pay from 6 to 10 Rs. a month, for the support of a gooroo. These gooroos should be trained as at present, only in such a manner as clearly to shew them that they are *not* Pundits. Thus supported they should be bound to maintain *patshalas* at the hours when the agricultural classes could attend, and no fee whatever for attendance should be requisite. The Government might contribute in aid of the local cess a sum of 20 or 30 Rs. annually to be spent in the purchase of books and money rewards both for the pupils and for the gooroos in accordance with the number of scholars capable of reading and writing that their *patshala* contained. The course of the *patshalas* should be so regulated as to shew clearly that they are quite distinct

from the aided schools, and that those whose objects were 'prospects' must go to the latter. Such schools would no doubt exhibit a feeble vitality at first, but what they did accomplish would be sound progress and the expense entailed on the Imperial revenue would be sufficiently small to enable it to be extended without limit. Moreover it would in many cases be found that where the Zemindar was either an enlightened man or otherwise desirous of pleasing the Government, he would himself undertake the support of the gooroo and take care that a fair proportion of the children of his ryots attended the school. We believe that the districts near Calcutta are rife for such a scheme and that if even in the North-West the cess has not been unpopular, it would be still less so in Bengal.

We now turn to a different subject to perhaps the most important question connected with education in the Lower Provinces, after the *patshala* system: we mean the solution of the difficulties connected with the foundation of Mahomed Moshim, the College at Hooghly.

Probably every one of our readers is well aware that the Western system of education has been accepted heartily and readily by only one of the great religious parties in this part of India, and that the smaller party, the Mahomedans, form an almost infinitesimal portion of the students who attend the Government and Aided Schools. The result has been that during the last ten years the Mahomedans in this part of India have greatly fallen behind in what is commonly called the race of progress, and exercise far less influence than their numbers and position would have otherwise entitled them to. Whatever the causes of this may be, and they are not difficult to find or altogether discreditable to the Mahomedans, it is obvious that it is no less the bounden duty than the interest of the Government to take care that all just causes of complaint and dissatisfaction on their part are as far as possible removed, and that our educational measures if not palatable to them should at least be equitable. It is on this account that it may be reasonably urged that 'the affair of the Madrissas' is one of the most important questions of our educational policy.

The history of the Hooghly College is thus given by Mr. Monteath:

"264. The Hooghly College is the next on the List; and as its history and that of the Calcutta Madrissa are in most respects similar, I shall treat of them together. The Hooghly College was founded in 1836, and is mainly supported from funds bequeathed by Mahomed Moshim, a wealthy Mahomedan gentleman, who, dying without heirs in the year 1806, left his large property, yielding an annual income of Rupees 45,000,

Hooghly College and
Calcutta Madrissa.

to Mahomedan Trustees 'for the service of God.' Owing to the misappropriation of the funds, Government assumed the office of Trusteeship. The right of assumption was opposed by the original Trustees, but upheld both by the Courts in India and by the Privy Council in England. The period of litigation extended over many years, during which the annual income accumulated, forming a surplus fund of Rupees 8,61,100. This fund was devoted to founding and endowing the Hooghly College. It was further increased by a portion of the original Zemindaree and by the lapse of various pensions with which the estate had been burdened.

* * *

" 267. The history of the Hooghly Madrisa up to 1850 had been of much the same character; and hence it was that, in the educational reforms which took place between that year and 1854, both of these Mahomedan Institutions were re-modelled. In both of them a junior or Anglo-Persian Department was created, the senior or Arabic Department being made quite distinct and separate. In the latter Department a more modern and rational system of instruction in the Arabic language and in the principles of Mahomedan Law was substituted for the antiquated and faulty system of the Indian Moulavies, and the teaching of false physical science was altogether prohibited.

" 268. In both cases the Anglo-Persian or General Departments have flourished, while the Special or Arabic Departments have languished.

" 269. In the Hooghly Institution, the Anglo-Persian Department was merged into a Collegiate Institution, with School and College Departments like other Mofussil Colleges. The Institution was affiliated in 1857. The Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Institution has only recently been affiliated to the University, and that only as educating up to the First Arts Standard. It is noticeable, however, that the Hooghly College and Collegiate School appear to have been completely monopolized by Hindoos to the almost entire exclusion of Mahomedans. The distribution of pupils for 1865-66 was as follows:—

Pupils in 1865-66.

	Hindoos.	Mahomedans.	Others.	Total.
Hooghly College ...	133	6	2	141
Hooghly Collegiate School ...	236	43	8	286

Considering that these Departments were supported in the year under notice, to the extent of Rupees 45,507, from the "proceeds of endowment," it may be a question whether the funds bequeathed by a Mahomedan, however usefully employed, are being expended in a manner consistent with the special object for which they are held in trust. It is true that, while the fee rates are Rupees 2-8 and Rupees 3 in the School, and Rupees 4 and Rupees 5 in the College, Mahomedans are admitted both in the School and in the College at the reduced rate of one Rupee; but the results seem to show that, even with this privilege, the arrangements are not such as to maintain the original character of the Institution as one designed specially for the education of Mahomedans.

Now keeping in mind what has been above said regarding the general disfavour which modern education finds among Mahomedans, and that in the present instance Government has succeeded to the position of trustees, and not to that of irresponsible managers, we must admit that if Mr. Monteath is right and if the funds are not spent in a manner consistent with the object for which they are held in trust, we cannot be surprised if a deep sense of injustice rankles in the hearts

of all of the Mahomedan community who know the circumstances of the case, and not unreasonably contributes to impel them to assume an attitude of settled hostility to our educational system, particularly if it can be shown that this educational system, rather than the deliberate intention of the Government, is the source of the injustice.

In order to enable a judgment to be arrived at on this point, let us give a brief history of the institution, correct in its outlines and we believe also in its minute details. By the will of Mahomed Moshim the proceeds of the estate were to be divided into nine parts. Of these three were to be devoted to religious objects proper, to the keeping up the mosque or Emambarah and to analogous purposes; two shares were to be allowed to the two trustees for their own use, and the remaining four shares were for what we may call secular-religious purposes, for pensions, establishments, salaries of servants and a small Madrissa. The two trustees were especially authorised to appoint successors to their office and they and their successors were authorised to make all necessary and proper alterations in the disposition of these funds as time and circumstances might require, and as the pensions fell in.

After the lapse of some years, it having been found that the trustees were abusing their trust, the Government assumed the office of trustee. The assumption was stoutly opposed on behalf of the trustees, but finally upheld about the year 1834, and the Government then entered upon its office which it has continued to hold ever since, having at its disposal, besides the ordinary proceeds of the estate, a balance of upwards of 8 lacs, the accumulation of the years during which the estate had been under litigation. The position of the Government therefore, assuming as we must and are fully entitled to assume, that the decision of the law courts was a just one, is clear enough: they had power limited only by the general objects and clear wishes of the testator, to dispose of the surplus capital as they thought fit, as well as of the other sums which might fall in. They accordingly continued and continue to spend the 4ths on the strictly religious objects laid down in the will, for prayers for the Prophet and for the Emams, and for the expenses of the Mohurum and of the Emambarah. Only one Mutwallie or superintendent was maintained and one ninth assigned for his salary. The pensions and establishments according to the schedule of the will were also duly paid out of the 4ths. There remained therefore the accumulated capital exceeding 8 lacs of rupees, the 1/4th saved from the salary of the second Mutwallie and the lapse of pensions together with the funds which had

been expended on the support of the small existing Madrisa. With these funds it was resolved after setting aside a sum of about 1,40,000 Rs. for the repairs of the Emambarah, to establish an educational institution with the remainder which was estimated to yield an annual income of 57,000 Rs.

On this resolution being arrived at a discussion of the nature of the institution and its details occupied the greater part of the years 1835 and 1836. The Sheahs, at once petitioned that the institution might be set apart for the exclusive use of their sect to which the testator belonged. The Soonees petitioned that it might be open to them. The Governor-General in refusing the former petition on the 25th March, 1835, wrote thus: "The Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council looks on the munificent institution of the proposed College at Hooghly as intended by the Founder for the diffusion of knowledge not only to religionists of his own sect but to all coming under the general name of Musalman." This view however was subsequently to some extent departed from, for in a letter addressed to the General Committee of Public Instruction on the 8th April of the same year, directing them to propose a scheme for the proposed College, the Governor-General writes: "It was certainly not the intention of the testator, that the large funds devoted by him to this excellent object should be applied exclusively to facilitate the cultivation of Mahomedan literature, but the Governor-General in Council, though he would provide for imparting to all classes of the population, instruction in every possible branch of useful knowledge, is nevertheless of opinion that the institution should be essentially a Mahomedan seminary of education, so as to satisfy the just expectations of that class of the population, of which the beneficent Founder of this charity was during his life-time a member."

This was the principle on which a scheme was ultimately proposed; two departments, one English and the other Oriental, were organised, the former to cost Rs. 21,360, the latter Rs. 15,540 per annum. Miscellaneous items, prizes, &c., ran up the total annual establishment to Rs. 40,700. The College was open to all who chose to conform to the discipline prescribed.

The history of the institution thus founded has been sufficiently indicated in the extract which has been given above from the Educational Minute, to complete which we need only add as is stated further on in the same minute that the special Arabic Department, which is confined to Mahomedans, is in a miserable condition, the number of students at the date of the last Report being only 19, and many of these we believe scholarship-holders.

This palpable failure of the institution to acquire the confidence of the Mahomedans has for many years attracted the attention of the Bengal Government. Two successive Lieutenant-Governors have looked into the case and abstained from doing anything, and it now stands over for the action of a third. As early as 1861, Moulavie Abdool Luteef was asked to record his opinion of the changes which would meet the wishes of the Mahomedan community, and wrote a pamphlet on the subject; while the Director of Public Instruction and Major Lees, the Principal of the Calcutta Madrissa, had already expressed their opinions in the early part of the same year.

The principal results arrived at in this correspondence may be briefly stated as follows. (1) Arabic Madrissas are intended for what is called the learned as opposed to the worldly class of Mahomedans. Persons of this class, traditionally poor and supposed to remain so, require to be supported during their studies and in all well organised private Madrissas are so supported. The withdrawal of all such support, and on the contrary charging a small fee, has deprived the Madrissa of the attendance of the class for whom it is adapted, and has therefore led to its practical desertion.

(2) The larger and what are styled the worldly class of Mahomedans, in order properly to fill their place in society, must learn Persian, if therefore they are mixed in the general department with students of other creeds, either all those students must be compelled to study Persian, or the Mahomedans must be placed at the disadvantage of having to compete with their fellows handicapped with the weight of an additional language. Consequently even the school for the worldly class ought to be restricted to Mahomedans, though the pupils could not expect to be supported while learning. It is no doubt also true that the more respectable and consistent Mahomedans do not like to mix in schools with other religionists; and considering that all the most conscientious persons in England and Ireland object to mixed education, we cannot be surprised if conscientious Musalmans are of the same way of thinking.

These are the two difficulties which may we think be safely assumed as lying at the root of the failure of the Hooghly Madrissa and Collegiate department as a place of education for Mahomedans. Accordingly Moulavie Abdool Luteef urges the concession of both these points. Major Lees and the Director of Public Instruction both apparently admit the necessity of supporting the pupils of the Madrissa during their period of study, but the stumbling block is the question of breaking up the present Hooghly College, which is so successful and popular

an institution among Hindus though so unpopular among Mahomedans.

Were the Hooghly College supported by the endowment of anybody but a pious Mahomedan, we should unhesitatingly admit, that Government would be right both in refusing to pay incipient Moulavies to study Arabic, and to set apart an educational institution for the exclusive use of Mahomedans. But it cannot be lost sight of that together with the authority, Government have also accepted the responsibility of the position of trustees to carry out the intentions of Mahomed Moshim. Can anyone doubt for a moment that he would have supported the students of Arabic during their studies? Can any one suppose that if he had found out that an English Department for the mixed education of Hindus and Mahomedans would not work, and that it must practically fall into the hands of one or the other, he would have hesitated in his choice between the two?

Looked at in this light it does not appear that there can possibly be two sides to the question; but we have reason to believe that Sir C. Beadon was disinclined to do anything tending to render the English Department more exclusive on the ground that the question had been once finally settled in 1836, and that it could not be re-opened. In this view we are unable to concur; it seems to us that it is altogether a mistake to say that any decision was given in 1836 in *favour of the present system*. What was then decided was that an institution should be set up which though open to all classes should be '*essentially a Mahomedan seminary of education*,' and it would be notoriously an abuse of language to term the present College a Mahomedan seminary of education. Regarded in its true light the case may be thus put. In 1836 two objects were held in view and were to be conjointly given effect to; in 1860 or 1867 it has become evident that these two objects are incompatible one with another and that the two-fold intentions of the Governor-General cannot be both carried out. The question is which of the two should be given up in favour of the other, should the principle of keeping the institution open to all classes be adhered to, and the character of a Mahomedan seminary of education abandoned, or should the latter be regarded as the fundamental object, and the former made to give way to it owing to its proved incompatibility with it. Reduced to this issue surely it cannot be doubted which line ought to be adopted, even if we look at the intentions of the Government in 1836, still more if we look at the intentions of the testator?

Thus far then we are entirely of opinion that the Educational Department ought be made to disgorge its prey, to use, without any offensive meaning, a not inapt expression: but we are bound to remember that there does exist a very equitable method of balancing the loss thereby incurred. The case for insisting on the funds of the Calcutta Madrissa being spent in a manner not conducive to the interests of the Educational Department is as undoubtedly weak, as that for spending the endowment of Mahomed Moshim in a manner congenial to Mahomedan customs and habits is strong. Either Warren Hastings or the Government of the day endowed the Calcutta Madrissa. Assuming that Warren Hastings endowed it, we are as justified in assuming that he would have sided with what is called a liberal policy had he been alive, as Mahomedans are in assuming that Mahomed Moshim would *not* have sided with such a policy. But as a matter of fact Major Lees' remarks have satisfactorily shewn that it was the Government of the day and not Warren Hastings which supplied the funds, now commuted into an annual allowance of Rs. 31,875. (30,000 Sa. Rs.)

This College was founded of course long before Mahomed Moshim's bequest and still longer before the institution of the Hooghly College; and it may undoubtedly be urged that what Government from motives of policy gave, it may also from motives of policy take away. Had a large Mahomedan seminary, such as might have been established with the 57,000 Rs. in 1836, existed in 1780 in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, it is reasonable to suppose that the grant to the Calcutta Madrissa would never have been made. While therefore it would be an act of the barest justice to hand back for the purposes of *bona fide* Mahomedan education, the entire proceeds of the endowment of Mahomed Moshim, it would be equally just at the same time to resume the 32,000 Rs. now assigned by the Calcutta Madrissa. However we would neither tamper with the Calcutta Madrissa beloved by Musulmans from its now time-honored associations, nor would we touch the College at Hooghly. The College at Hooghly should be dissevered from the Madrissa there, and its Persian classes shut up; this would relieve it of some portion of its expenditure, and to meet the remainder it would have the Government assignment of 32,000 Rs. and the schooling fees which exceed 12,000 we believe. The further deficiency considering that the present expenditure of the institution, Madrissa, Persian teachers and all only amounts to between 60,000 and 70,000 Rupees, would not be very great and might be met either by a slight

reduction of establishment or by a slightly enhanced assignment from the public revenues.

On the other hand experience and the persistent decline of the existing Madrissa has abundantly shewn, that two Madrissas, within the space of 30 miles, for the education of the 'learned' class of Mahomedans are not needed. The Hooghly Arabic Department should therefore be amalgamated with that in Calcutta, which should be maintained from Mahomed Moshim's endowment on an improved footing in regard to expenditure, and should be constituted in a manner in entire accordance with the wishes and tastes of the most respectable Mahomedans, out of respect to the religious opinions of the testator. The Anglo-Persian School in Calcutta would also remain intact, a charge on the same funds, and there would be an ample margin to establish a very good Anglo-Persian School for the exclusive use of Mahomedans at Hooghly, well endowed with scholarships to enable the best pupils to continue their studies either in the Madrissa at Calcutta, or in the Hooghly or other College affiliated to the University.

Should this be deemed impracticable, should it appear (what seems to us absurd) that the grant to the Calcutta Madrissa has been so made that the Government of the present day cannot divert the funds for another purpose however equitable, the next best course in our opinion would be to divide the funds at Hooghly and leave part for the English College, while the other part was set aside for purely Mahomedan education. Such a conclusion might not unfairly be arrived at either from the manner in which the capital was formed or from the decision resolved on in 1836. The money having been saved in great measure through the interference and good management of the Government acting as trustee, and such an accumulation having never been anticipated by Mahomed Moshim, the right of Government to share in the advantages to be derived from this accumulation might be fairly maintained. Again, in 1836 it was resolved as we have already shewn to establish an educational institution which should be open for the general education of all classes, and at the same time remain essentially a Mahomedan seminary. The incompatibility of these two objects having been now proved by experience, it might be argued in order to maintain the principle therein arrived at, that neither of the two objects should be entirely abandoned, but that part of the funds should be expended in maintaining an English College and part in maintaining a Mahomedan seminary. In that case the Government would be compelled to increase to a considerable extent their present payment of 5,000 or 6,000 Rs.

for the support of the Hooghly College in order to set free sufficient funds to maintain the Mahomedan institutions. Even then we would advocate no second Madrissa at Hooghly. A sum of 6,000 Rupees would endow 100 stipends of 5 Rupees a month for Arabic students at the Calcutta Madrissa to be elected in some satisfactory manner either by a competitive examination or by the nomination of a competent Committee; while a further sum should be set aside for the proper institution of a good Anglo-Persian School at Hooghly as before. In fact in either case the result which we advocate is much the same, and the only difference consists in the different principles on which the endowment funds will be expended.

Whatever is done, we regard it as a *sine qua non* that no attempt is made to patch up a sort of hybrid institution, half Mahomedanised, half modernised, which will give satisfaction to no one, least of all to Mahomedans; and which the testator, as we may judge from his character, would have as soon thought of establishing as he would have invited his co-religionists to a feast of pork and wine. Far better and far more candid would it be, to place the trust funds at the disposal of the Director of Public Instruction with a definite understanding that they are to be regarded as no more for the benefit of Mahomedans than for that of Christians and Hindus, than to profess to make a show of doing every thing for the Mahomedans and at the same time steadily to refuse to concede to them those fundamental points, without which other concessions are worthless.

We have not space to enter upon any of the other questions which Mr. Monteath's educational Minute suggests, and in fact we believe that the two upon which we have dwelt at length are by far the most important. On the one hand it is surely time that some attempts were made to ascertain whether the large and increasing sums that are being annually spent on what is supposed to be the education of the masses, are doing anything more than prematurely forcing on the grant-in-aid system under another form, and threatening to deluge with office seekers and denude of laborers, those very districts in which already the office seekers are far too numerous and the price of labour is rising with the most alarming rapidity.

On the other hand if we have begun to cease to wonder at discontent in Ireland, as long as the many poor are taxed to support the religious establishment of the rich minority, we ought to remember that in Bengal, we cannot expect to obtain the confidence of the Mahomedans whether in our Government or in our educational system, as long as, acting as trustees of

the endowment of a pious Mahomedan, bequeathed by him to be spent for the benefit of his soul and of his religion, we expend those funds in the maintenance of a godless College for the almost exclusive use of Hindus.

ART. VIII.—SIR CECIL BEADON'S ADMINISTRATION OF BENGAL.

IF we are to call no man happy till he dies, least of all would we call any Indian Governor happy, till his official life is well over, and the good and evil that he has done, alike forgotten and buried out of sight. Five years ago, when the Lieutenant-Governor who has just left these shores first assumed the reins of his Government, what brighter prospect could any one have had? Coming after a Lieutenant-Governor whose lot was cast in the thorny times of the Bengal Indigo troubles, and who, because he could not and would not struggle against what he saw to be inevitable, passed the latter part of his Governorship under such a ceaseless chorus of reproach and execration, as almost surpassed that to which his successor has been exposed, Sir Cecil Beadon had in his favor not only the expectations which almost all men build upon a change, but it was known, or at least believed that he was an opponent of Sir J. P. Grant's policy, and that he had guided the later counsels of Lord Canning and he had certainly identified himself distinctly with the policy, of what was at that time scouted as an unjust and one-sided measure, brought forward specially to favor Indigo planters *viz.* the punishment criminally of breaches of civil contract. It was known moreover that in his manner he was excessively urbane and courteous, always ready to hear what people had to say and to receive and listen to suggestions from whatever quarter they came—and in this too he contrasted favorably with the retiring and inaccessible habits of his predecessor. Then too his first public actions were entirely in conformity with the popular view. When a series of elaborately imagined letters appeared in a daily paper, attacking the opium system in the Behar districts, and accusing one of the district opium officers of corrupt practices in the disposal of his patronage, official enquiry was immediately instituted, and though no attempt was made to prove the personal charges, yet as minor matters of mal-administration came to light

in the course of the enquiry, a letter of thanks was addressed to the paper, and the official was forbidden to prosecute a charge of defamation which he had commenced against the author of the letters. The first few months moreover of Sir Cecil's administration were marked by his tour through the Tea districts, by the anxiety he showed to assist and develop the prospects of the Tea planters in every way, by his urging on the Government of India the necessity of giving larger grants for Public Works in Assam, by his giving in his waste land Rules as liberal an interpretation as possible to the despatch of the Home Government, and by a general anxiety to identify himself with the interests of European settlers, and to do away, as far as possible, with the mischievous notion which many foolish writers are still eager to encourage in the minds of this class, that their Governors are hostile to them, and that it is the steady and fixed design of officials to injure and ruin them. At the time, all these efforts of Sir Cecil were appreciated, and though here and there an occasional voice attributed them to popularity-hunting, the general cry was one of approval. The way was smooth to him, he was popular personally, approved politically by the press, he had the character of leading public opinion, of understanding the wants of the European community, of being prepared to carry out Lord Canning's later policy, (whatever that may be.) Indigo troubles had died out, the Tea Industry was in the hey-day of its hot youth, magnificent with the colours which a too vivid imagination had lent to it, and its prospects appeared fabulously bright; there was no threatening of war, no internal trouble, with the sole exception of the Cossyah rebellion, and that was speedily and efficiently stamped out in the first cold season after Sir Cecil took charge; famine had been unknown for years, and in Bengal its recurrence was undreamt of, and there was no cloud of importance on any quarter of the horizon, to threaten the fair weather voyage of the new Lieutenant-Governor.

Now that the five years' voyage is over, let us ask how has the promise been fulfilled? how has he sped? The favouring breezes have turned to storms of wrath and execration, he has tasted the fickleness of the *popularis aura*, and he leaves us "lean, rent, and beggared by the strumpet wind." After five years of unceasing labour he goes home, with health shattered, with official prospects ruined, amidst the desolation of a Famine not yet completely subdued, with the execration of many papers in his ears; from one comes a suggestion that a monument of dead mens' bones should be raised to him in Orissa; another dismisses him to his "home deservedly unregretted,"

and threatens with dire publicity any who should dare to get up an address to him, or should meet to wish him god-speed. The Thunderer holds him responsible for all the loss of life that has occurred; the *Pall Mall Gazette*, one of the most thoughtful and therefore most formidable of the English papers, holds that Governor Eyre's sins, of scarlet though they be, are white as wool to those of Lieutenant-Governor Beadon, and while these greater papers, thunder forth sonorous all their anger and reproach, their lesser brethren answer in gentler chorus; the native papers rage furiously together, the "irresponsible indolent reviewers" swell the cry, and so far as the press is a fair exponent of public opinion, one might say that our late Lieutenant-Governor left these shores amidst one harmonious strain of unbroken universal ululation. And, apart from this apparent unpopularity, which a strong mind, conscious of success, which shall justify itself to posterity, might afford to disregard; what state of affairs, what results of his work could he look round upon with pleasure, and find his comfort in their contemplation! In Orissa a famine still raging, and a commission (one of whose members was a trusted and favoured subordinate of his own) appointed virtually to report on and condemn his shortcoming in respect to it; in Behar, the famine, it is true, at an end, but a special commissioner (also a subordinate of his own and selected by him,) condemning his officers, his system of Government and himself personally for all the distress and misery of the past year; the Tirhoot Indigo system which had withstood the troubles of 1860-61, trembling on the balance and apparently on the verge of a collapse, for which by the way with admirable foresight a portion of the press had already held him responsible. In Assam and Cachar, the whole fabric of the Tea Industry, the development of which he had made his own and dwelt upon with paternal pride in successive annual reports, which he had made his first care on taking the reins of office, and which had promised to render his administration eminent and honoured—all this magnificent industry hopelessly collapsed; shares in all the once-desired Tea Companies a scorn and a derision; gardens everywhere closed, and their managers out of employment, and only a few struggling on in the hope of better days—and all of these attributing their ruin and distress to him; looking at him like the companions of the Ancient Mariner as responsible for all their woe.

Each turned his face with a ghastly pang
And cursed him with his eye.

In the place of the honoured and popular Lieutenant-Governor of five years ago, we see him then almost

universally execrated by the English press and held responsible for the entire collapse of one and the threatened collapse of the other of the two great English industries in the interior of the province, blamed by the Commissioners and by the Government of India for his conduct in the famine; unforgiven by the natives for his exertions in mitigating the Burning Ghat nuisance, his attempt to put an end to Ghat murders, and to the infinitely destructive vice of Koolin marriages, unpopular with a portion of his own service for his sudden and unheard of raid against the incompetent and the hard bargains of the service, and perhaps also for his suspected distribution of patronage,—disliked by others for the very vigorous language of his Secretary and his too unsparing use of the official lash, and almost on every point in which his career as Lieutenant-Governor began most favourably, meeting with failure, unpopularity and reproach. We may well ask, can such a voyage have such a disastrous end and the captain not be to blame? It is to endeavour to find an answer to this question, and to examine in a necessarily brief and cursory manner some of the important points of Sir Cecil's administration that this paper is written.

Sir Cecil's personal character has undergone a good deal of discussion lately, and it has certainly had an important influence both on the points on which his administration has succeeded, and on those in which he has failed. Of his ability there can be no question: the most hostile criticism that we have seen on his character still admits this, and while calling him shifty, unreliable, and even treacherous, speaks of him as admittedly "possessing very great ability, a large capacity for hard work, untiring industry, and considerable skill in dealing with a knotty subject." With an almost excessive facility in writing, a facility which is characteristically shown in the ease and grace with which his pen brings him safely out of long and involved sentences, that would drive other men to despair, he combined great capacity for grappling with the gist of a difficult subject, and making it smooth and simple for those who had to deal with it after him. While lacking the terse and precise vigour which characterised the writings of Sir J. P. Grant, his power is mainly shown in an opposite direction; in readiness of apprehension, versatility and grace; and on these points the style of writing was a faithful index to the character of the two men. Sir Cecil was without the originality, the stubborn grit and vigour of his predecessor, but his cast of mind was readier, more pliant, quicker to seize the signs of the times, and more open to new impressions. Without being perhaps one of those born leaders of men that we meet with mainly in

the pages of Carlyle and in descriptions of Punjab officials, Sir Cecil would in any country and under any circumstances have been a man of mark. We have already alluded to the unvarying grace and courtesy of his manners, "for manners are not idle but the fruit—Of loyal nature and of noble mind," and we may perhaps be excused for repeating a saying attributed to the late Lady Canning that the two most perfect mannered men she had ever met were Sidney Herbert and Cecil Beadon. This charm of manner, and his great ability, industry and capacity for work were perhaps Sir Cecil's most marked characteristics and have been testified to both by friend and foe. But there are other characteristics which deserve notice and which cannot well be passed over. The late Lieutenant-Governor was a remarkably courageous man. His physical courage as far we know has not been tested, but in grappling with severe illnesses, in refusing to leave his post when ordered by the Doctors to go home, and when told that if he did not, his death was almost a certainty, his pluck never gave way. It was in fact sheer pluck that carried him through. In the heaviest crisis of the Mutiny when many men in high places lost heart, and doubts as to the ability of the army before Delhi to hold its position, were freely expressed by members of Council, and others whose least hint of doubt was sure to be eagerly seized on and exaggerated in its passage through society, Sir Cecil never lost his firmness; no one ever heard him breathe a word of misgiving as to the ultimate result, or let slip a sign which could add to the doubts and terrors that were then agitating society. That he did not do this has been interpreted by some as want of sympathy with the European population, and with the general feeling of his countrymen, but those who know him best know how little the imputation was deserved, and the most thoughtful men looking back now on the terrors and temptations of those days, are the first to appreciate what the character of England owes to the attitude then taken by Lord Canning and his principal advisers; to their clemency on the one hand and to their hopeful courage on the other.

The fact is that nature gifted Sir Cecil with an unusually sanguine temperament, and his tendency to take a sanguine view of things, a tendency not less marked in personal than in political matters, may be seen to have influenced his actions in many matters in which his judgment has most been called in question. Referring again to the Mutinies, though the often repeated assertion of his having alluded to the alarm occasioned by the outbreak of the Mutiny as "a passing and groundless panic," has been distinctly contradicted and disproved, yet there

can be little doubt that he did not at first appreciate the true magnitude of the crisis. Again in the Bhootan War, which he is accused of having entered upon with inadequate resources and preparations, it must be admitted that he did not make enough allowance for such contingencies as actually happened—he was over sanguine in his belief that the Bhootas would invariably *not* fight and that our native troops invariably *would* fight, a supposition which was disastrously contradicted on the occasion of our losing Dewangari. Of minor instances where his judgment has been impugned either by the Government of India or the public at large, his consistent belief in and support of the Mutlah scheme and the subsidiary scheme for clearing the Soonderbuns and again his confident belief in the ability of Municipalities to govern themselves, are both directly to be attributed to that sanguine temperament which hopeth all things, and which is intimately connected with the firm and confident courage for which we have already given him credit. No doubt the most conspicuous instance of this sanguine temperament is to be found in his treatment of the Orissa Famine, but as we shall have to deal with that hereafter, it is not necessary to dwell on it at this portion of our paper. The above instances are only illustrative of difficulties in which this hopeful tendency may have been influential in involving Sir Cecil's administration, but it must not be forgotten how very little can be initiated or carried out without such a temperament to work on, and though it may lead a Governor into many difficulties and some failures; yet without it any Government would be reduced to the deadliest level of dry routine, no progress would be made, no experiment initiated; and the world owes not less perhaps to the failures in which the experiments of sanguine Governors have resulted than to the successes of those who being more cautious have profited by the other's failures. It is too much to say perhaps that Sir Cecil manifested an incapacity for believing in great disasters, but it is true that his tendency was invariably to take a hopeful view of matters, and this tendency though disastrous to his personal reputation, has been productive of quite as much good as ill to his administration. It is perhaps unnecessary to say much of the charge occasionally brought against Sir Cecil of his being a hunter after popularity. That he would have liked to be popular is probable, that a man of his tact and ability could have been popular had he chosen to follow wherever the hunt after popularity would have led him, is as certain as that towards the close of his administration he was not popular: the fact is that though open to new convictions, and inclined to lead public opinion where he could do so, he did not and would

not sacrifice principle to popularity. One of his first actions was to appoint as his Secretary, a man whom the recent Indigo disturbances had rendered more unpopular than any man in the Civil Service and whose aptitude for work, knowledge of general administration, and thorough independence of thought were the only qualifications, which could recommend him to the new Lieutenant-Governor. Again he went out of his way to incur at an early period of his career, the opposition of the "paper published at Serampore," and he certainly succeeded in securing it. He moreover broke through all the traditions of his own service by hunting out all the thoroughly incompetent and useless officers he could lay his hands upon, and forcing them, as far as he could, to resign, or at least into positions where they could do no harm. These are not the arts of a popularity-hunter and his omissions were quite as suggestive as his actions. If popularity had been his object what could have been easier, than when the Famine first began to show its true magnitude, to form a public committee and take the lead in a self-applauding and ostentatious benevolence. If popularity had been his object he would have done this, and would moreover at great expense have taken a Steamer down to Cuttack and leaving his Government to look after itself for a month would have visited three relief centres and half-a-dozen dispensaries, would have written a graceful letter reporting that he had personally seen the food cooked, and distributed; and a generous public would have applauded his personal exertions and his sympathy with the sufferers, forgetting that what he did could have been better done by his subordinates, and that what he left undone, no one but he could do. At the same time it would have been much better had he done all this, he would have gained somewhat in popularity, and popularity in a Governor is a force; in its way perhaps quite as useful and appreciable a force as ability and industry. Apart from this he would have seen something, however little, of the Famine for himself, and such encouragement would have been of infinite service to his subordinates. Altogether it is to be regretted that in this instance he was so little of a popularity-hunter. The fact of Sir Cecil's readiness to listen to all a man had to say, the cheerful urbanity with which he surrendered himself to bores with a grievance, bores with a new idea, bores who had been unappreciated, and bores with a relation to assist; his tendency in conversation to bring out points of agreement rather than points of difference, may often have led people to suppose that he assented more completely to their views than he did. But in reality in these matters, Sir Cecil was both cautious and strict: too cautious and strict a Governor

cannot be, but we may say that Sir Cecil very rarely indeed gave a promise, and never so far as we have heard, broke one when once given. Nor are we at all inclined to admit that it was a tendency of Sir Cecil's to sacrifice principle to expediency. Almost every point on which his administration has been least successful has been one in which he stuck to his principle in the face of expediency. It would have been far easier to allow the Bhooteas to make their annual raids into the plains unchecked, rather than adopt the perilous expedient of sending a mission : when war was decided on, it would have looked far better in the eyes of the public to ask for a very large force which should march on the capital and then leave the risk of failure to the military authorities; rather than to ask only for a couple of native regiments to supplement a few hundred native policemen. It would have looked far better, after Dewangari, to withdraw the offer of an annual allowance for the lands that we annexed, and to have recommended a march on Poonakha; but on all these points, Sir Cecil's decision was formed after mature consideration, and the expediency of being led by what passes in this country for public opinion, did not commend itself to him. In his failures to check Ghat murders and Koolin polygamy the same thing is seen. Expediency would have said *Quieta non movere*. Principle said "these things are vile and hateful to God and man and should be got rid of." That they are not got rid of is due to the greater weight which expediency had in the eyes of superior authority.

It is needless to refer again to the Famine, where his refusal to import rice into Orissa on the part of Government, so long as he believed that there were stocks of rice otherwise available, was a persistent maintenance of a principle, (a wrong one perhaps, though two years ago universally believed to be the right one) in the face of what was at first sight an easy and obvious expedient, an expedient too, which was not only recommended by the instincts of the Governor-General, but was clamoured for by the native papers and was even suggested by the Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce!

The most that can be said with truth about his sacrificing principle and expediency is that in dealing with matters not of the first importance there was occasionally a half-heartedness about his work, that would lead him to go round a difficulty instead of facing it, and would induce him to escape from an adverse argument by the first loophole that offered instead of turning and overcoming it.

It is only fair to add that this tendency such as it is, was by no means a very marked characteristic of his work, that in

cases in which real political principle is concerned, it was scarcely to be found at all, and that it had no very important bearing, one way or the other, on the general character of his administration.

At the same time we should not be inclined to place Sir Cecil in the foremost rank of administrators. Though of a magnificent loyalty towards his subordinates, and capable of attaching them very warmly to himself, he was wanting in the power of infusing his ideas into them, of driving them by sheer force of character into his line of thought, and causing them to work out his ideas, with all the freshness and energy of an original conception. In this he was lacking, and for this reason perhaps he was a better Councillor than Administrator. He had, if not originality of idea, a quick receptivity and power of assimilation which was scarcely to be distinguished from it; he had a real and earnest desire to improve in every way the people committed to his charge; and he had a quick perception of the direction in which such improvements could best be attempted; as a suggester, a promoter of useful schemes, a guide for the channels of other's work, in fact in many of the elements that go to make up the character of a statesman, he was unsurpassed, but he had not the personal force and energy of character that exercises a constant pressure on those in contact with it, and subordinates their minds and wills, to its own. He approximated more nearly to the ideal Councillor than to the ideal Governor, and as most Indian statesmen are he was like St. Paul, far more ready with his pen than with his speech.

In speaking of the influence, his own personal character had on the general results of his administration, we ought not to overlook entirely the personal character of his Secretary. Sir Cecil in a farewell minute recorded his own sense of his Secretary's usefulness and ability in the following terms: "Mr. Eden's ability and devotion to the public service are too well known to need encomium from me, but I must express the respect I have for his independence and strength of character, his uncompromising love of justice, and his thorough knowledge of administration in every branch, I must also gratefully acknowledge the very valuable and ready assistance I have at all times received from him, and the important part he has taken in carrying on the business of the Government during by far the greater part of my incumbency." But if in these respects, the Secretary's qualities were a real source of strength to the administration, there can be little doubt that there was in them also an element of weakness. In the first place the distrust caused by his prominent antagonism to the Indigo-Planters not only

set them as a body against him, but it also alienated the very powerful commercial interest connected with Indigo in Calcutta. His own character and his contempt for public opinion did not assist in conciliating those who were personally unacquainted with him, his universal scepticism, his desperate acuteness in judging of human motives, his thorough belief in himself, his intense tenacity in retaining his convictions, and his unmeasured vigour in asserting them, all went to make up a character, useful for rough work rather than agreeable for a stranger to contemplate, and robust rather than conciliatory. At the same time no man ever had a firmer love of justice, a more thorough contempt for shams of all kinds, an acuter intellect in detecting them, a more untiring industry, or more courageous independence of thought. Had he not been tamed somewhat by his Secretariat training, he would have become a political Ishmael, with his hand against every man and every man's hand against him; as it is, he has gone on his own way caring nothing for the opinion of the world, and upholding the right against the wrong and the weak against the strong, wherever he saw his way to it; too sceptical to be a thoroughly good judge of character, too *acute* not to make mistakes, and too self-confident to admit them, disliked and feared by those who do not know him, liked and esteemed by those who do; with a mind strong in an audacious, incredulous, animalistic (if we may use the expression) vigour, holding to some great ideas and in carrying these out overbearing all scruple, trampling frequently on the delicacies and difficulties of lesser minds; he has forced his own way, in the teeth of difficulties to which any other man would have succumbed, to a political position rarely attained in his own service by one so young, and Sir Cecil's selection of him on public grounds as his Secretary when he knew personally very little of him, was an instance of courage, no less than of sagacity, which his own farewell order would seem to show has been justified by the results.

In speaking of Sir Cecil's career, its most important portion though the last in order of time, is undoubtedly his policy in respect to the Orissa Famine. For this he has of necessity been most severely and cruelly blamed, this is the cloud which has obscured the brightness of his otherwise well-earned reputation, and though public opinion is beginning to see that the whole unmeasured blame does not rest with him, and that others both below him and above him must bear their share of the responsibility, yet the main weight of the censure still rests undoubtedly on Sir Cecil.

His own friends have felt strongly, (and have demonstrated their feelings) the injustice which in their opinion was done to

him by the precipitate censure passed upon him by all the public journals, and we have no doubt that it was to some extent an injustice, but with the exception of such wilful misrepresentations as we shall have occasion presently to allude to, it was an injustice which was inevitable and which unless the newspapers were to keep the entire subject of the famine out of their columns, could not at that time and until the publication of the entire correspondence be in any way avoided. In fact some injustice in passing judgment is inseparable from all great calamities, and by the nature of things, such injustice is likely to fall first on the most prominent person concerned. This is part of the penalty which men in high positions pay for their exaltation and with such weakness of human judgment, it is weakness to be wroth.

We are inclined to say that even now it is too early to come to a fair conclusion about his conduct during the Orissa Famine. The disaster with all its horrors is too fresh in our memories to consider it in a perfectly unbiassed manner; the vastness and suddenness, of the famine and the horror of so many lives lost caused that feeling in the public mind that we saw during the Crimean War, and in this country during the early days of the Mutiny. A victim was necessary. Somebody must be hanged for all this misery. It is the instinct of a multitude that any great disaster pre-supposes incompetence or ignorance in those who rule and whose special business it is assumed to be to guard against such disasters, and the instinct is so far right; but the difficulty is, with that hot feeling of indignation which rises naturally in every man at the sight of misery and disaster, and which swells by sympathy, to judge carefully each person's responsibility and to adjust the hanging fairly. Of course it cannot be done—it is but a very wild justice at best that is meted out by excited multitudes, and the first prominent victim that comes to hand is naturally the best and most convenient for execution. In the case of the Orissa Famine, Sir Cecil Beadon was perhaps the most prominent, certainly the most convenient victim. He was directly responsible for the Government of the province, it was his business to prevent or at least to check a famine—the famine came unforeseen and at first unchecked, and carried off a population, whose numbers will never be known. Why should any one seek further, or attempt on the first cry of rage and indignation, to test the exact nature of his responsibility. There was the Board under Sir Cecil it is true, but the Board having neither soul nor body could not conveniently be made a victim, and the authorities over Sir Cecil were only indirectly responsible. It would have been foolish to expect therefore

anything but the universal condemnation to which the public and the Press committed itself, long before the famine correspondence saw the light, it would be equally foolish to suppose that even were the case against Sir Cecil less strong than it is that the public or the Press would now go back from their first opinion and relieve him from his responsibility. Other victims may be and indeed must be found, but on him rests the main burden; and the sweeping condemnation of an administration which failed in rescuing a whole province, from the horrors of famine, will necessarily concentrate itself on the one man who personally represents the administration.

It would be impossible, and is happily quite unnecessary for us, to review the very voluminous famine literature. We may accept in a general way the conclusions come to by the Commissioners with two or three important modifications. We do not believe, and certainly the evidence bears us out in our unbelief, that either Mr. Barlow or, with the single exception perhaps of Mr. Lacey, any other official in the province really understood, up till the middle of May, what the true nature of the calamity was. Mr. Barlow, it is true, had suggested importing rice into a particular strip of land which was cut off from the rest of Cuttack, and which was inhabited by men who had hitherto depended entirely on the salt manufacture for their livelihood, and in several places there are remarks as to the advisability of importing rice for the people at work, in the special public works, *provided always* the rice could be imported cheaper than it could be bought (till May it was believed by the officials that this could not be done) but nowhere throughout the correspondence is there anything like a clear expression of opinion that there was an absolute lack of rice in the province; it was not till May that it was understood that there was really gaunt famine through the length and breadth of the land, and even so late as June we find the Commissioner clinging to his belief that there are ample stocks of rice in the country, and that what is wanted is money to bring them out. Another very important modification as to Sir Cecil's part in the matter, must be made in our opinion to the Commissioner's Report. We cannot admit that he in any way discouraged a free expression of opinion or that the silence of the Cuttack officers was caused by a dread of speaking their mind boldly. It is possible, and very probable that the fact of the Lieutenant-Governor holding strong opinions would tend to induce officers who had no opinions of their own to look through his spectacles; it is the universal result of holding strong opinions that people

with weak opinions, who are at all under the influence of the holder invariably adopt them, and in fact this is what gives the public Press the greater part of its power; a newspaper-writer invariably writes strongly, and the ninety and nine readers who have no opinions unwittingly and unconsciously adopt what they read, and call the opinions by their own name, holding to them and believing them and investing them with that exaggerated value which a sense of proprietorship attaches to all our possessions.

But this unconscious adoption of another person's opinion, which is in the present case after all only hypothetical, is very different from a deliberate fear of representing their own opinions, which seems to be the charge brought against the Cuttack officials, and which in regard to their personal communications with Sir Cecil when in the province, is on the face of it incredible. Sir Cecil encouraged habitually the freest possible expression of opinion on the part of his subordinates, as any one who reads the correspondence connected with the Labor Transport Bill, or the remarks of the Assam Commissioner on Sir Cecil's frontier-policy may see, not without amusement, for themselves: neither can we at all admit that Sir Cecil was chargeable with apathy or want of personal attention. This is in fact admitted both by the Governor-General and the Government of India in their condemnation of him and the charge is repudiated with righteous indignation by Sir Cecil himself.

The fact is that there were two fundamental errors, as one sees now, at the bottom of Sir Cecil's policy in regard to the Orissa Famine. He believed that there was enough rice in the province to support the population, if only they had money to obtain it. And he believed that if the supply was deficient, rice would find its way there by the natural course of trade, and that Government interference with such trade was of all things to be deprecated.

The first error he shared with almost every official in Cuttack, in fact with every one to whom he could reasonably look for information, and the second error he shared with the Government of India and with almost every one who up to the very time when the famine was at its height, had either written, or spoken on the question. Both his expectations turned out wrong, and Government interference became necessary. The doctrines which every one held a year and a half ago, seem now so absolutely forgotten, that people have to be reminded that the importation of food for a whole province on the part of Government is not a normal state of affairs, that except under the pressure of overwhelming necessity, it is a most mischievous and dangerous

experiment, that the more Government does interfere, the more it will have to interfere, and that the injury to trade even under such exceptional circumstances as the present, is very severe indeed. The rumor that Government was in the market for the Orissa importations in the months of February and March last, caused a disturbance of prices in all the districts round Calcutta quite out of proportion to the amount required, and labourers in Burdwan, Jessore, and even Midnapore had their amount of available food curtailed by the mere fact of the importation being conducted by Government instead of by private agency. It is not to be denied for an instant that Sir Cecil held on to these beliefs far too long; it is contended that there was no evidence, or not sufficient evidence before him up till May to lead him to suppose that they were erroneous and it is contended that the error is not to be judged of solely by the light of results, but by the light of the evidence at that time obtainable; and it is also to be remembered that had Sir Cecil's facts only been correct, his measures were ample for the occasion, and his persistence in the policy of non-interference would have saved Cuttack from the wholesale demoralisation which the inevitable necessity for feeding a pauper population has caused, and which the system of relief centres would have caused none the less, had the necessity for importation been imaginary, instead of so horribly real as it became.

The question then of Sir Cecil's responsibility is really narrowed to one of how far the facts before him justified his belief. On this point, unless one goes to the length adopted in Sir John Lawrence's minute of imagining what Cuttack officials must have said instead of looking to what the evidence shows that they did say; in fact unless one deliberately disbelieves not only what Sir Cecil himself says, but what all the correspondence shows, and what the evidence elicited by the hostile cross-examination of the Commission universally points to, one cannot doubt that the belief was almost universal that there were stores of rice sufficient for the support of the population, and that wholesale importation by Government was unnecessary and inexpedient. It is to a certain extent true as pointed out by the Government of India that the facts previously known as to the failure of the crops, and the partial famine at the latter end of 1865 in the isolated portion of Cuttack between the sea and the Chilka Lake were such as to indicate the necessity of a close and careful enquiry into the circumstances of the province, and it is possible that had the enquiry been undertaken as suggested and an alarmist

tone given to it in the first instance, such facts would have been elicited, as to change the course of Sir Cecil's policy, and to save the lives of a portion at least of the population. It must be admitted that the Government of Bengal accepted too readily, in view of what was already known, the sanguine expressions of opinion of its local officers, and that had a man of a more timid or less hopeful disposition been at the head of officers, these opinions would probably not have been accepted so readily. It is perhaps in this view to be regretted that Sir Cecil's unwillingness to believe in disaster met in this crisis with efficient and continued support from his Secretary, that the contemptuously incredulous temperament of the latter should have been at hand to support the sanguinely incredulous temperament of the former, and that for this reason all the facts in connexion with the famine came to be looked at from only one point of view, but it must be remembered that during the last three months of 1865, when, after consultation with the Board of Revenue, the policy of non-importation though at that time it referred only to a very small part of Cuttack, was first definitely adopted and approved by the Government of India, Mr. Eden was absent on leave and took no part in the discussion. But allowing that the views of the Commissioner were accepted too readily, and that a different way of looking at things from the beginning might have led to a closer enquiry and a different tone on the part of local officers, we would ask taking the facts as they stand recorded what would have been said if Sir Cecil had deliberately over-ruled the opinions of his local officers, had said 'I know better than you,' and had insisted on rice being imported in the quantities in which it has been imported this year. In the first place it is highly unlikely that the Government of India would have supported him in "an excessive expenditure, no definite end to which is apparent, and which is undertaken merely on "instinctive feelings;" in opposition to the opinion of the Commissioner and of the most experienced local officers whose views on such a point must certainly be deemed entitled to more weight, than the mere conjectures of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal." He might have expected some such answer as this, but whether he got it or not, his wasteful expenditure of public money, his ignorance of the first principles of political economy, his endeavour to carry out *doctrinaire* views which have been held by none but superannuated Civilians during the present century, his arrogance in supposing that in the Capua of Darjeeling he could understand the requirements of Cuttack better than the Commissioner and local officers, and

even the public Press, his pernicious habit of centralisation, &c., would have drawn on him the wrath of a certain portion of the Press, and would have served for sensational attacks upon him quite as well as the Demon of Uniformity, Red Tape and Routine. Of course success would have justified him to a certain extent; and, as it turns out, the measure would have been a success, but it required a man of altogether a different temperament, a man perhaps of less ability but more doggedness, and a man of a cautious gloomily credulous disposition to foresee this, and if he had foreseen it and acted on his convictions, we should have hailed him as we have hailed other able administrators first of all as a genius; and a few years afterwards as a fortunate impostor. What we affirm is that nine men out of ten in Sir Cecil's place would have acted very much as he did. They might have been guided less by distinct and well understood principles in the first instance, but they would have taken alarm very much when he did, and if when alarm was once taken they had conducted the importation with the same sagacity and energy as were exhibited by Sir Cecil in the early months of this year, they would have done their work well and nobly. And now, though it is of course "scandalous and intolerable that the highly paid and honoured authorities should not be blamed but only a system of administration" we nevertheless venture to assert that the system of administration is at the root of the whole mischief, and that the blame does for the most part lie there and not on the honoured and highly paid authorities. In Bengal the Government can only see through the eyes of its subordinates, and the subordinates can see little or nothing for themselves. The system of administration has become so centralised, so controlled by departmental checks of all kinds, the work of the district officer and of the Commissioner, has become so entirely and hopelessly confined to the desk, that the officers of the present day with far more knowledge of their work, with a better knowledge of Bengalee, with twice the amount of work to do and we believe with more ability, and infinitely more conscience as a rule in performing it, yet know not one tithe as much of their districts and of the daily lives of the people over whom they rule as the previous generation did, and certainly not as the generation which produced administrators like Cleveland, and extortioners like Lindsay, knew. Such a system at a time of difficulty and distress inevitably breaks down. If all the Cuttack officers and the Commissioner and the Board of Revenue had been men of very exceptional sagacity and foresight they might have seen what was coming. That they

did not see it, is the result of their being gifted very much with the ordinary powers of mankind and not having very rare and exceptional faculties of observation. They saw what they could see for themselves and depended upon what was told them, but in Bengal there is no available machinery by which a district officer can arrive at a tolerably accurate conception of such commonplace facts as the state of the crops, the amount of land under cultivation in any crop, the total population, the population of any one large class such as cultivators or labourers for hire, the price for which grain is sold anywhere but in large towns, the amount of land importations or exportations, the places where, or the quantities in which it is stored. We say that on all these intensely important subjects there is in Bengal absolutely no means whatever of acquiring information; if a Collector was to neglect utterly all his other work and go about the district for six months, making personal enquiries and observations he might by that time obtain results which would be correct perhaps within a hundred per cent. but it is very few Collectors who can afford to neglect their work even for a day at a time, and except by a series of personal observations, any information which a Collector or even a Famine Commissioner, (as we have seen by painful experience) may obtain on such subjects is of no more value than if he had pitched a series of lottery-tickets into a hat, and written down each number as it turned up, against a separate column in his statement.

It is not for us at this time to suggest a remedy for an anomaly which is coeval with the Permanent Settlement, and which if not inseparable from the existing Revenue system of Bengal, has at all events been crystalised into its present shape under the pressure of many generations. We have pointed out the anomalies, not with an intention of suggesting how they are to be reformed, but that in judging of the responsibilities and shortcomings of the chief actors in this lamentable disaster, the state of things in which they had to work should be generally known, and the overwhelming nature of their difficulties be remembered. They were ignorant where knowledge was impossible, they were blind where no light was, they erred where every one shared the error. They are blamed for being wanting in foresight and sagacity, where the observations on which foresight and sagacity might be exercised were wholly and inevitably wanting.

We cannot quit this subject without noticing what seems to us the most unfounded of all the charges brought against the late Lieutenant-Governor. It has been said that his whole defence consists in trying to shift the blame from his own

shoulders on to those of his subordinates and others. Now if there is one quality which seems to us discernible throughout the defence, it is the loyalty with which he supports his subordinates and it is certainly a quality which marked his general administration in a most decided manner. His three papers on the subject are thus summarised by the *Friend of India*. "In his first defence, the Press and the public were blamed, in his second, Mr. Secretary Eden and the Board, and in this (the third) the late Mr. Cockburn and Mr. Grey are the culprits." We appeal to any impartial person who has read the papers if this is even approximately a true statement, if it is not in fact a complete and entire misapprehension or perversion of the whole tone and object of the defence.

Sir Cecil nowhere blames the public and the Press in his first paper: what he says is that the error into which he fell was general, and he proves that the view taken by him in the first instance was the view taken generally by the public and the Press. It is one thing to show that an error was at one time universally accepted as the truth, it is quite another thing to blame the universe for one's own mistake in believing it. In the second defence Mr. Secretary Eden and the Board are *not* blamed. In one paragraph he explains that a particular telegram, to which the Famine Commissioners attached great weight, as it distinctly asserted that Government would not import rice, was based by the Board on a misapprehension of an order, which was purely departmental, and referred only to importation by the Department of Public Works. He further explains that this order was not reversed at once, as the Secretary Mr. Eden not knowing what had gone before, did not bring it to his notice. The explanation will be found in para 32 of Sir Cecil's 2nd minute, a minute which has been spoken of contemptuously on account of its 66 paragraphs, and 21 folio pages, and while the whole tone of the minute is to the effect that the Board acted wisely on the information which they were able to obtain, that there was no general want of harmony between their proceedings and those of the Government, yet this single explanatory paragraph on an accidental misapprehension is made the foundation of the monstrous assertion, that Sir Cecil's line of defence is to throw the blame on his Secretary and the Board of Revenue. The remark as to the 3rd defence is equally if not more unfounded. There is absolutely not one word in it from beginning to end having the smallest reference to the late Mr. Cockburn, and the assertion that in it, Sir Cecil throws the burden of the blame from his own shoulders to those of Mr. Cockburn, is absolutely and

wholly imaginary; as regards Mr. Grey it is true that Sir Cecil quotes a letter of his written in June, in which he expressed great doubts as to the wisdom of the course (that of importing rice) they had embarked upon. The sole object of the quotation is to reply to the despatch of the Government charging Sir Cecil with incapacity to believe in disaster, and may perhaps be taken as an application of the proverb about those who live in glass-houses, and this is the whole basis and foundation for the charge of endeavouring to escape blame by transferring it to the shoulders of others. Never in this world was there such a beggarly ha-penny worth of bread to such an intolerable deal of sack, and with this specimen of fair dealing and impartiality before them, our readers will be able to judge of the justice of the assertion in the same article that "with the recklessness of despair he (Sir Cecil) blackens all around in the hope that he may seem less black himself."*

(To be concluded in No. 91.)

* These remarks on the famine were written before the accounts of the recent debates in Parliament, and the general newspaper discussion on the Commissioner's report reached India.

In reviewing in our next number the other points of Sir C. Beadon's administration, the writer of this paper will perhaps add a few more remarks on the later phase of the question.—ED. C. R.

MR. WHEELER'S HISTORY OF INDIA.

ART. IX.—*The History of India from the Earliest Ages.* By J. Talboys Wheeler, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department; Secretary to the Indian Record Commission; Author of the "Geography of Herodotus," &c., &c. Vol. I. The Vedic Period and the Mahá Bhárata. London, Trübner & Co., 1867.

THE question, what kind and what degree of credibility can be given to early history? is not one that can be answered in general terms. For it is evident in the first place, that any given narrative may be regarded in three ways: either the narrative represents actual facts; or the narrator believes it to do so; or lastly, neither of these, and the story has no foundation either in belief or in fact. And, in the second place, if we consider how extensively poetical invention and the germs of philosophical conjecture go to make up early legend, it is impossible to doubt that in the case of most early legends, each of these views in turn may supply the interpretation of different parts. And it is by no means the sole object of the historian to determine the actual facts which lie, or are supposed to lie, at the bottom of each legend. He can gather from the mine of men's mere beliefs, treasures equally valuable in the historical point of view; and still more valuable when considered as throwing light on the history and development of thought. Further, in the case of baseless fictions, of inventions consciously made, far from being a source merely of bitterness of spirit to the historian, they may be made his most fertile materials. Once let the motive, the *raison d'être*, of such fictions be discovered, and he is immediately supplied with a powerful *elenchus* by which to separate, in all similar cases, the original belief from the dishonest addition.

Such then are the ways in which history or legend may begin: the statement of a fact; the record of a belief; or the invention of a story to serve some particular turn, as the glory of a god, of a hero, or of some special family or class of men. And

wherever attention is paid to any one of these sources of history to the exclusion of the others, so far will the history be one-sided and imperfect. And yet it is certain that this is the mistake most frequently committed by those who treat of the early records of a nation. Historians, in fact, may be divided into three classes, partly corresponding to the three points of view already indicated. These may be called the Sceptical, the Rationalistic, and the Mythological school, respectively.

As an exponent of the Sceptical Theory, Mr. Grote may be cited as the most famous example. In his view it is not possible to discriminate between the real and the fictitious in early Greek legend. "I recount these events," he says, "briefly but literally, treating them simply as mythes springing from the same creative imagination, addressing themselves to analogous tastes and feelings, and depending on the same authority, as the legend of Troy." And again: "They are a special product of the imagination and feelings radically distinct both from history and philosophy: they cannot be broken down and decomposed into the one, nor allegorised into the other." It follows, therefore, that it is impossible by means of the myths alone—and no other contemporary evidence can generally be got—to come at any conclusion regarding the early condition of the people among whom these myths sprung up and were cherished. And yet it is hard to be forced to confess that, with all the rich store of legend which most nations possess, we are unable, by any sifting process known to us, by any comparison with uncivilized tribes, hereafter, possibly, to become great nations; or by any of the instruments which Philology can supply, to determine what kind of a life it was that corresponded to such expressions of feeling. The ground taken by this class of historians is undoubtedly secure from attack; but the human mind is not content with safety in its speculations. In the history of thought, as well as in that of discovery and invention, it is the discontent, the dissatisfaction of the mind with systems or instruments whose chief authority was that they were received and safe, that has led to the world's mightiest revolutions. And so it happens that, as long as man has an inquiring mind, and has means at command which he rightly or wrongly believes can answer its inquiries, so long this sceptical theory of history will find few adherents. The application of the advice, "Rest and be thankful" to this department of human thought, is in the present age singularly out of place.

The question, "What principle then shall guide us in the interpretation of ancient legends?" finds its second answer in the Rationalistic Theory. The foundation of this theory is firmly

laid among the best established truths of human nature. It should never be forgotten that nations, no less than individuals, in their childhood, have an insatiable appetite for stories, but care little for their accuracy or truth. The power of discriminating between fact and fiction not only is not exercised, but in fact does not exist: it is the product of a far later set of feelings and associations which enter the national, as they do the individual mind, when a larger experience brings with it a long train of doubts and inconsistencies. Each man, each nation, passes at some time or other through such a period of "Aufklärung." But, before this critical period, there is hardly an assignable limit to the unhesitating credulity, the childlike faith, of a nation. So long as the story which is told chimes in with former beliefs and prejudices, so long as it is felt to be in accord with the prevailing sentiments of the age, and has its root deep in the national feeling, every requirement of belief is satisfied. It is felt to be real, and therefore true.

Hence, say the Rationalists, our task is easy. In this age of the world, we have passed through the "clearing-up" stage, into a phase of doubt and inquiry. Many of our most cherished beliefs have been given up, and we can apply the same searching analysis to the beliefs of others. Let us recognise the delight in the marvellous as one of the causes of the myth; and, making allowance for that factor in the product, we can reduce the story to something like its original elements. More and more every day is science establishing the universality of law; let us therefore cut out from the legend all that is miraculous, and we shall arrive at that substratum of truth, without which it could most surely never have won its way to the hearts of the people. In this way the first chapter of Genesis becomes a "psalm of creation;" the flood which swallowed up Pharaoh and his host is a tidal wave: the alliance of Athênê with the Greeks and of Aphrôditê with the Trojans, typifies the contrast between the grave wisdom of the west and the sensuality of the East: the wolf that suckled Romulus is the "*lupa Laurentia*."

But is this method adequate to its purpose? We cannot think it is. In separating between the marvellous and the ordinary, there is no security that we are dividing the fictitious from the real; we may all the while be only distinguishing invention that consults probabilities from invention that disregards them. If fancy was busy in creating the supernatural, there is no reason to suppose it would let the natural alone. When events are looked at through the medium of excited observation, the high colouring will affect them all alike: and no selection of pale objects can present the scene as it would lie before us in the

white light of truth. By a rigid adherence to this theory, criticism is not advanced; it is rather thrown back.

It remains to speak, in the third place, of that which has usurped especially the name of the Mythological Theory. This theory, rendered popular by Professor Max Müller, and lately by the Rev. G. W. Cox in his charming "Manual of Mythology," is the most recent, perhaps also the most valuable, outcome of the study of Sanskrit and comparative Philology. Its principle cannot be better stated than in Mr. Cox's own words. "Mythology," he says in his preface, "is simply a collection of the sayings by which men, once upon a time, described whatever they saw and heard in countries where they lived. These sayings were all perfectly natural, and marvellously beautiful and true. We see the lovely evening twilight die out before the coming night; but when they saw this, they said the beautiful Eurydike had been stung by the serpent of darkness, and that Orpheus was gone to fetch her back from the land of the dead. We see the light which had vanished in the west re-appear in the east; but they said that Eurydike was now returning to the earth. And as this tender light is seen no more when the sun himself is risen, they said that Orpheus had turned round too soon to look at her, and so was parted from the wife whom he loved so dearly."

Now, is this merely a poetical fancy on the part of the interpreters of the myth? They reply that in all cases where such an interpretation is ventured on, they have some foundation for it in the etymology of the names. "If we read in Greek mythology that Helios was the brother of Eos and Selene this needs no commentary. Helios means the sun, Eos the dawn, Selene the moon; nor does it require any great stretch of poetical imagination to understand how these three heavenly apparitions came to be called brother and sisters. But if we read that Apollo loved Daphne, that Daphne fled before him and was changed into a laurel-tree, we have here a myth that yields no sense till we know the original meaning of Apollo and Daphne. Now Apollo was a solar deity, and although comparative philologists have not yet succeeded in finding the true etymology of Apollo, no doubt can exist as to his original character. The name of Daphne, however, could not have been interpreted without the aid of comparative philology, and it is not till we know that Daphne was a name of the dawn, that we begin to understand the meaning of the myth. Again, if we read that Pân was wooing Pitys, and that Boreas, jealous of Pân, cast Pitys from a rock, and that in her fall she was changed into a pine-tree, we need but walk with our eyes open along the cliffs of Bournemouth in order to see the

“ meaning of that myth. Boreas is the Greek for north-wind, “ Pitys for pine-tree. But what is Pân ? Clearly another deity “ representing the wind in its less destructive character. The “ name of Pân is connected with the Sanskrit name of wind, “ namely, *pavana*. We have from *pâ*, to purify, the Greek Pân, “ the purifying or sweeping wind, strictly corresponding to a “ possible Sanskrit form *pa-van*.”

We can now see therefore what a myth, in this point of view, is. The myth is a simple narrative of the ordinary or extraordinary phenomena of nature, wherein each of the natural agents—as is necessary in the earliest or fetishistic stage of religious belief—is represented as a person. It takes the narrative form in unconscious good-faith : but when language has widely varied from its original forms, and the names, while remaining fixed in the myth, have become more or less changed in men's ordinary use, a later and less imaginative generation, not recognising the identity, mistakes the myth for intentional history, and the natural agents for gods and heroes.

According to Professor Max Müller, the Sun and the Dawn are the great sources of Aryan myths. Consider then how an early and unscientific imagination would regard the various events that mark the sun's daily course. He is the child of night, or darkness ; the dawn preceded his birth, and died as he rose in the heaven. He strangled the serpents of the night ; he went forth like a bridegroom out of his chamber, and like a giant to run his course. He had to do battle with clouds and storms ; sometimes his light grew dim under their gloomy veil, and the children of men shuddered at the wrath of the hidden sun. Sometimes his ray broke forth only, after brief splendour, to sink beneath a deeper darkness ; sometimes he bursts forth at the end of his course, trampling on the clouds which had obscured his splendour, and bathing his pathway with blood. Sometimes he was the lord of heaven and of light, irresistible in his divine strength ; sometimes he toiled for others, not for himself, in a hard unwilling servitude. He might be the child destined to slay his parents, or to be united again in the evening to the gloaming, that mother from whose womb he had sprung in the morning. He might be the destroyer of all whom he loved, he might slay the dawn with his kindling rays, he might scorch the fruits who were his children ; he might woo the deep blue sky, the bride of heaven itself, and an inevitable doom might bind his limbs on the blazing wheel for ever and ever.

In this list of phrases, all of which might be used by ourselves to describe the phenomena of the outward world, every one has borne its part in the formation of Greek mythology. It .

is evident that the transformation could not have taken place until the ordinary names for the sun, the dawn, and the darkness, had varied very widely from their mythological names. But granting this variation, it is easy to see how a subsequent generation accepted the myth for history, and how their poets added such embellishments as suited the feeling of the age, and the character of the heroes celebrated.

In this view of mythology there is, no doubt, a singular beauty; but in its beauty lies its greatest danger. To many minds there is great risk that its poetry, and not its truth, will fix the limits of its application. Mr. Grote, while he admitted the facts on which the theory rested, at the same time foresaw that an edifice might be raised on that foundation greater than it would bear. "To resolve the mythes" (he says) "into mere allegories, is unsafe and unprofitable: we then depart from the point of view of the original hearers without acquiring any consistent or philosophical point of view of our own. For, although some of the attributes and actions ascribed to these persons are often explicable by allegory the whole series and system of them never are so: the theorist, who adopts this course of explanation finds that; after one or two simple and obvious steps, the path is no longer open, and he is forced to clear a way for himself by gratuitous refinements and conjectures. The allegorical persons and attributes are always found mingled with other persons and attributes not allegorical; but the two classes cannot be severed without breaking up the whole march of the mythical events, nor can any explanation, which drives us to such a necessity, be considered as admissible. The mythology of the Greeks contains some cosmogonic ideas; but it cannot be considered as a system of cosmogony, or translated into a string of elementary, planetary, or physical changes."

There is, in fact, no certain criterion by which to distinguish those myths which have their origin in the life and actions of men, from those which are based on a poetical representation of natural phenomena. To a mind deeply imbued with the Mythological Theory, it is not difficult to discover, in the case of each myth, some natural phenomenon or another which may have served as its foundation. But to say that a myth, when translated into allegorical language, may have been based upon some phenomenon of the Sun or of the Dawn, is not the same thing as to say that this actually was its origin. It is, in fact, not difficult to find proofs of the destructive character (in a historical point of view) of the theory under notice. It is only necessary to refer to the use which Dr. Strauss has made

of an adaptation of this theory, in his criticism of the Gospel narrative. Stated briefly, it is as follows:—A people, or religious community, finds itself in a certain condition or round of institutions, of which the spirit, the idea, lives and acts within it. But the mind, following a natural impulse, desires to gain a complete representation of that existing condition, and to know its origin. Consequently, an image of that origin, coloured by the light of existing ideas, is thrown upon the dark wall of the past; which image is, however, but a magnified reflex of existing influences. Hence, just as the Hebrews conjectured the mystery of creation, and the Greeks that of the unceasing changes going on in earth and sky and sea; so the first Christians conjectured the origin of their faith, and those miraculous events which were needed to give it authority. And in each case these conjectures became, in a later age, congealed into historical facts, around which other guesses and wonders might cling, to be similiary transformed in aftertime.

Lord Byron, again, had

“stood upon Achilles’ tomb

“And heard Troy doubted: Time will doubt of Rome.”

But, according to the mythological theory, Troy is not so much doubted as explained. Professor Max Müller sees in its story the hidden thoughts of our forefathers during those distant ages, when they knew nothing of an order of nature, and the fading twilight of every evening marked the death of the toiling Sun. He finds the germ of the tradition in the Rig-Veda, the proof of its origin lying, as he considers, in the real identity of the names. Helen appears in the earlier poem as Saramâ, Paris as Pani, Achilleus as Aharyu, the Kentaurs as the Gandharvas; and in the earlier poem the names retain their original meanings. In the Sanskrit tradition, Saramâ is the twilight, Pani the darkness which mingles with it and carries it away. In the Greek story, Paris seduces Helen and carries her off to his own land. Similarly, Odysseus travels over many lands, the favourite and friend of clear-eyed Athênê; but in the Rig-Veda he is the Sun, who sees the face of the whole earth, and is clothed with light and glory for ever.

A theory which advances, with no hesitating step, into regions so near the domain of history, need not feel bound to stop at this limit. For example, the observation that the sun destroys the darkness from which he springs, gives rise to numerous legends of strong and brave children who destroy their parents. Thus Perseus kills Acrisios, Œdipus kills Laios, Romulus kills Amulius. But the story of Cyrus also is one of precisely similar character. He too is a fatal child, who fulfils

his prophecy by slaying Astyages. And when the name Cyrus, or Koresh, is connected with the Persian name of the Sun, *khor*, and Astyages with *Aji dahdka*, the biting snake; what room is left for doubt that Cyrus is only a solar hero who destroys the serpents of darkness, of the same character as Apollo who slays the Python, and Hercules who slays the Lernaean Hydra, and the Dragon of the Hesperides.* But if this be so, what shall we say of the mention of Cyrus in the book of Daniel? The difficulty is equally great, whether we take the prophetic or the historical view of that work. To come to later times, the stories told of Robin Hood and William Tell are identical with the legendary tricks of solar archers in German mythology. Are they also, therefore, mythological?

Again, nothing is more natural or common than to represent the rays of the sun as his golden hair. From the shoulders of Phœbus Lykêgenês, the light-born, flow the sacred locks, over which no razor might pass. In the case of Nisus, son of Pandion, an oracle had pronounced that his life and reign would never be in danger so long as he preserved one sacred lock. The similarity of this story to that of Samson will occur to everybody. The inference is confirmed unintentionally by Dean Stanley.† “He was full of the spirits, no less than of the strength, of a giant. His name, which Josephus interprets in the sense of ‘strong,’ was still more characteristic. He was ‘the Sunny,’—the bright and beaming, though wayward likeness of the great luminary which the Hebrews delighted to compare to ‘a giant rejoicing to run his course,’ ‘a bridegroom coming forth out of his chamber.’ Nothing can disturb his radiant good humour.” But after a time his light leaves him, and he gropes his way blindly behind the clouds of adversity. Yet not for ever: at the very close of his course, his strength and glory return to him; for one brief flash he triumphs over and destroys his enemies, and sinks with them into one common darkness. Here is a solar myth of the first order; but are we bound to accept this interpretation on such grounds? There is absolutely no limit to the application of the mythological theory. History and mythology, sacred and profane,—nothing is beyond its grasp. The spirit of God is the breath of the sky. The Paradise of Adam fades away into the Hyperborean gardens. The serpent that tempted Eve was the dragon that guarded the

* M. Breal, in his analysis of the myth of Hercules and Cacus, includes St. Michael the slayer of the dragon, in this list of solar heroes.

† Lectures on the Jewish Church, 3rd Edition p. 367.

golden apples of the Hesperides. "Time will doubt of Rome," as we see it has doubted of Romulus.

We have been led into these somewhat lengthy remarks, in the belief that they will help us to a clear perception of the point of view from which Mr. Wheeler, in the book before us, has regarded the early history of India. It has been seen that while, on the one hand, the bare statement of the legendary matter in the form in which the historian finds it, is highly unsatisfactory, and cannot be regarded as final; yet, on the other, a persistent adherence to either of the two critical methods, in the absence of any more definite standard of criticism than has yet been generally supplied, must lead to untrustworthy results. Each method, it is admitted, will supply us in its own domain (if that can be accurately determined) with solutions to many of the problems presented in early legend. But the difficulty is to determine the sphere in which each method is applicable. Now it may be observed that the order in which we have mentioned the three theories under notice, represents exactly the logical order in which they might be expected to occur to the mind. First, we should take the legend as it stands, and regard it simply as the outcome of the associations and feelings current among the people with whom it originated. When, secondly, we regarded the legend not as expressing feelings, but as recording events, the obvious method of criticism would be to separate the supernatural from the natural, and regard the latter as the actual, or possible, foundation of the story. And lastly, the mythological theory teaches us to consider not even this as a final analysis, and to resolve the supposed actions of living men into a poetical representation of the changes that go on daily around and above us. The common object of the two critical theories is, therefore, to separate a kernel of truth from a large husk of added fiction; but the second method goes beyond and supersedes the first. If then it is granted that each theory in its turn, when applied to different domains of legend, will provide us with the true interpretation, we ought to have some independent canon of the applicability of each. This it is perhaps impossible to give in a general formula. But it is evident that the particular method to be employed, must depend on an independent consideration of the special character of the legends that happen to be under examination. And notwithstanding the large pretensions which the mythological theory puts forward as supplying the only true interpretation of legend, we think there are two or three reasons which justify Mr. Wheeler in rejecting that theory, as he does, in his criticism of the *Mahá Bhárata*. It appears

to us that the method of the mythological theory is not applicable to Sanskrit, in the same way that it is to Grecian and German legend; and secondly, that it is less applicable to legends of the period of the Mahá Bhárata, than to those of an earlier date.

It has been seen that the foundation of the mythological theory lies in etymology. No one would have guessed that such an interpretation of the myth was possible, had not Daphné and Danaë, re-appeared in Sanskrit story as, Dahanâ, the brilliant dawn; the Charites or Gratæ as the Harits, the rays or horses of the sun; Erinys, the avenging fury, as Saranyû, the light of day that exposes men's crimes; Argynnis, beloved of Agamemnon, as *arjuni*, or dazzling beauty. Further, it was possible, only because the Sanskrit names had not passed from their original significations, but retained them even in the midst of a crowd of anthropomorphic conceptions. It would appear, therefore, that the Sanskrit language, the elder brother of the Aryan family, has retained its roots unimpaired; while the younger branches, varying more and more widely from the original type in their manifold wanderings, are forced to appeal to their relationship with it, in order to explain those legends which they carried away with them, and transformed out of all knowledge on the journey. But where is that still purer form to which the Sanskrit itself, when in doubt, must appeal? It has not been found. Hence since, all Sanskrit proper names are significant, and are easily connected with roots in that language, when we meet with a name in early tradition which is seen to be a mere personification of some natural phenomenon or agency, then obviously the mythological theory furnishes the true explanation. The natural agency has been personified, and has gathered round it a group of human attributes. There is this difference, however, between Sanskrit and other legends: namely, that while in Sanskrit the name continued to be applied equally to the divine being and to the natural agency, in Grecian and Teutonic legend the original meaning of the name had escaped, and it was applied only to the god or hero who personified it. Thus, though in some instances, as *e.g.* Jupiter (*dies-piter*), the name was given as much to the sky as to the God, yet in such cases as Perseus and Apollo, who ought to have represented the scorching and blasting power of the sun, this meaning had dropped out of the signification of the name. But among the Vedic deities, Indra is always the firmament as well as its lord; Súrya is the sun as well as the sun-god; Agni, the fire and the god of fire. Those cases

therefore, in which the mythological interpretation is applicable, can be determined by simple inspection.

But what of all those other names of men and heroes which occur in the legends, and the meaning of which has no apparent reference to natural powers, but to human qualities? Here there is no foundation, etymological or other, for a mythological interpretation. Yudhishtira means "stanch in battle;" Pánda "the pale;" Dhritaráshtira, "seizer of kingdoms." Of course it is not contended that every such name must necessarily imply a living man as its owner, but only that, here at least, the mythological mode of interpretation is inapplicable. If any critical theory is to be brought in, it must be the rationalistic, or some modification of it.

These considerations, therefore, bear out our second reason for justifying Mr. Wheeler's rejection of the mythological interpretation. That theory seems to be inapplicable wherever the names involved are plainly expressive of human qualities alone, as they are in the Mahá Bhárata. But there is another argument which, though a negative one, our author might employ against the advocates of the Mythological Theory. In order to apply that method, it is first of all necessary to point out some group of natural phenomena which can be recognised as identical with the essentials of the legend, and which the imagination of an early people would be likely to represent in such a poetical form. But, so far as we know, no such adaptation has been attempted in the case of the Mahá Bhárata. Until it has, Mr. Wheeler can deny the *possibility* of such an interpretation: and even after that, he is protected by all the space that separates "what may be" from "what is."

We have not dwelt upon the life-like character and vivid colouring of the events in the Mahá Bhárata as an argument bearing its own testimony to the truthfulness in the main of the story, although to one who makes acquaintance with it in Mr. Wheeler's pages, this will seem no slight confirmation. But a theory which relegates the strikingly human characters of Helen, Hector, and Samson to the realm of poetry, is proof against such an appeal.

It will by this time have been surmised that Mr. Wheeler gives his adherence to the rationalistic method. This is true: but with a very important difference. The main defect of that method, as it has been generally presented to us, is that it takes too readily for granted that an analysis which separates the supernatural from the natural, separates the false from the true. But Mr. Wheeler's treatment supplies a much more definite criterion. While he reserves to himself the right of rejecting,—not

the marvellous, which may be the real point in the story,—but the supernatural or miraculous, at this point his labour is only begun. In the story of the great war of Bhárata, he sees a double element:—an earlier and a later legend. The original legend, the composition of which he conceives to be nearly contemporaneous with the events narrated, and therefore presumably historical, is recognised and verified by comparison with the Rig-Veda. Wherever the religious conceptions, the ceremonial observances, and the social usages can be identified with those current in a work of such undoubted antiquity as the Rig-Veda, there we have hit upon the genuine story. But in the later form in which we actually find it, two causes have been at work to falsify or embellish the original legend. These are, first, the desire of the Brahmans to prove from the sacred books the antiquity of the institution of caste and their own ascendancy from the beginning: and secondly, their desire to inculcate the worship of Krishna. All episodes of the story, therefore, that are at variance with the earlier ideas of the Rig-Veda, and the introduction of which can be explained by reference to either of those motives, may safely be rejected. Of the sufficiency and the success of the method, our readers may perhaps be able to judge from the outline which we proceed to give of the structure and execution of the work.

Mr. Wheeler's criticism centres on the fact that a long interval, estimated at from one or two thousand years, separated the composition of the Mahá Bhárata in its present form, from the events which it commemorates. These two epochs may be distinguished as the Brahmanic and the Vedic periods respectively. The name Vedic is borrowed from the Rig-Veda, an ancient collection of hymns expressing the simple religious conceptions of an early people. The "fair-complexioned" Aryans who used them are described as having migrated at an early period from a colder climate, and settled in the Punjab; whence they gradually made their way eastward and southward along the fertile valley of the Ganges, driving before them the dark-skinned aboriginals, a Turanian race.

We can gather, alike from the Vedic hymns and from the main tradition of the Mahá Bhárata, some details of their mode of life and thought. They had emerged from the pastoral into the agricultural state, and the gods to whom they prayed were personifications of those natural powers by whose influence their grain sprang up and ripened, and their cattle brought forth abundantly. They wanted rain, warmth, and fresh breezes. They prayed therefore to Indra, the firmament, which poured down the rain: to Agni, the fire, and to the Sun and Moon,

its conspicuous embodiments, which ripened their grain : and to Vayu, the refreshing wind of heaven Their ceremonial was equally simple. Without idols or temples, their sole sacrifice consisted in the presentation of choice articles of food, through the medium of fire, to the deities whom they wished to propitiate. The light in which they regarded their deities, as well as the easy transition from the physical to the theological or personal view of natural agencies, is well illustrated in the following hymn from the Rig-Veda, (Wilson's translation) :—

"He who as soon as born is the first of the deities, who does honour to the gods by his exploits, he at whose might heaven and earth are alarmed, and who is known by the greatness of his strength ; he, men, is Indra.

"He who fixed firm the moving earth, who tranquillised the incensed mountains ; who spread the spacious firmament, and who consolidated the heavens ; he, men, is Indra.

"He who, having destroyed Ahi [the serpent who confines the rain-cloud], set free the seven rivers ; who recovered the cows detained by Bala ; * who generated fire in the clouds ; who is invincible in battle ; he, men, is Indra.

"He under whose control are horses and cattle and villages and all chariots ; who gave birth to the sun and to the dawn ; and who is the leader of the waters ; he, men, is Indra.

"He to whom heaven and earth bow down ; he at whose might the mountains are appalled ; he who is the drinker of the Soma juice, the firm of frame, the adamant armed, the wielder of the thunderbolt ; he, men, is Indra.

"May we envelope thee with acceptable praises, as youthful husbands are embraced by their wives."

Agni is an equally famous Vedic deity ; and we see the same personifying process condensing the ethereal element into a human form. There is no doubt that the personification was

* This conception of the cattle of Indra is repeated in Greek and Roman mythology. The days are represented as the herd of the sun, so that the coming and going of each day may be likened to the stepping forth of a cow leaving its stable in the morning, crossing the heavenly meadows by its appointed path, and returning to its stable in the evening. The number of the solar herd is the number of days in the year. The Aryan of India regarded with peculiar horror the power of darkness, who stole the cattle of Indra, in other words, who spread his veil over the light of day, and buried the earth in darkness. So in Homer we read that Helios has seven herds of oxen, fifty in each herd ; and these 350 oxen are the days of the primitive year. Compare the remarkable story of Euenius of Apollonia, and the awful consequences of his neglect of the sacred cattle of Helios (Herod. IX. 93). The myth of Hercules (another solar hero) and Cacus is of precisely the same character.

helped by the great veneration in which fire was held in Vedic times. It was not only the power that consumed and purified, that dispelled the darkness, and the beasts of prey; but it was associated, in the minds of a people lately come from a colder climate, with all the feelings of affection that centre round the domestic hearth. And in both capacities his praises are sung, and his power declared. "When excited by the wind, the radiant Agni rushes among the trees like a bull, and consumes the forest as a Raja destroys his enemies. His path is blackened, and the birds are terrified at his roaring." Or again, he is the ornament in the sacrificial chamber, like a woman in a dwelling. He is young and golden-haired, the domestic guardian, the protector against evil spirits. "Such as thou art, Agni, men preserve thee constantly kindled in their dwellings, and offer upon thee abundant food: do thou, in whom is all existence, be the bearer of riches."

The god of waters was Varuna. It is needless to dwell on the prominent place which water holds in a country like India in the worship of the people. It is not only the symbol and the instrument of purity, but it is also, in the form of rain, the abundance or scantiness of which makes all the difference between plenty and famine, the precious assurance of life. In the Rig-Veda, Varuna appears under two forms. He was undoubtedly the deity of water; but the name is in some verses applied to the personification of day. If, as is now commonly admitted, Varuna is to be identified with the Greek Ouranos, it seems probable that the name at the earlier period was applied to the firmament of heaven; and that subsequently it became the representative of the waters—both those above the firmament and those below. In the Epics he is emphatically the god of Ocean. And, in this latter character, it is worth noticing that the Vedic Aryans were evidently acquainted with the sea: since their hymns contain references to merchants, to sea voyages, and to ships with a hundred oars. Unless these passages are to be referred to a later period than seems at all likely, we must suppose them, or a branch of their family with which they were in intimate relations, to have journeyed down the valley of the Indus, and to have met with the sea at Kurrachee. It is at any rate difficult to consider these references as later interpolations due to a time when the people had reached the Bay of Bengal.

In the worship of Sūrya, or the sun, we can trace the growth of the conception, from the mere personification of the orb, as the lord of light and heat, which is the primary form of fetish worship, to its later development in which the notion

of the divine sun is replaced by that of a god of the sun. In the original form, the object itself, whether sun, mountain, or river, is believed to be a person, possessing human faculties and swayed by human emotions. But at a later period the conception changes, and the divine spirit is separated from the object, in which it is now supposed to reside. In the Vedas we are brought face to face with the sun, traveling through the ether in a chariot drawn by white horses. But in the *Mahá Bhárata*, the god assumes a human form; and occasionally leaves the skies, and descends to earth to succour or console a suppliant. In this transformation of the conception can be traced a distinct advance towards polytheism. The separation of the divinity from the object is immediately followed by the representation of the divinity as presiding equally over a number of similar objects. There is indeed but one sun: but the change in the conception which has been noticed is identical with that which leads to a belief in a god of rivers and of mountains, in Naiads and Dryads.

Soma, the pale and peaceful moon, claimed the worship of the Aryans in an equal degree with her brighter and fiercer consort. The mythical genealogy of the Solar race of Ayodhya, and of the Lunar race of Bhárata, who claimed as their progenitors the Sun and Moon respectively, may probably be explained by such a difference in religious worship.

Ushas, the radiant dawn, is figured as a pure and lovely maiden, awakening a sleeping world; a conception peculiarly significant of the grateful influence of early morning in India. To quote Mr. Wheeler's words:—"In addition to the refreshing coolness and delightful stillness of the hour, there is a peculiar whiteness in the atmosphere, not so expressive as moon-light, but infinitely more delicate and more suggestive of innocence and purity." (p. 26.) The ardent and reverential devotion which she inspired in the breasts of the Aryan worshippers, is expressed with singular beauty in a hymn of the *Rig-Veda*:—

"Goddess, manifest in person like a maiden, thou goest to the resplendent and beautiful Sun; and, like a youthful bride before her husband, thou uncoverest thy bosom with a smile.

"Ushas, daughter of heaven, dawn upon us with riches; diffuser of light, dawn upon us with abundant food; beautiful goddess, dawn upon us with wealth of cattle."

Such were the gods of the primitive Aryan settlers in the Punjab. But in process of time a change came. The old Vedic gods lost their hold on the national sympathies, and were replaced by new objects of worship; those long dynasties of deities which are identified to the present day with the Brahman-

ical religion. Many centuries must have passed before such a change could have come over the national mind ; centuries teeming with revolution. They had witnessed the growing power of Brahmanism ; had seen it checked by the rapid rise of the religion of Buddha, striving after a purer faith ; and had watched its final triumph over the new heresy. They had seen also the rise of a new and startling social system, the justification and the consequence of Brahmanism, and fraught with unforeseen results to the life of the people ; namely, the institution of caste. This change had taken place concurrently with the advance of the people from the land of the five rivers, on which they had settled as colonists, to the districts of Delhi, Oudh, and Bahar, which they subsequently conquered and occupied. In the later Brahmanic age of which we are now speaking, the caste system was fully developed. It is worth while inquiring from what circumstances in the history of the Aryan people it had sprung into being.

Among the causes which can account for the institution of caste, conquest can certainly be reckoned. The tendency of all foreign conquests is to create a caste feeling between the conquerors and the conquered. But this is by no means the sole cause. The existence of a caste-system, more or less permanent, can be accounted for independently of any consideration of conquest. History is unanimous on this point. While a nation is advancing, and making its way against opponents, the class that is held in most honour is evidently that of the warriors. Side by side with, but subordinate to them are the priests, who, besides their domestic duties, help to insure victory by declaring the will of the gods on the direction of the campaign, the plan of the battle, and the days favourable for attack. But when the people have settled down upon their new conquests, the order of precedence is gradually inverted. When a new generation arises, the pride of victory has been forgotten, but the terror of the unseen is ever present : men cease to desire conquest and to fear defeat, but they are constantly in need of the rain and the sunshine which the gods may give or withhold. In Egypt, the priestly caste had enjoyed from time immemorial the supremacy which they possessed when Herodotus visited them : it was the same in Elis, in Lacedæmon, and in Gela, on the testimony of the same traveller. In Attica, the spirit of the caste-system had died away, and the four Attic tribes had become mere convenient divisions for political organisation, with no distinction of prerogative or of dignity ; but the letter remained in the traditional precedence of the Teleontes, or Consecrators, over the Hopletes or Warriors.

And it need hardly be remarked that even to the present day, though in a modified degree, the same principle is to be traced. We should not therefore be surprised at discovering it among the traditions of the early inhabitants of India. Now although no caste-system appears in the Rig-Veda, yet we are there introduced to three distinct classes of worshippers. These are, first, a peaceful and religious class, who sacrificed mainly to the family and domestic deities, with bloodless offerings of butter, curds and milk. The second class immolated horses to Indra and to the sun; and this difference of sacrifice implies a difference of food, and therefore probably of avocation. A military community, to whom physical strength was a necessity, would delight in flesh-meat, and such they would offer to the gods. We may hence conjecture that these two classes may be identified with the ancestors of the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas of the Brahmanic period. Glimpses can also be obtained of a third class, a mercantile and maritime community, who worshiped Varuna, the God of the ocean, and who may be the progenitors of the Vaisyas. If no class referred to in the hymns corresponds to the Sudras, we may suppose with Mr. Wheeler that this last division is the result of conquest; the Sudras being the dark-skinned aborigines who were subdued during the march of the advancing power. This conjecture is supported by the demarcation of the three upper castes from the lowest, as the 'twice-born.'

In the Vedic period, the religious class was entirely subordinate to the warriors. The ancient Kshatriyas seem to have regarded the progenitors of the Brahmans with the same disdain which a feudal baron showed towards a mendicant friar. The Kshatriyas delighted in feasting, in war and the chase, and gloried most of all in the exploits of their ancestors. They had therefore a rich stock of traditions handed down from generation to generation in the form of ballads. These ballads seem to have been the materials from which the original story of the Mahá Bhárata was composed, embellished doubtless by the exaggerations of fancy, in order to gratify the pride of the audience. But the main source of exaggeration and confusion is to be found in the growing influence of the priests. In course of time, in the manner just pointed out, they formed themselves into a class, and exercised a vast spiritual influence over the masses; an ascendancy which, in times of peace and luxury, came to overshadow the mightiest Raja of the Kshatriyas. For the history of the past they cared nothing, except as a vehicle for religious teaching; and

in a later age they readily falsified the traditions for the purpose of promulgating Brahmanical ideas and exalting the pretensions of their own order. Their chief object was to assert their own supremacy as an hereditary sacerdotal caste, invested with supernatural powers, and superior not only to the Rajas, but to the very Gods of the Kshatriyas. Thus (to give Mr. Wheeler's illustration), "Ancient Brahman sages, under the name of Rishis, are abruptly and absurdly introduced in order to work miracles of the wildest and most senseless character, and to compel the reverence of such deities as Indra to Brahmanical authority. Moreover acts which are contrary to morality and common decency are occasionally introduced for the depraved purpose of representing the more famous Bráhmans as the ancestors of the more famous Rajas. Again, Rajas are described as paying a reverence to Bráhmans amounting to worship, and as rewarding them with extravagant profusion, probably as examples for later Rajas to follow." (p. 38)

The form in which Mr. Wheeler has exhibited the contents of the Mahá Bhárata is neither a mere translation, which alone would have taken a dozen octavo volumes, nor a bare analysis; but a condensed paraphrase interspersed with explanation, critical commentary, and historical references. His object has been to trace the main story of the fortunes of the royal house of Bhárata; and he has accordingly exercised a large discretion in omitting masses of merely supernatural and irrelevant matter, as well as Brahmanical discourses and religious myths, which he reserves for discussion in a future volume, in connexion with the religious ideas and belief of the people.

In treating of the Family Traditions with which the Mahá Bhárata commences, Mr. Wheeler devotes considerable attention to the probable extent of the Raj. Accustomed as we are, in ordinary intercourse with educated natives, to hear the whole continent of India called by the name of Bháratavarsha, and to be assured that the name represents no more than the actual fact, it may cause us much surprise to be told that the kingdom over which the Raja Bhárata ruled was a district of only a few square miles in extent. But, judging from the homely character of the details of the life and actions of the heroes of the poem, which the author brings into prominence in almost every episode, there seems little room for doubt on this point. In the poem however there is no limit to the exaggerations of the Kshatriya bards. The city of Hastinápur, which was the capital of the Raj, and the centre around which the whole action of the story revolves, was about sixty miles to the

north-east of Delhi. But in the episode of the marriage-festival of Draupadi, we are told that it was attended by Rajas from the remotest quarters of India. It seems that the ancestral hero of every Raja on the continent has been introduced into the poem by later compilers, anxious to gratify the chieftain by the discovery that his ancestor was associated with the heroes of the Mahá Bhárata. Again, in the account of the Horse-sacrifice, the travels of the horse are extended beyond the Bengal frontier to the city of Munnipore, and beyond the Himalaya mountains to the Northern Ocean. The country of Matsya or Dinajpore in the extreme east is associated with Dwáraka, the western boundary of Guzerat. Many of the stories indeed bear their own refutation in the mere statement. Bhishma is said to have driven to Kási, and to have driven back again with three young damsels; whence we should infer that Kási was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Delhi. But Kási is the ancient name of Benares, and Benares is five hundred miles from Hastinápur as the crow flies. In many instances, further, we can detect the motive of the Brahmanical compilers in introducing references to such distant places. Thus the story of the adventures of Arjuna during twelve years of exile is an account of pilgrimages to the most holy Brahmanical localities, in company with a crowd of Brahmanical sages. The references to Váranávata, or Allahabad, and to Ekachakra, or Arrah, both places of great sanctity in later ages, may be ascribed to the same cause.

The relation of Kshatriyas to Brahmins, according to Mr. Wheeler, has been inverted in the progress from the early to the late tradition. While the story, read by the light of our author's criticism, shows that the Kshatriyas looked down upon the Brahmins, its main purpose in its present form is to reverse that superiority. Throughout the poem, whatever has tended to exhibit the Brahmins, or their ancestors, in a dishonourable or inferior light, has been deliberately omitted or falsified. A few out of the numerous examples and proofs of this position advanced by Mr. Wheeler, will serve to indicate the character of the interpolations, and of his criticism upon them.

The hero Bhárata, the founder of the Raj at Hastinápur, was believed by the Kshatriyas to be descended from the Moon. The Brahmins, while admitting this, saved themselves from the concession of a fatal superiority by declaring that the Moon itself was begotten by a Brahman Rishi. The story of the birth of Bhárata himself has been corrupted in a way which is not so easy of detection. The Raja Dushyanta, his father, while hunting in a forest, met with a beautiful damsel named

Sakuntala, the daughter of a Brahman, and persuaded her to become his wife by the simple ceremonial of a Gandharva marriage. The fruit of this union was the child Bhárata. But when the mother reached the palace of the Raja, whither she had gone to get her son acknowledged by him, she found that his memory had left him, and that he would not acknowledge her as his wife. Unfortunately she had, while bathing in a pool, dropped the ring which the Raja had given her as a pledge of his troth. This combination of disasters is attributed to the curse of a Brahman sage, who, for some trifling act of neglect, had doomed her to be forgotten by the man she loved. But Mr. Wheeler throws a fresh light upon the story. "She had lost the ring, and in the absence of such evidence the Kshatriya conveniently forgot his engagement to marry the daughter of a priest. . . . The question of why the Kshatriya was reluctant to acknowledge the daughter of a Brahman to be his wife, will be solved hereafter, when it will be seen that in the Vedic period the Brahman held an inferior rank to the Kshatriya. The reason for the interpolation of the myth respecting the curse of Durvasa (the sage) will then, in like manner, become apparent; it was intended to explain the reluctance of the Kshatriya, without wounding the pride or lowering the presumption of the later Brahmins."

Santanu, the grandson of the Raja Bhárata, had three sons, the two youngest of whom died without issue. The eldest son, Bhishma, had taken a vow of celibacy, and refused to follow the ordinary custom of succeeding to his brothers' wives. A great Brahman sage named Vyasa was consequently requested to interfere; and he became the father of two sons. The first of the widows shut her eyes in terror at beholding his gaunt aspect, and she gave birth to a blind son, named Dhritarashtra. The second widow became pallid with fear, and her son was called Pandu, or 'the pale,' from his white complexion. Dhritarashtra and Pandu became the fathers of the Kauravas and the Pandavas, the rival cousins in the great war of Bhárata. Now in this story as in the others, Brahmanical interpolations can be traced. The Rishi Vyasa is the subject of a vast mass of Brahmanical legend. His name signifies "the arranger," from his having become famous as the compiler of the Mahá Bhárata and the Vedās; and it may be remarked that he is introduced on all occasions, and generally in a supernatural manner, for the purpose of giving advice or relating legends, tending to Brahmanical aggrandisement. The story of his miraculous birth from a fish-girl named Matsya, in Eastern Bengal, herself the offspring of a startling physiological process, is sufficient to throw discredit on

any event in which he is concerned. His introduction in this place is manifestly due to a desire to represent the great heroes of the house of Bhārata as the descendants of a Brahman.

Dhritarashtra being blind, Pandu obtained the Raj, and five sons were born to him, who were afterwards famous as the Pandavas. Here again Brahmanical falsification is not wanting. The legend asserts that Pandu, having been cursed by a Brahman, took a vow of celibacy: and his five sons are in consequence ascribed to Indra and Vāyu and other gods, whom he had permitted his two wives to invite to their embraces. To Dhritarashtra likewise a family was born, who were called the Kauravas, from their ancestor Kuru. These two families were brought up together in the palace at Hastināpur, under the direction of Drona, a distinguished Kshatriya warrior. The compilers as usual have misrepresented Drona as a Brahmanical priest and preceptor, corresponding to the *Purohita* or family priest, who is so important a functionary in the modern Hindu system. As might be expected, great jealousy was felt by the sons of Dhritarashtra against the Pandavas, the princes of the younger branch of the royal family. This was caused partly by the circumstance that the father of the Pandavas had been the actual sovereign, and partly by their great superiority in all manly exercises, and the marked preference which Drona, as an experienced warrior, naturally felt for his promising pupils. Accordingly, when the Maharaja Dhritarashtra, by the advice of Drona, celebrated at Hastināpur an exhibition of arms, a festival bearing a striking resemblance to the tournaments of feudal times in Europe, the feelings of the Kauravas were much embittered by the success of the Pandavas. Their chagrin was further intensified by their own failure, and their cousins' success, in the attempt to regain for Drona the Raj of Panchala, which was the condition on which he had consented to undertake the instruction of the princes. And thus, when the time came for Dhritarashtra to nominate his heir, the Kauravas left no means untried to alter the determination of the king, whose choice had fallen on Yudhishtira, the eldest of the Pandavas. For a long time he failed, even when he stipulated for a division of the Raj; but at length he completely overcame his father's scruples, and the weak king was prevailed on to send the Pandavas to *Vārāṇsvata* or Allahabad, which even then is represented as "a renowned city, rich in gold and jewels"; there to dwell until he should recall them.

With the journey of the Pandavas to Vārāṇsvata, Mr. Wheeler considers that the authentic tradition is lost in a later

fiction. The legend describes the magnificent reception of the Pandavas at that city; and speaks of the College of holy men, where they paid every respect and reverence to the devotees, and received their blessings and good wishes; in return for which they bestowed costly presents on the College. But the Kauravas in the mean time had sent an emissary to Vārāṇāṣatā, with instructions to destroy Yudhishtira with his mother and brethren. This design was detected and frustrated. Bhima, one of the brothers, put in operation against the agent of the Kauravas the very design which the latter had intended against their cousins, by setting his house on fire when he was asleep. The flames spread to their own house; but they made their escape into the jungle by a subterranean passage; leaving behind them the apparent evidence of their own destruction in the charred corpses of a Bhil woman and her five sons who had happened to be sleeping at the time within the building. Upon this episode Mr. Wheeler makes the following comment:

"The whole story turns upon burning the house of kinsmen, whilst those kinsmen are asleep inside; and this idea would be altogether repugnant to the sentiment of honour which undoubtedly prevailed amongst the ancient Kshatriyas, who regarded an attack upon a sleeping enemy as a heinous crime.* But at the same time, this idea would be perfectly familiar to the Brahmanical compilers of the Mahā Bhārata, who had only recently engaged in burning down the monasteries and temples of the Buddhists with all the deadly hate of religious persecutors. Again, the subordinate details of the fiction refer, in every way, to a later and more luxurious age. The city of Vārāṇāṣatā is said to have been famous for gold and jewels. The College of holy men to which the Pandavas were introduced on their arrival, is either Buddhist or Brahmanical; whilst the alleged magnificence of the house in which the Pandavas were lodged, and the presents of gold and jewels, silk and cloths, belong altogether to a late period of Hindu civilisation. The story of the Bhil woman and her five sons who were burnt alive in the house, and originated the rumour that the Pandavas and their mother had perished in the flames, is also precisely one of those artificial turns in a narrative which betray the hand of the romancer or novelist. Altogether it seems most probable that the whole story is a later fiction,

* Compare the story of the terrible revenge of Aswatthāma, in the night of the last day of the great war; where it will be seen that Aswatthāma, even whilst bent upon being revenged on the murderer of his father, awoke his sleeping enemy before slaying him.

"introduced for the sole purpose of associating the Pandavas with the famous city of Vāranāvata." (p. 102.)

The Pandavas, having retired to Ekachakra, or Arrah, are described as living in the disguise of mendicant Brahmans. It was during their life here that their marriage took place; an event of so singular a character as to merit some degree of attention. Drupada, Raja of Panchala, had a lovely daughter Draupadi, who was about to hold a Swayamvara; a ceremonial which implies, as the name signifies, the right of choosing her own husband. The Pandavas, hearing of the proposed festival, determined to be present: and Arjuna, one of the brethren, was selected as their champion. His efforts were crowned with such success that he carried off the damsel from the crowd of suitors against whom he had to contend in archery and other feats of strength and skill. It is to be remembered that Arjuna appeared in the disguise of a Brahman; and all the real Brahmans, hearing of his intention, attempted to dissuade him from the trial, for fear the Rajas should be offended against their order. But great was their joy at finding their representative the winner of the prize. Equally great was the disgust and indignation of the Rajas at the humiliation which they had suffered, and at the treachery, as they conceived, of Drupada, in inviting them to witness their own defeat. "The Brahman's life" (they cried) "is sacred, but down with the guilty race of Drupada!" The Pandavas, however, succeeded in carrying off their prize, and returned with Draupadi to their mother, Kunti. On seeing her, they cried "O mother, we have made a fine acquisition this day." Kunti, thinking they referred to the spoils of the chase, replied, "Go you five brothers, and share it amongst you". From this innocent remark the compilers of the *Māha Bhārata* affected to consider that mighty results depended. All the persons concerned are described as being startled and shocked at Kunti's words, which implied that Draupadi should not be given either to Arjuna, as the winner, or to Yudhishtira, as the eldest, but should be regarded as the joint wife of the five brethren. Accordingly, when the Raja Drupada, having learnt the true rank of the five brethren, sent the next day to congratulate them and to invite them to his house for the purpose of solemnising the marriage ceremony between Arjuna and Draupadi, he was met by the same difficulty. The mythical sage Vyasa appears, in his usual miraculous way, upon the scene, and declares that the will of heaven has already been decided by the words of Kunti, and that Draupadi must become the wife of the five brethren. They accordingly carried her away.

In this story we probably return to the true legend ; which is placed however in a false light by the compilers. They have affected to regard the marriage of one woman to five husbands as a thing so exceptional as to shock the social and religious sentiments of those concerned ; and they have, with dishonest ingenuity, extended the law that the commands of a mother are to be obeyed, to the absurd inference that a mother cannot recall her commands. But Mr. Wheeler makes some valuable observations tending to shew that polyandry as an institution was probably not unknown to the Vedic Aryans : and that the inference from Kunti's words, and the introduction of Vyasa to confirm that inference, were due to a desire to represent the customs of the earlier as identical with those of the later period. "This practice, repulsive as it is to all civilised ideas, whether Hindu or European, is still the custom amongst the Buddhists of Thibet ; where the elder brother possesses the exclusive privilege of choosing a wife, who henceforth becomes the joint wife of all the brothers of the family. The origin of this depraved institution has been ascribed to various causes. It is said to have been adopted as a means for preventing any undue increase in the members of the family ; an object of some importance when the whole means of subsistence possessed by a family is drawn from a certain definite area of cultivated land. Again, it may have sprung up amongst a pastoral people, where men are frequently away from their homes for many months at a time, either to seek new pastures for their cattle, or to dispose of the cattle amongst the people of the plains ; and where, consequently, these duties would be undertaken by the brethren in turns, so that whilst some were away with the cattle, others would remain at home with the joint wife of the family. Amongst the ancient Kshatriyas, however, the practice may have arisen from another cause. They were essentially a martial and a conquering race, amongst whom the ties of domestic life are always less valued, than amongst a more industrious and settled population. They had migrated at some primeval epoch from their cradle in Central Asia to seek new homes to the eastward of the Indus ; and under such circumstances they would naturally bring with them as few women as possible. But whilst the sexual instinct will yield for a time to that more imperious instinct which drives men to seek subsistence in a foreign soil, it will speedily find a gratification even in the most revolting practices, unless controlled by the dictates of sentiment or reason." (p. 116.)

The real character of the progress of the colony is indicated by the next step in the history. The Kauravas, alarmed at the news that the Pandavas were alive and had strengthened themselves by an alliance with the Raja Drupada, are represented as holding a council, the result of which was that they offered the Pandavas a division of the kingdom. This supposed division, however, was in reality nothing more than an extension of the settlement along the valley of the Jumna. The emigrants settled on the right bank of the river some little distance to the south of Delhi, and therefore about eighty miles from Hastinápúr. There they burnt down the jungle and founded the city of Indra-prastha.

This episode of the burning of the jungle, it may be remarked, as it is related in the Mahá Bhárata, can be looked upon as a strong argument in favour of what we have called the mythological interpretation of the story. We give it in Mr. Wheeler's version :

"Now it came to pass that Krishna paid a visit to the Pandavas at Indra-prastha, and Arjuna invited him to go out hunting in the great forest of Khandava. So everything was made ready, and Arjuna went out with Krishna to hunt in the great forest; and when they came to a pleasant spot they sat down and drank wine, whilst the musicians played before them, and the singers and storytellers amused them with songs and stories. At length on a certain day a Brahman came to Krishna and Arjuna; and he was very large and fat, and his colour was yellow, and his form was frightful to behold; but when Krishna and Arjuna saw the Brahman, they received him with great respect, and seated him beside themselves. The Brahman then said, 'I am Agni (fire), and a great Rishi has offered sacrifice and poured oil upon the altar for the space of twelve years, so that my strength is gone and my colour has become yellow from drinking up the oil: I therefore desired to consume the great forest of Khandava, so that my strength and colour might return again to me; but whenever I began to devour the forest, Indra poured down abundance of rain and quenched the fire, for he is desirous of preserving the great serpents who are dwelling in that jungle; I therefore beseech you, O Krishna and Arjuna, to protect me from Indra.' At these words Arjuna agreed to make war against Indra, if Agni would provide him with celestial weapons; and Agni then gave Arjuna the bow which is called Gandiva, together with two quivers, and a chariot having the monkey-god for its standard. Then Arjuna and Krishna fought Indra,

"and Agni devoured the forest of Khandava; and all the serpents were devoured likewise, excepting their Raja Takshaka, who escaped from the burning." (p. 140).

Mr. Wheeler's comment upon this passage is conformable to his ordinary method of interpretation. "The meaning of this myth, as far as it bears upon the clearing of the forest, will now be obvious. A Scythic tribe of Nagas were located in the jungle of Khandava, and naturally objected to the conflagration, which was however ultimately carried out. The actual burning of the forest, and war against the Scythic Nagas, seem to have been famous in Kshatriya tradition; and hence the gods and Brahmins, and especially Krishna, are associated with it. There is also a religious meaning in the myth which will be discussed hereafter." (p. 141.) The religious question being reserved to the third volume, we are unfortunately left in doubt as to what this meaning may be.

Now to any one given to mythological interpretation, this legend will appear very significant. We seem here to come across the precise manner in which accounts of natural phenomena were transformed into stories of human or divine beings. Indra and Agni cannot be misunderstood; because, though personified, they are not transformed; they have not lost their original meanings. But this transformation has, it may readily be suggested, actually taken place with Krishna and Arjuna. The question therefore arises, what meaning can be assigned to these latter names, considering them as representative of natural powers? Indra of course is the firmament with its waters; and Agni is the fire. Krishna, in later Sanskrit, means black; but the adjective may well be a derivative from the substantive, and we can connect the word with the root *Kri*, to do. Krishna may then be the name of the toiling sun, who goes through his labours exactly as he does in the myth of Hercules. This inference is supported by the fact that Krishna is elsewhere represented sometimes as a mighty Raja, sometimes as a cowherd. In both of these capacities he might easily be the sun. The first is too obvious to need remark. The representation of the sun as a cowherd would be connected with that poetical fancy, already mentioned, which spoke of the days of the year as the cows of Indra, conducted across the heavenly fields by the sun. — It may be added that Krishna, alike in his great strength and his radiant good-humour, bears a strong resemblance to Samson; and the possible solar character of Samson has been previously pointed out. Again, who is Arjuna? The name means "bright" and it appears in the Vedic hymns under the name Arjuni, where it is applied to the bright and glistening

dawn. There is little doubt that this is transformed in Greek legend into the name Argynnis, beloved of Agamemnon : one of the many myths relating to the dawn, the bride of the sun. The epithet Arjuna, in its masculine form, is evidently applicable to the sun : and thus these two names Krishna and Arjuna, distinct, but united in the legend, might represent two different attributes of the same object. We can extend the same interpretation to the serpents befriended by Indra. The darkness that lies coiled around the dawn is, as we have seen, always represented by a serpent or dragon, such as those slain by the solar heroes Hercules, Perseus and Bellerophon ; and (if we may apply the same method to Christian legend) by St. Michael and St. George. But that power also which imprisons and confines the rain-cloud we have already seen to be called by the name Ahi, or serpent. It is true that in that passage, as in others of similar character, Indra is represented as being at perpetual war with this serpent, in order to pour down showers of rain upon the earth. But it can easily be conceived possible, and indeed we have Mr. Wheeler's express authority for the statement (p. 16) that the name has been transferred from the serpent to the clouds themselves ; just as in the case of the Sphinx, whose dark enigmas were the unintelligible mutterings of the thunder-cloud. In this case it would of course be natural to represent Indra as the friend and protector of the cloud serpents : and the meaning of the myth would at once become apparent. The destruction of the forest and its serpents by Krishna and Arjuna in conjunction with the yellow Brahman, Agni, and in opposition to Indra, will be the poetical way of saying, "The sun, in his strength and his brightness, with yellow glare and fiery front, has dried up the rain-clouds and scorched the face of heaven."

It is evident therefore that the application of the mythological theory to this episode is possible ; and if the resemblance is an accident it is a very remarkable one. And it must be remembered that it is not possible to allow the mythological interpretation in this case and to refuse it in others. That answer might be given if the names of the characters were confined to the episode under consideration ; but Krishna and Arjuna are found in almost every page of the *Mahá Bhārata* ; and if this interpretation holds good once, it holds good always, and the story of the great war of *Bhārata*, like the siege of Troy, becomes a legend of the labours and the victories of the sun. Are we, on this evidence, to adopt such an explanation ? The strongest argument against this interpretation lies

in the significant fewness of those passages in the life of Arjuna which are susceptible of it. This episode, and perhaps another,* are so far as we can discover, the only instances in which an explanation by reference to natural phenomena is at once suggested to us. But if this explanation is the true one, we have a right to expect the non-natural or mythological interpretation forced upon us in the great majority of instances, not merely in an isolated passage here and there. Some, too, of the most significant characteristics in the life of Arjuna are positively inconsistent with the solar theory.

What explanation, for example, can be given of the five brethren, two of whom at least are equally prominent in the story with himself: while in all well-accredited myths, the solar hero stands out in conspicuous and solitary relief? If there is one attribute, again, which must always distinguish a solar hero, it will be a fierce and undying hatred towards the serpents of darkness: but in one part of the legend Arjuna is represented as actually in love with a Naga damsel, and as becoming the ancestor of the Naga Rajas. Further, Mr. Wheeler gives too exhaustive an account of the Nagas to leave much doubt as to their real nature. "These Scythic Nagas worshipped the serpent as a national deity, and adopted it as a national emblem, and from these circumstances they appear to have derived the name of Nagas, or serpents. The seats of these Nagas were not confined to India, for they have left traces of their belief in almost every religious system, as well as in almost every country of the ancient world. They appear to have entered India at some remote period, and to have pushed their way towards the east and south; but whether they preceded the Aryans, or whether they followed the Aryans, is a point which has not yet been decided. In process of time these Nagas became identified with serpents, and the result has been a strange confusion in the ancient myths between serpents and human beings; between the deity and emblem of the Nagas and the Nagas themselves. The great historic fact in connection with the Nagas, which stands prominently forward in Hindu myths, is the fierce persecution which they suffered at the hands of the Brahmans. The destruction of serpents at the burning of the forest of Khandava,

* The legend in which Arjuna recovers the cows stolen by the Kauravas seems to point to the cattle of Indra stolen by Bala, and to the myth of Hercules and Cacus, before-mentioned; but the incident is so natural an accompaniment of the border warfare then existing, that little stress can be laid upon it.

“ the terrible sacrifice of serpents which forms one of the opening
 “ scenes in the Mahá Bhárata, and the supernatural exploits of
 “ the youthful Krishna against the serpents sent to destroy him,
 “ are all expressions of Brahmanical hatred against the Nagas.
 “ Ultimately this antagonism merged into that deadly conflict
 “ between the Brahman and the Buddhist, which after a
 “ lengthened period of religious warfare terminated in the
 “ triumph of the Brahman. From these data it would appear
 “ that the Nagas were originally a race distinct from the
 “ Aryans, and wholly without the pale of Brahmanism; that
 “ those who became Buddhists were either crushed or driven
 “ out of India during the age of Brahmanical revival; and
 “ that the remainder have become converted to Brahmanism,
 “ and appear to be regarded as an inferior order of Kshatriyas.*
 “ But there is a vitality in certain religious ideas which seems
 “ to render them immortal; and whilst the Nagas as a people
 “ have almost disappeared from the Indian continent, the
 “ worship of serpents, or a reverential fear of serpents as divine
 “ beings, is still to be found deeply rooted in the mind of the
 “ Hindu. The general question perhaps properly belongs to the
 “ history of the Hindu religion; but it should be distinctly borne
 “ in mind whilst considering every legend which seems to point
 “ to the Nagas.” (p. 146.) It is indeed easy to conceive how the
 snake, in countries where it abounded, would be one of the first
 objects of worship. Its mysterious power of life and death,
 and its disappearance beneath the ground, mark it out in an
 especial manner as the deity of the under-world. The fact of the
 worship is certain. It prevails largely in the northern and
 eastern districts of Bengal, and in the Madras presidency. But
 Munnipore, between Bengal and Burmah, is the chief seat of the
 worship. “ The people appear to be a genuine relic of the
 “ ancient Nagas. They are a barbarous race, who have as yet
 “ learnt very little Brahmanism from their Hindu neighbours.
 “ They have no early marriages, and no ideas of *sati*, and their
 “ widows remarry. The Raja’s deity and ancestor is a serpent,
 “ and a cavity is shown in which the ancestral deity resides, and
 “ the throne of the Raja is fixed over the cavity.” (p. 149.)

We have seen the Pandavas building their town at Indraprastha, clearing the jungle of Khandava, and driving out the
 Scythian tribe known as the Nagas. They had thus founded

* This is the opinion of Sir, H. M. Elliot, and is confirmed by the present status of the Naga tribe in the neighbourhood of the Munnipore valley, who, whenever they profess Hinduism, at once receive the thread of the Kshatriya.—McCulloch's *Account of Munnipore*. (p. 18.)

a new Raj : and after a period of twelve years of prosperity, they determined to invite their kinsmen and neighbours to a *Rajasuya*, or royal sacrifice, and in the presence of all, to inaugurate their eldest brother *Yudhishtira* as *Raja* of *Khandava-prastha*. For this purpose it was necessary to subdue every other nation or tribe to their authority, and consequently the four younger *Pandavas* are represented amid a mass of fabulous matter, as going out with their arms into the four quarters of the world, and taking tribute from all the *Rajas*. As might be expected, the exaggerations of the story are most marvellous ; but the actual ceremonial seems to have been simple and interesting. A chieftain, newly established in a country, invites his neighbours to a friendly gathering and feast, the real purport of the meeting being to assert his power to maintain his own authority in his *Raj*. But as time went on, and the luxury and power of the *Rajas* assumed enormous proportions, "the bards and eulogists, who chaunted the ancient story before the later *Rajas*, could scarcely have related the primitive details of olden time in which Princesses milked the cows, and Princes tilled the land." At any rate, the *Rajasuya* was completed, and *Yudhishtira* acknowledged as *Raja* by his neighbours.

The *Pandavas*, to the delight of the reader, whose sympathies are always on their side, now seem to have reached the height of worldly prosperity ; but alas ! *Nemesis* is watching them. The *Kauravas*, jealous of their cousins' power, lay a trap for them. The means adopted is to invite the *Pandavas*, under the guise of friendship, to a gambling match at *Hastinapur*, and to use the unscrupulous skill of their uncle *Sakuni* in robbing them of their property. The invitation, when sent, was as a point of honour accepted ; and the brethren, with their wife and mother, proceeded to *Hastinapur*. The scene that follows is too good to be mutilated :—

"And when the assembly had all taken their places, *Sakuni* said to *Yudhishtira* :—'The ground here has all been prepared, and the dice are ready : come now, I pray you, and play a game.' But *Yudhishtira* was disinclined, and replied :—'I will not play excepting upon fair terms ; but if you will pledge yourself to play without artifice or deceit, I will accept your challenge.' *Sakuni* said :—'If you are so fearful of losing, you had better not play at all.' At these words *Yudhishtira* was wroth and replied :—'I have no fear either in play or war : but let me know with whom I am to play, and who is to pay me if I win.' So *Duryodhana* came forward and said :—'I am the man against whom you are to play, and I shall lay my stakes against your stakes : but my uncle *Sakuni*

"will throw the dice for me.' Then Yudhishtira said:—
 "What manner of game is this, where one man throws the dice
 "and another lays the stakes?' Nevertheless he accepted the
 "challenge, and he and Sakuni began to play."

"So Yudhishtira and Sakuni sat down to play, and whatever
 "Yudhishtira laid as stakes, Duryodhana laid something of equal
 "value: but Yudhishtira lost every game. He first lost a very
 "beautiful pearl: next a thousand bags, each containing a
 "thousand pieces of gold: next a piece of gold so pure that it
 "was as soft as wax; next a chariot set with jewels, and hung
 "all round with golden balls: next a thousand war elephants
 "with golden howdahs set with diamonds: next a lakh of slaves
 "all dressed with good garments; next a lakh of beautiful slave-
 "girls all dressed from head to foot with golden ornaments:
 "next all the remainder of his goods: next all his cattle: and
 "then the whole of his Raj, excepting only the lands which had
 "been granted to the Brahmans."

"Now when Yudhishtira had lost his Raj, the Chieftains
 "present in the pavilion were of opinion that he should cease
 "to play, but he would not listen to their words, but per-
 "sisted in the game. And he staked all the goods belong-
 "ing to his brothers and he lost them, and he staked his
 "two younger brothers, one after the other, and he lost them;
 "and he then staked Arjuna, and Bhima, and finally himself:
 "and he lost every game. Then Sakuni said to him:—'You
 "have done a bad act, Yudhishtira, in gaming away yourself
 "and becoming a slave. But now stake your wife Draupadi,
 "and if you win the game you will again be free.' And Yudhishtira
 "answered and said: 'I will stake Draupadi!' And all
 "assembled were greatly troubled and thought evil of Yudhishtira,
 "and his uncle Vidura put his hand to his head, and fainted
 "away: whilst Bhishma and Drona turned deadly pale, and
 "many of the company were very sorrowful; but Duryodhana
 "and his brother Duhsasana, and some others of the Kauravas,
 "were glad in their hearts, and plainly manifested their joy.
 "Then Sakuni threw the dice, and won Draupadi for Duryodhana."

"Then all in that assembly were in great consternation, and
 "the Chieftains gazed upon one another without saying a
 "word, and Duryodhana said to his uncle Vidura: 'Go now
 "and bring Draupadi hither, and bid her sweep the rooms.'
 "But Vidura cried out against him with a loud voice and said:—
 "'What wickedness is this! will you order a woman who is of
 "noble birth, and the wife of your own kinsman to become a
 "household slave? But Draupadi has not become your slave,

“ for Yudhishtira lost himself before he staked his wife, and
“ having first become a slave, he could no longer have power to
“ stake Draupadi.’ Vidura then turned to the assembly and
“ said :—‘ Take no heed to the words of Duryodhana, for he has
“ lost his senses this day.’ Duryodhana then said :—‘ A curse
“ be upon this Vidura, who will do nothing that I desire him.’

“ After this Duryodhana called one of his servants and
“ desired him to go to the lodgings of the Pandavas and
“ bring Draupadi into the pavilion. And the man departed
“ out and went to the lodgings of the Pandavas, and entered
“ the presence of Draupadi, and said to her : ‘ Raja Yudhishtira
“ has played you away, and you have become the slave of
“ Raja Duryodhana : So come now and do your duty like
“ the other slave girls.’ And Draupadi was astonished at these
“ words, and exceedingly wroth, and she replied :—‘ Whose
“ slave was I that I could be gambled away ? And who is such
“ a senseless fool as to gamble away his own wife ?’ The
“ servant said :—‘ Raja Yudhishtira has lost himself and his
“ five brethren and you also to Raja Duryodhana ; and you cannot
“ make any objection : rise, therefore, and go to the house of
“ the Raja.’ Then Draupadi cried out :—‘ Go you now and
“ enquire, whether Raja Yudhishtira lost me first or himself
“ first : for if he played away himself first, he could not stake
“ me.’ So the man returned to the assembly and put the
“ question to Yudhishtira ; but Yudhishtira bowed down his
“ head with shame, and answered not a word.

“ Then Duryodhana was filled with wrath, and he cried out
“ to his servant :—‘ What waste of words is this ! Go you and
“ bring Draupadi hither that, if she has aught to say, she may
“ say it in the presence of us all.’ And the man essayed to go
“ but he beheld the wrathful countenance of Bhima, and he was
“ sore afraid, and he refused to go, and remained where he was.
“ Then Duryodhana sent his brother Duhsasana : and Duhsasana
“ went his way to the lodgings of Draupadi and said :—‘ Raja
“ Yudhishtira has lost you in play to Raja Duryodhana, and he
“ has sent for you. So arise now, and wait upon him according
“ to his commands ; and if you have any thing to say, you can
“ say it in the presence of the assembly.’ Draupadi replied :—
“ ‘ The death of the Kauravas is not far distant, since they
“ can do such deeds as these.’ And she rose up in great
“ trepidation and set out, but when she came near to the
“ palace of the Mahārāja, she turned aside from the pavilion
“ where the chieftains were assembled, and ran away with
“ all speed towards the apartments of the women. And Duhsa-
“ sana hastened after her, and seized her by her hair which

" was very dark and long, and dragged her by main force
 " into the pavilion before all the chieftains. And she cried
 " out : ' Take your hands from off me ! ' And Duhsasana heeded
 " not her words but said ; ' You are now a slave-girl, and slave
 " girls cannot complain of being touched by the hands of men.'

" When the chieftains thus beheld Draupadi, they hung down
 " their heads from shame ; and Draupadi called upon the elders
 " amongst them, such as Bhishma and Drona, to acquaint her
 " whether or no Yudhishtira had gamed away himself before
 " he had staked her : but they likewise held down their heads and
 " answered not a word. Then she cast her eyes upon the Panda-
 " vas, and her glance was like the stabbing of a thousand daggers,
 " and they moved not hand or foot to help her ; for when Bhima
 " would have stepped forward to deliver her from the hands
 " of Duhsasana, Yudhishtira commanded him to forbear and
 " both he and the younger Pandavas were obliged to obey the
 " commands of their elder brother. And when Duhsasana
 " saw that Draupadi was turning her eyes towards the Pandavas
 " he took her by the hand and drew her another way, and said ;—
 " ' Why, O slave ! are you turning your eyes about you ? ' And
 " when Karna and Sakuni heard Duhsasana calling her a slave
 " they cried out :—' Well said ! Well said !'

" Then Draupadi wept very bitterly, and appealed to all the
 " assembly, saying ;—' All of you have wives and children of
 " your own, and will you permit me to be treated thus ? I ask
 " you one question, and I pray you to answer it'. Duhsasana
 " then broke in, and spoke foul language to her and used her
 " rudely, so that her veil come off in his hands. And Bhima
 " could restrain his wrath no longer, and spoke vehemently
 " to Yudhishtira : and Arjuna reproved him for his anger
 " against his elder brother but Bhima answered ;—' I will
 " thrust my hands into the fire before these wretches
 " shall treat my wife in this manner before my eyes.' Then
 " Duryodhana said to Draupadi :—' Come now, I pray you
 " and sit upon my thigh !' But Bhima gnashed his teeth,
 " and cried out with a loud voice :—' Hear my vow this day !
 " If for this deed I do not break the thigh of Duryodhana,
 " and drink the blood of Duhsasana, I am not the son of
 " Kunti !' " (p. 178-182.)

Duryodhana, however, was not even now content with his
 victory ; and he prevailed on the blind old Raja to let them
 play one more game.

" And the Mahārāja granted the request of his son, and
 " messengers were sent to bring back the brethren ; and the
 " Pandavas obeyed the commands of their uncle, and returned

"to his presence; and it was agreed upon that Yudhishtira should play one more game with Sakuni, and that if Yudhishtira won, the Kauravas were to go into exile, and that if Sakuni won, the Pandavas were to go into exile; and that the exile was to be for twelve years, and one year more, and during that thirteenth year, those who were in exile were to dwell in any city they pleased, but to keep themselves so concealed that the others should never discover them; and that if the others did discover them before the thirteenth year was over, then those who were in exile were to continue so for another thirteen years. So they sat down again to play, and Sakuni had a set of cheating dice as before and with them he won the game.

"When Duhsasana saw that Sakuni had won the game, he danced about for joy; and he cried out:—'Now is established the Raj of Duryodhana.' But Bhima said:—'Be not elated with joy, but remember my words: the day will come when I will drink your blood, or I am not the son of Kunti.' And the Pandavas, seeing that they had lost, threw off their garments, and put on deer-skins, and prepared to depart into the forest with their wife and mother, and their priest Dhaumya; but Vidura said to Yudhishtira:—'Your mother is old and unfitted to travel, so leave her under my care;' and the Pandavas did so. And the brethren went out from the assembly hanging down their heads with shame, and covering their faces with their garments; but Bhima threw out his long arms and looked at the Kauravas furiously, and Draupadi spread her long black hair over her face and wept bitterly. And Draupadi vowed a vow, saying:—'My hair shall remain dishevelled from this day, until Bhima shall have slain Duhsasana and drunk his blood; and then he shall tie up my hair again whilst his hands are dripping with the blood of Duhsasana.' " (pp. 183-184.)

We have no space to follow the Pandavas in the deeply interesting story of their thirteen years' exile. Their adventures are various and wonderful; but they all present the same characteristics of later embellishment: the object of the compilers being, as before, to maintain the association of the Pandavas with the worship of Krishna, their intimate relations with the greater gods, and the reverence which they paid to Brahmans. The years of their exile came to an end, and negotiations were commenced with the view of effecting the restoration of the Pandavas to their Raj. The latter were not as powerless as might be supposed; for besides their long-standing alliance with their father-in-law, the Raja Drupada, they had succeeded

in gaining the friendship and support of the powerful Raja of Viráta, in whose service they had lived in disguise during the last year of their exile. They could rely also on the powerful aid of Krishna, who was their ambassador throughout their negotiations with the Kauravas.* These negotiations, however, through the self-willed obstinacy of Duryodhana came to an end, and no alternative remained but war.

The hostile armies met on the plain of Kurukshetra. The description of the battle, or rather the war, for it lasted eighteen days, is in the highest degree grand and exciting. We seem to be reading over again, but with infinitely greater variety of events, the Homeric epic. The conflict of masses of men is relieved by single combats: and the hopes of the reader, carried away by the vivid picture, are alternately raised and depressed with the varying fortunes of the side to which he has given his sympathy. We give an extract or two, almost at random.

"And the sun set in the heavens, but the warriors would not stay the battle in the evening as they had done on all the previous days of the war, but they fought on and cared not for food or sleep; and there was much slaughter, for every man was in great wrath. And when the darkness came on they fought at hazard, not knowing friend from foe. And the night became terrible beyond all telling; fathers slew their sons and sons their fathers, and they cut and hewed like men that were mad. Then Yudhishtira, seeing that the darkness was filling the plain with unutterable horror, ordered many lighted torches to be brought; and every man took a torch and fought with it in his hand, and ten torches were fastened to every chariot. And the whole plain of Kurukshetra was as light as day; and the golden cuirasses of the Rajas were as radiant as the sun; and the jewels on their arms and hands sparkled in the glare, and the swords and spears flashed like lightning. And they threw large stones at each other, and hurled chariot-wheels; and when a man threw his enemy down he cut off his head, and carried it in his hand; and their mouths were stained with blood as they thirsted for the blood of each other, and the plain was filled with dead corpses." (p. 315.)

In the next extract we see the Pandavas exacting a terrible vengeance for the insults they had endured.

"All this while Bhima had engaged in a deadly conflict with Karna and Duryadhana; when Duryadhana's brother, Duhsasana, came up to their aid, and shooting an arrow from one side, he slew Bhima's charioteer. Now Duhsasana was that wicked Kaurava who had dragged Draupadi into the

“ gambling pavilion, and treated her like a slave girl ; and Bhima
“ had sworn a great oath that the day should come when he would
“ drink the blood of Duhsasana. And when Bhima saw Duhsa-
“ sana he was filled with wrath ; and he aimed such a stroke at
“ Duhsasana with his mace, that he drove him, chariot and all,
“ to the distance of a bow-shot ; and Duhsasana fell with such
“ force to the ground that he broke all his bones, whilst
“ his chariot was dashed to pieces. Duhsasana trembled for a
“ moment, and began to give up the ghost, when Bhima
“ running up to him lifted him from the ground and whirled
“ him round his head, and shouted with a loud voice :—‘ O
“ Kauravas ! Behold Duhsasana has come to the aid of Karna,
“ and see how I have smitten him : whoever of you has suffi-
“ cient strength and courage, let him come and release Duhsasana
“ from my hands !’ No one, however, dared to approach, and
“ Bhima continued thus :—‘ This day I fulfil my vow against
“ the man who insulted Draupadi !’ Then setting his foot on
“ the breast of Duhsasana, he drew his sword, and cut off the
“ head of his enemy ; and holding his two hands to catch the
“ blood, he drank it off, crying out :—‘ Ho ! ho ! never did I taste
“ anything in this world so sweet as this blood.’ At this sight
“ the Kauravas began to weep very bitterly, whilst the Pandavas
“ rejoiced, and the Kauravas threw away their arms and fled,
“ saying :—‘ This is not a man, for if he were, he would not
“ drink human blood !’ ” (p. 327.)

The great war terminated on the eighteenth day in the utter rout and destruction of the Kauravas, only three of whom were left alive on the field. The account of the return of the Pandavas to Hastinapur, and of the grief and recrimination of the blind old king for the extermination of his sons and kinsmen, is affecting in the highest degree. A reconciliation was however effected ; and the Pandavas resumed the kingdom which had belonged to their father. It was indeed but a hollow truce ; the guilt of blood could not be forgiven ; and Dhritarashtra leaves the hateful society of his nephews, and retires to the jungle to die. Before his death however Vyasa the sage re-appears, and promises the widows and kinsmen of those that were slain in the war, that they shall once more see the faces of those they love. The description of this event is one of the grandest passages in the whole poem ; and we give it entire.

“ After this, whilst all were talking together of the husbands
“ and the sons and the kinsfolk whom they had lost in the great
“ war of Mahá Bhárata, the sage Vyasa appeared amongst them,
“ and said :—‘ I will this day heal all your griefs : Go you all
“ to the river Ganges, and bathe therein, and there each one

“of you shall behold the kinsmen for whom you have been
“sorrowing.” So they all went down to the river, and chose a
“bathing-place for themselves and families; and Vyasa said to
“them:—‘You shall see this night all whom you desire.’ And
“the day passed away so slowly that it seemed like a whole year
“to them, but at last the sun went down, and they all bathed in
“the river by command of Vyasa, and said their prayers, and
“went and stood near him; and Raja Yudhishtira and his bre-
“thren were on the side of Vyasa, and Mahārāja Dhritarashtra
“stood before them, and everybody else stood wherever places
“could be found. Vyasa then went into the water and prayed and
“bathed; and he then came out and stood by Dhritarashtra and
“Yudhishtira, and called out the names of each of the persons
“who had been slain, one by one. At that moment the river
“began to foam and boil, and a great noise was heard rising out of
“the waters, as though all the slain men were once again alive,
“and as though they and their elephants and their horses were
“bursting into loud cries, and all the drums and trumpets and
“other instruments of music of both armies were striking up
“together. The whole assembly were astonished at this mighty
“tempest, and some were smitten with a terrible fear, when
“suddenly they saw Bhishma and Drona in full armour seated in
“their chariots, and ascending out of the waters, with all their
“armies arrayed as they were on the first day of the Mahā
“Bhārata. Next came forth Abhimanyu, the heroic son of
“Arjuna, and the five sons of Draupadi, and the son of Bhima
“with his army of Asuras. After them came Karna, and
“Duryodhana, and Sakuni, and Duhsāsana, and the other sons
“of Dhritarashtra, all in full parade seated upon their chariots,
“together with many other warriors and Rajas who had been
“slain. All appeared in great glory and splendour, and more
“beautiful than when they were alive; and all came with their
“own horses and chariots and banners and arms. And every
“one was in perfect friendship with each other, for enmity
“had departed from amongst them; and each one was pre-
“ceded by his bards and eulogists who sang his praises; and
“very many singing men and dancing girls appeared with
“them, singing and dancing. Now, when these warriors
“had come out of the river, their widows and orphans and
“kinsfolk were overjoyed, and not a trace of grief remained
“amongst them; and widows went to their husbands, and
“daughters to their fathers, and mothers to their sons, and
“sisters to their brothers, and all the fifteen years of sorrow
“which had passed since the war of the Mahā Bhārata were for-
“gotten in the ecstasy of seeing each other again. Thus the

“night passed away in the fulness of joy ; but when the morning
“had dawned, all the dead mounted their chariots and horses,
“and disappeared ; and those who had gathered together to be-
“hold them prepared to depart. And Vyasa the sage said that
“the widows who wished to rejoin their dead husbands might
“do so : and all the widows went and bathed in the Ganges,
“and came out of the water again, and kissed, one by one, the
“feet of Dhritarashtra and Gandhari ; and then went and drowned
“themselves in the river ; and through the prayers of Vyasa
“they all went to the places they wished, and obtained their
“several desires.” (pp. 439—441.)

The interest of the poem now rapidly culminates ; and the closing scene portrays the resignation of the kingdom by Yudhishtira, and the retirement of the Pandavas to the Himalaya Mountains.

“After this, Arjuna returned towards Hastinapur, and on his
“way he met with Vyasa the sage ; and Vyasa told him that
“his prosperity was now at an end, and that his strength had
“gone from him, and that he would no more be able to string
“his bow ; and that his worldly reign was over, and he must now
“think only of the salvation of his soul. When Arjuna reached
“Hastinapur he told Raja Yudhishtira and his brethren all that
“had occurred, and of the advice which had been given to him
“by Vyasa ; and they were much grieved at the tidings brought
“by Arjuna, and determined one and all to follow the counsel
“which had been given by the sage.

“Yudhishtira then took off his earrings and necklace, and
“all the jewels from his fingers and arms, and all his royal
“raiment ; and he and his brethren, and their wife Draupadi,
“clothed themselves after the manner of devotees in vestments
“made of the bark of trees. And the five brethren threw the
“fire of their domestic sacrifices and cookery into the Ganges,
“and went forth from the city following each other. First
“walked Yudhishtira, then Bhima, then Arjuna, then Nakula,
“then Sahadeva, then Draupadi, and then a dog. And they
“went though the country of Banga towards the rising of the
“sun and after passing through many lands they reached the
“Himalaya Mountains, and there they died one after the other,
“and were transported to the heaven of Indra.” (pp. 453-454.)

We have been unable for want of space to give any account of Mr. Wheeler's examination of the celebrated Horse-sacrifice of the Raja Yudhishtira, or of his able and original treatment of the life and worship of Krishna, the relations of Buddhism to Brahmanism, the *Sati* rite, and many other equally interesting topics. But we have been able, we hope, to show the

readers of this *Review*, that Mr. Wheeler's work is a most valuable contribution to Indian history. Until his book appeared, the character of those legends which are "the Bible, the Newspaper, and the Library" to the inhabitants of India, was utterly unknown to all but a few professed scholars. Now he who runs may read them, with no less profit than pleasure. Mr. Wheeler has succeeded in investing the early history of India with all the charm of a novel. The orthodox Brahman will no doubt, be chagrined at finding the mighty hero Bhārata displayed as a petty chieftain over an insignificant tract of territory. He may be enraged at the proposition that his order have not been free from the infirmities of human nature, and have garbled, to their own aggrandisement, records of which they have had the sole custody for many generations. But we believe and hope that to Europeans and Hindus alike this book will be acceptable, as a fearless attempt to clear away, by a masterly criticism, the clouds which have hitherto obscured early Indian history.

ANCIENT ASSAM.

ART. X.—1. *The Maha Bharata.*

2. *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

ALL ancient history shades off into the mists of the legendary ; and the history of Assam is no exception. But even myths have their value. They hold scattered rays of light which, when focused, help us to discern some of the realities of the olden times. Indeed, whenever we find a mythus forming an integral part of the ancient memorials of a people, we may safely conclude that there is in it a substratum of historic truth.

The history of ancient Assam, the outlines of which we are about to attempt, belongs to the general history and chronology of India, and in this is its chief value. Points of special interest may here and there reward us for the trouble of wading through prolix local histories and sifting marvellous legends ; but we shall be content if we succeed in producing a readable narrative of times and events that are already all but swallowed up in fable.

We must go back to a period beyond the boundary-line of legitimate history for the earliest mention of Assam ; for, there can be no doubt that properly organized states existed in this region long before the struggle between Brahminists and Budhists celebrated in the Maha Bharata, and that in those remote times Assam had a powerful voice in the affairs of the Indian continent. In the upper portion of the valley, in the section known in ancient annals as the Bidhorbo country, there were, at the time referred to, two princes whose names have been saved from oblivion by their association with the history of Krishna. These were Bishmukh, the king of Kundilpore, and Sisupal, of the city of Chundari or Chunpura. The remains of two forts said to have been built by them are still to be seen embedded in the forests to the north and west of Sadiya. The fort attributed to Raja Sisupal stands on an elevated plain on

the banks of the Di-phon-pani, not far from the point at which this river debouches from the Mishmi Hills. "The extent of it," observes Captain Rowlatt in his "Report of an Expedition into the Mishmi Hills," "is considerable, as it took me about four hours to walk along one side of its faces. The defence is double, consisting of a rampart of stiff red clay which, as the surrounding soil appears of a different nature, must have been brought from some distance. Below this rampart is a terrace of about twenty yards in breadth, beyond which the side of the hill is perpendicularly scarped and varies from ten to thirty feet high; the principal entrance and the defences for some distance on either side, are built of bricks, and on many spots in the interior I observed remains of the same materials. The fort seems to be composed of three sides, the steepness of the hill at its north face precluding the necessity of any other works."

Raja Bishmukh's fort stands about sixteen miles to the north-west of Sadiya, and occupies the high table-land at the foot of the hills between the rivers Di-khrang and Di-bong. It was visited in the year 1848 by Colonel S. F. Hannay, who thus describes it:—"We proceeded for some distance along the edge of the steep bounding the table-land on our left, in the hopes of finding a road or path which might lead to a gateway; and perceiving in our course one or two paths well-worn by wild animals in their progress to water, we passed down one of these, and were fortunate enough, after turning and winding through the hollow ground formed by the steep we had just left and an opposite spur of the elevated land, to discover that a high rampart of earth crossed the opening towards the plain. Crowning this, we found ourselves amongst bricks scattered about, with a low wall running along the top of the outer edge, which on nearer inspection proved to be an upper parapet overtopping the rampart, the lower portion showing a solid facing of hewn sandstone blocks of more or less height according to the nature of the ground. This rampart ran in a direction about north-west, and in the distance of a quarter of a mile which we inspected, the brick wall continued on the left, sometimes to the height of five feet, loop-holed in several places apparently for arrows and spears, but more frequently in a very dilapidated state from huge trees having taken root in the rampart, and wild animals passing over it. At the distance of a quarter of a mile, a spur of the table-land touched upon the rampart and a brick wall crossed it, ascending the spur apparently to the level land above. Here also must have been a gateway or passage of some kind through the cross-wall, but

" all had disappeared in the heaps of bricks lying about. The
 " wall and rampart, however, still continued to the north-west;
 " but having little local information about the place, and being
 " limited in our researches to that day only, it was considered
 " advisable to return. We therefore confined our further obser-
 " vations to that portion of the works we had passed.

" The table-land to the east being naturally strong from the
 " steepness and difficulty of ascent, required no artificial defences,
 " and from the circumstance of the rampart and wall abutting
 " upon the southernmost point of the table-land, it appeared to
 " me evident that those works to their utmost extent westward—
 " probably to the banks of the Di-bong about four miles distant,—
 " were merely intended to enclose the table-land at the foot of the
 " hills, and thus form a place of refuge in time of invasion. No
 " buildings are said to be on this hill fortification; but the
 " Mishmis (the hill tribe occupying the adjacent heights) who
 " describe it as of great extent, speak also of a gateway by a
 " hill-stream, where there are fragments of large earthen-ware
 " vessels of various shapes, and the truth of this is confirmed by
 " the numerous debris of earthen vessels found in the bed of the
 " Di-khrang river, of a description totally different from the
 " manufactures of the present day in Assam, being more (as
 " regards quality of material and shape) like that of the earthen
 " ware of Gangetic India.

" Although bearing the appearance of great age, for in many
 " places the wall has bulged and fallen down, it has evidently
 " been well and substantially built; the sandstone blocks, varying
 " from 10 to 8 inches thick, a foot broad, and 20 inches long, are
 " rudely but evenly chiselled with the point, and they are closely
 " and regularly laid. The bricks are first rate, varying in size
 " from 8×5 to 6×4 inches, and from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and
 " the parapet wall formed of them about 4 or $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

The sandstone facing of the rampart may be somewhat less, but
 " the whole masonry work is laid without cement or fastening of
 " any kind; immediately over the sandstone are two rows of
 " bricks, and over these, two others projecting so as to form a
 " rude cornice, which gives it an appearance of neatness. The
 " rows or layers of masonry (sandstone) alternate from 5 to 7
 " and 9 from the bottom of the wall outside, a difference which
 " may be accounted for either from the natural steepness of the
 " ground in some parts requiring less wall, or from the earth
 " having accumulated against the wall from natural causes during
 " a long period of time. Close to where the wall abuts against
 " the table-land, there is a turn at right angles, given evidently
 " to form a flank defence."

Raja Bishmukh, according to an old legend, had a daughter Rukmoni, who is described as having the eyes of a deer, the voice of the *koki* (the Indian cuckoo), the complexion of the *champa* flower, the gait of the elephant, and a face effulgent as the moon. Playing at hide-and-seek on one occasion, her companions refused to continue the game with her, complaining that wherever they might conceal themselves, the light of her countenance was sure to betray them! The father of so beautiful a girl was naturally unwilling to affiance her to any save the worthiest prince. His ministers were consulted, and the virtues and good qualities of many men of noble birth were discussed, until, yielding to the entreaties of his eldest son Rukom, Bishmukh consented to his daughter's marriage with Raja Sisupal. But Rukmoni had already made her choice. She had heard of the exploits of Krishna, and lived in hope that he would some day claim her hand. Her secret love was confided to her younger brother through whom Krishna became aware of her preference. In the meanwhile, preparations were in progress for the marriage with Sisupal who, when the nuptial day was near, entered Kundilpore in splendid procession, accompanied by his kinsman Jarasandho, prince of Mugudh, and their respective armies. Scarcely had the customary festivities begun when Krishna, followed by a regal retinue, also made his appearance at Bishmukh's capital. On the day appointed for the nuptial ceremony, Rukmoni, according to a preconcerted plan, went with an offering to a temple to the east of the city, and on her return was met and carried off by Krishna. Sisupal lost no time in pursuing the audacious adventurer, and a bloody battle ensued between the armies of the rival suitors. Sisupal was discomfited, and fled out of the country with his friend Jarasandho who had accompanied him in the pursuit. On hearing of the discomfiture of the man whose suit he had helped to advance, Rukom got together his father's army and hastened himself to give battle to Krishna. In the engagement which followed he was defeated and taken prisoner; but though he was released soon after, owing to the entreaties of his sister, he felt too humiliated ever to return to Kundilpore.

Some time before the events just narrated, the lower section of the Assam valley, since known as Kamroop, was ruled by a race of princes known as Danobs, or Osurs. The words signify *demon*, *titan*, or *evil spirit*, and were epithets of reproach not uncommonly applied to men of the Buddhist faith by their Brahminical brethren. The first of these Buddhist princes of whom we have any record was Mohirong Danob. He is said

to have fixed his residence on mount Moiroka, five miles south-east of the modern town of Gowhatty. A deep cave on the summit of the mountain and a few carved stones still mark the spot where he held his court. He was succeeded in order by Hatoek-osur, Sombor-osur, Rotnasur, and Norok-osur. This last took up his residence at Gowhatty, or Pragoitishpore, i. e., "the city of former renown,"—the same place, we may add, which Ptolemy speaks of as *Asono-marō*, "the destroyed throne." Norok-osur was slain in battle by Krishna who, elated with his victory over Jarasandho, marched his forces against the Assamese King because he was allied to the house of Mugudh, and professed the heretical faith of Buddhism. The Bhagavat Puran which gives an account of the invasion, relates that when Krishna, the champion of Brahminism, felled Norok with his quoit, the snake on which the world rests trembled, joy filled the three worlds, and the gods who had gathered to watch the conflict, shouted with applause, and rained down flowers from their chariots.

It may not be out of place to mention here that the kings of Mugudh were, at this time, Lords Paramount of India, their country being the centre of learning, civilization, and commerce. Among the noblest of these princes was Jarasandho who, as the champion of the Budhists, waged long and sanguinary war with Krishna who represented the Brahminic party. Krishna had taken possession of Mathura after putting to death its king, who was son-in-law to Jarasandho. Jarasandho on this besieged the city, and after a protracted conflict forced Krishna to flee to the west coast of India, where he built the city of Dwarka. The power of the Mugudh prince interposed no common barrier between Krishna and that undisputed sovereignty over India which he coveted. He accordingly persuaded the Pandava princes to arm in his behalf, and, accompanied by Bhima and Arjuna, he set out on an expedition against Behar (Mugudh). Adopting a circuitous route, and passing under the hills of Goruckpore and Tirhoot, he came upon his enemy all unprepared to meet him. In one of the engagements that ensued, Jarasandho was slain by Bhima. But though Jarasandho was slain, Krishna failed of his ultimate design. The vacant throne was seized by an illegitimate descendant of the late king, and the Kaurava princes vigorously upheld his interests. The breach between the Pandava princes and the Kaurava was thus widened, and it eventually led to the great war of the Maha Bharata.

It was after the Mugudh campaign that Krishna, moved no doubt as much by the prospect of plunder as by any fanatical

spirit, marched against the capital of Norok-osur. Indeed, it may be regarded as more than probable that the Pragoitishpore of the Hindu annals and the Kusawati of the Pali and Thibetan records, were one and the same city. Turnour in his Introduction to the *Mahawanso* mentions Kusawati as one of the chief cities in India at this period, which were noted as the seats of government of the different branches of the Mugudh family. It received its name from the *Kusa* grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) with which this part of the country abounds; and we are much mistaken if the modern *Gowhatty* is not simply a corruption of the olden name. The Assamese notoriously substitute a soft for a harsh sound, and the aspirate for a sibilant. Thus *g* would be substituted for *k*, and *h* for *s*. With these substitutes, *Kusawati* would become *Guhawati*, and with the further substitution of *h* for *w*, Gu-ha-hati. This last represents precisely the mode in which the word is universally pronounced by the people. So that if we accept the identity of Kusawati with Norok's capital, we have the political and commercial importance of Assam established at a period anterior to the great war of the Maha Bharata.

As Krishna's object in marching against Norok was only the plunder of his capital and not its permanent possession, he soon returned to Dwarka laden with spoil. On his withdrawal, Bhogodott, Norok's son, succeeded to his father's throne; a prince, from all accounts, of considerable note in his day. It was during his reign that the fierce rivalry between the hostile sects of Budh and Brahma broke into a flame, and the contending parties met to decide the question of supremacy on the fatal field of Kuru-khettri. It was not likely that Bhogodott would keep aloof from such a contest, and we are not surprised to find him marching a large army into north-western India. His forces were engaged in support of Duryadhana, but he himself died in battle at the hands of Arjuna, brother of Yuddhishtira.

In several instances in which data have been obtainable, astronomical calculations have helped us to determine the epochs of Indian history. Thus, the situation of the equinoctial colure at the time of the astronomer Porasor who flourished under Yuddhishtira, has been fixed by Davis in 1391 B. C.; by Sir William Jones, Colebroke, and Bentley, in 1180 B. C. This latter date is probably the correct one, as it closely accords with the epoch of the cycle of Porsuram in the Deccan, 1176, B. C.,—a fact in all probability unknown to these authors. This will enable us to determine approximately the period of Bhogodott's reign.

The original extent of Bhogodott's dominions we have no means of ascertaining, nor can we be sure of the general designation they received in his day. That he ruled a much larger territory than that subsequently included in Kamroop may be inferred from the traditions still current respecting him in Bengal, and the situation of the principalities held by the younger branches of the family after the dismemberment of the empire. Dr. Buchanan, in his official Topography of the district of Goruckpore in Behar, gives the following description of the ruins of a remarkable fortress ascribed to Bhogodott:

"Immediately opposite to Bhanguipore, on the other side of the Dewha, and in the district of Ghazeepore, is a very old ruin called Khay-ra-gor, and evidently a fortress, which may contain thirty acres, although part has suffered from the river. This place was built by Bhogodott, king of Kamroop, when he came to the assistance of Duryadhana at the commencement of the iron age." Not far from this fort, observes Dr. B., "is a stone pillar, which is a mere cylinder, with a small flat cap, and totally destitute of elegance. There are no traces of buildings round it, and a considerable portion is probably sunk in the ground. It has contained a long inscription in an ancient character which the Pundits cannot entirely read, many of the letters being of obsolete forms. The inscription is, besides, very much defaced, partly by the action of time, and partly by some bigot having attempted to cut through the pillar just in the middle of the inscription. This *Lath* or pillar, it is alleged, was erected by Bhogodott."

Moreover, the Buddhist dynasty of Bengal, commonly known as the Pal dynasty, and of whom Bhupal was the first, are mentioned in the *Ayin Akberri*, as the descendants of Bhogodott. And a Buddhist inscription found near Benares, a copy of which will be found in Vol. V. of the *Asiatic Society's Researches*, states that Sthiro-pal and his brother Vesanto-pal, the sons of Bhupal, king of Gour, and *descendants of Bhogodott*, erected a most sumptuous monument near Benares, at a place called Sarnath. The inscription bears date, 1083 of the era of Vikramaditya, corresponding with A. D. 1027. But whatever inference we may be disposed to draw from these memorials, of the probable westward limit of Bhogodott's dominions, we may safely assume that, as on the one hand they embraced the upper portion of the Assam valley which was parcelled out among Buddhist princes of the Kshetriya tribe who were probably allied to their chief by family ties, so on the other, they included all Eastern Bengal. Of Bhogodott's descendants we have no record beyond an imperfect list of names, on which little dependence

can be placed. In some manuscripts the list is more extensive than in others, but to the earlier princes of the family are assigned reigns each of which covers the extravagant period of 105 years. The manuscripts which may be most depended on have a break after the reign of the fifth prince from Bhogodott, extending, if we adopt the extravagant chronology of the records, over 525 years from 651 B. C., the date assigned to that prince's reign. During this period, the country is said to have been governed by Barro Bhiuya, or twelve lords, a phrase used to indicate the joint government of several chiefs. We have no means of determining the actual period covered by this interregnum; but the regal power ultimately passed into the hands of a prince of the ancient line, and the list closes with Subahu who, it is said, was defeated by Vikramaditya and constrained to seek refuge in the mountains of Thibet.

The Vikramaditya just mentioned, is assumed to be the famous prince of Oujein who 'after expelling the Mlechas and destroying the Sacas (Budhists,) established his power and influence throughout India.' In the list of countries conquered by him are *Bongo* or, Bengal, *Kooch-Bihar*, which is the western portion of the old kingdom of Kamroop, and *Utter-kol* or *Utter-kol*, a term applied to the part of Assam lying on the north bank of the Berhampooter, and east of the territories belonging to the old kingdom of Kamroop. It would be vain to attempt to reconcile the discrepancies that occur in the reign of this prince. He is said to have given his name to a distinct era beginning in the year 56 B. C., which, in the absence of any reliable data, we may assume as the period of the overthrow of Bhogodott's dynasty in Assam. As the enemy of the Sacas, however, Vikramaditya is contemporaneous with Salivahana (A. D. 78) with whom, indeed, notwithstanding a difference in date of 134 years, all the Hindu accounts represent him to have been engaged in hostilities.

It is worthy of remark that Thibetan authorities trace the descent of their first king, Nya-khri-tsan-po, from one of the Kshetriya princes of Vesali who, being expelled from his own dominions, found refuge in Thibet. We think it could be proved that Vesali is Assam; in the meanwhile, assuming the identity of the two countries, it is noteworthy that the historians of Thibet are corroborated by an Assamese tradition. Vikramaditya had declared a war of extermination against all the Sacas or Budhists, and in pursuance of his fanatical purpose had advanced at the head of a large army into Assam :

' This son of might, with hideous slaughter drave
' The Buddhist chiefs, the Bravest of the Brave.'

When no longer able to cope with his adversary, the king of Assam with a large number of followers sought refuge in the mountain fastnesses of Thibet; whilst those of his subjects who refused to escape were either put to death, or they purchased their lives at the cost of their creed. It was this circumstance that suggested the application of the term *Kulita* to a large section of the population of the valley,—a term still to be met with in Assam, but unknown among the Hindus of other parts of India. It signifies the *caste* (kul) that has become *extinct* (ita). Tradition goes on to state that there is a tract of country extending along the plain beyond the frontier mountains to the north-west of Sadiya and watered by the Di-hang, which is to this day possessed by a powerful nation called Kulitas, who are described as having attained a high degree of civilization, and as holding a dominion and resources superior to those of Assam in its most prosperous days. At one time intercourse seems to have been kept up between the two states, but this has long since ceased. We are informed, however, that about nine generations ago, another colony of Assamese under two sons of a Bura Gohain (prime minister of the Ahom king) took refuge in the country of the Kulitas, and for many years after their removal continued to hold intercourse with the parent state. The eastern part of their country is said to adjoin that of the Lamas, and, if we may believe the Mishmi tribes on their border, the Lamas and Kulitas are always fighting with one another.

After the overthrow of the Buddhist dynasty in Assam, the government of the country once more fell into the hands of certain chieftains some of whom claimed lineal descent from Bhogodott, but regarding whom our records give little information. Indeed, for four centuries after the invasion of Vikramaditya, the history of the country is a blank. But during this interval, civil feuds which had been rife in Thibet, having probably been transmitted from Tartary, rolled down a tide of emigration into the valley of Assam which all but swept before it the original occupants enfeebled by contending factions. The Boros soon established themselves in the eastern extremity of the valley, the western section being broken up into petty principalities. The modern name *Assam* is only a corruption of the word *Hachom*, which was the name they gave to their new territory; *ha* signifying land, and *chom*, low,—the low land, or valley. So also the word *doi*, or when contracted, *di*, is the Boro synonym for water, and is used to signify a river; as, Di-hang. The Boros appear never to have been acquainted with the art of writing, so that we have very little authentic information

respecting this period of Assamese history. Tradition states that under their rule, the country was thickly populated and reached a high state of cultivation. It was divided, for the purposes of Governmental administration, into numerous districts, and the executive consisted of a body politic selected from the most wealthy and respected men residing in each division. The king exercised but a nominal control over these deliberative assemblies. His residence was at Gar-gaong, more properly Gra-gaong; from the Boro word *gra*, which means *head*, or *chief*. This town was situated in the modern district of Sibsagor, which was in those days included in the division still known as Serica. We think it could be shown that the Serica of Ptolemy is identical with Upper Assam; but we must leave this question for future discussion, and for the present go on with our narrative.

Whilst the Boros held dominion in the upper portion of the valley, Kamroop, or the western country, was broken up into several principalities. These seem, for the most part, to have been independent of one another, the one thing common to both rulers and ruled being the Buddhism for which their fathers had suffered and died. As a consequence of the great religious war between the Brahminical and Buddhist parties, vast bodies of Buddhists forsook their homes to escape from their oppressors, and carrying with them their peculiar tenets helped to disseminate them far and wide. Many immigrated into the remote province of Cashmere and gradually leavened its people with Buddhist sentiment. The first prince of Cashmere whom we read of as having adopted the Buddhist faith was Megh-bahon, whose reign is said to have extended from 23 to 57 A. D. Shortly before ascending the throne, he presented himself as a suitor for the hand of the beautiful princess of Pragjoitishpore (Gowhatty) in Assam, whom, in due course, he married. This alliance greatly strengthened the Buddhist party in Cashmere, and their numbers rapidly increased. The prince being of a warlike disposition, was frequently engaged in military expeditions, and he is said to have crossed over to Ceylon whose king voluntarily submitted to the invader. The latter was, however, re-instated in the sovereignty of the island on condition that he would inhibit the expenditure of animal life. In other words, Megh-bahon, if the story of this expedition is to be believed, was the means of introducing Buddhism into Ceylon. "Whatever credit," observes Professor Wilson, "it may be thought that these "Cashmerian tales of a conquest of Ceylon by one of their kings "deserve, they are curiously enough connected with the Singalese "traditions of foreign invasion and consequent introduction of "the Buddhist faith."

Sometime after this alliance between the sovereign of Cashmere and a descendant of the Buddhist kings of Assam, Kamroop, according to the Jogini Tontro, was subjugated by one Debeshwor (Devasa), a king of Mithila, or Tirhoot. He was reported to have been a Sudra, and flourished about the beginning of the era of Saca (Salivahana),—an era which dates from 78 A. D. The name of this prince occurs in certain annals preserved in Rungpore and referred to by Dr. Buchanan in his official statistics of that district. It also occurs on some copper coins having on the obverse, a bull and two tiers of mountains surmounted with a double cross, just as in Indo-Bactrian coins which, however, show an additional tier. On the top there is written in ancient Pali, the word *Dhana Devāsa*. On the reverse, there is the figure of a warrior standing in the centre. The Tontro has a prophecy that during the reign of this prince the worship of Kameswori or Kamikhya, hitherto confined to the learned, would be introduced among the vulgar; thus, probably, intimating the introduction of Hinduism into the western extremity of the valley. From the same source we learn that some time after this event, a Brahmin born of the Korotoya river and named Nagasonkor, would be king, and extend the doctrines of Hinduism. After him again, but at what interval is not mentioned, there would be a Raja named Jolpeswor, who would build the celebrated temple of Jolpis. This temple which has been rebuilt by several successive princes, is situated at the north-east extremity of the modern zillah of Rungpore in Bengal, and in the division of Fakirgunj which, it will be borne in mind, formed part of the old kingdom of Kamroop. The temple is still a place of some repute among the Buddhists of Bhootan who bring their offerings to this shrine. The natural inference is that it was originally a Buddhist fane. Dr. Buchanan observed some very considerable ruins which, he says, "are ascribed to one Prithu Raja who may have been a " person of the same family with the prince who built the original " temple. This Prithu Raja, from the size of his capital, and the " numerous works raised in the vicinity by various dependents and " connections of the Court, it is supposed, must have governed " a large extent of country and for a considerable period of " time."

From these statements we deduce the fact that after the disruption of Bhogodott's empire, the Western and Lower parts of Kamroop were exposed to successive inroads from Bengal; and though one dynasty followed close upon the heels of another, the rulers were all alike influenced by the spirit of proselytism which helped to give ascendancy to the Brahminical priesthood.

In the ancient capital, however, and the immediate dependencies, the people seem still to have held tenaciously to the old faith.

Sometime between the years 57 and 87 A.D., Porovor Sen, known also as Shreshto Sen, the son of Meghbahon and ruler of Cashmere, hearing of the political difficulties in which Chin or Eastern Kamroop, his mother's native country, had been plunged, brought it under his own authority, making it a dependency of his empire. This event synchronizes with the period assigned in the Jogini Tontro, to the conquest of Lower Kamroop by Debeshwor, the king of Mithila; so that it is not unlikely that the Cashmerian was enabled to save from the ruthless hands of Brahminic fanatics, the spots sacred to the founders of the religion he had adopted. But domestic discord prevented Shreshto Sen from profiting by his new but remote possession, and he was ultimately obliged to relinquish it to its own independent princes.

When the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen Thsang, was travelling through India, between the years 629 and 642 A. D., this part of Assam was still governed by a Buddhist prince. "Hiouen Thsang," as we are told in the history of his life and voyages, "had composed a work in which the doctrines of the Mahájána Sútros were declared to be the only true ones, and in which was exposed the fallacy of those of the Hinajána Sútros. This work of the foreign Buddhist was communicated by a Brahmin to Kumar, the king of Kamroop, or Lower Assam, who was so pleased with it that he invited Hiouen Thsang to visit him. He accepted the invitation of the king; but Siláditya, the more powerful monarch of Mugudh, coming to hear of it, Kumar was threatened with his displeasure if he did not send back the celebrated stranger. Kumar at once resolved in company with Hiouen Thsang to pay his homage to the king of Mugudh. Siladitya received the foreign teacher with great honours, and being convinced of the excellence of his work, resolved to convocate at Kanouj a great assembly of priests learned in the sacred writings, from the several kingdoms of India, in order to discuss the true doctrine with the Chinese teacher. As during eighteen days in which this convocation lasted, no one was found to oppose the foreigner, the assembly was dissolved. On Hiouen Thsang was then conferred the honorable title of Moxadeva, or *god of deliverance*, and he was overwhelmed by Siladitya and Kumar with other marks of distinction."

For nearly a century from this time, the history of Assam is a perfect blank, and we have nothing on which could be based even a conjecture as to the probable condition of the coun-

try during this interval. The next event of importance was the invasion of the country by Lalitaditya, the king of Cashmere, whose reign extended from 714 to 750 A. D. He seems to have been bent on acquiring the sovereignty of all India, for, after having made the circuit of Hindoostan and received the homage of its numerous princes, he directed his steps to Assam. His march is represented as a series of conflicts and triumphs. 'The pale-faced Bu'thias scarcely attracted his regard, as the cold wind, impregnated with the blossoms of the safflower and the secretion of the musk-deer, fanned the tresses of his soldiers.' The city of Pragjoitishpore was empty on his arrival, and he turned thence to the country of Jaintia, called the *Stri-Rajya*, because it was governed by a Queen. The Queen and her subjects, it is said, triumphed over the monarch and his soldiers by other weapons than those of war. After a short detention here, he advanced to Uttor-kul, that section of Central and Upper Assam which lies on the north bank of the Berhampooter; and at last, being laden with plunder, he returned to his own dominions. Wherever his arms succeeded, his policy was to make amends for the evils of war by instructing the subjugated people in the arts of civilized life, and by erecting statues and temples in honour of the gods. Accordingly, in Jaintia he erected a large image of Nrihori, and built one or two temples. Whether the temples at Purapur, the modern Tezpore, owed their origin to him, we have not the means of deciding. It is worthy of note that the Assamese annals nowhere mention the name of this prince. He is referred to merely as a *Kshetriya-jitari*, a conqueror of the Kshetriya caste, who came from Cashmere and made himself master of Uttor kul. When Lalitaditya left the country, one of his sons, named in the Assamese chronicles Subalik, was entrusted with the reins of Government, and the new dynasty thus established ultimately extended their sway over Eastern Kamroop.

Returning to Assam after some years, Lalitaditya resolved to explore the uttermost limits of Uttor-kul, and penetrate into the country inhabited by the followers of Kubir, a region believed to be 'equally inaccessible to the steps of man and the rays of the sun.' This was the country of the *Chutias*, a mountainous tract that bounds the district of Lukhimpore on the north. In prosecuting his enterprise, Lalitaditya first crossed the mountains inhabited by the Damars. These were, in all probability the *Damnæ* of Ptolemy, and the same as the *Dimals* or *Damals* of the present day, a race sprung from the same stock as the *Chutias*. The king describes them in a letter to

his ministers as 'a fierce intractable race, lurking in caves and fortified places, possessed of considerable wealth, and equally devoid of government and religion.' In the same dispatch he mentions it as not unlikely that he would never return; for, he adds, 'there are no limits to the advance of the ambitious, as there is no return of the water which the rivers running into foreign countries bear far away from its native springs.' He accordingly directed his ministers to crown his son Cuvalayaditya as his successor, and with this order they mournfully complied. The king's anticipations were realized: neither he nor his army returned, and their fate was never exactly known. Some reports say he was slain in battle; others that he and his hosts perished in the chasms and snows of the Himalayas.

Native historians are by no means agreed as to the names and number of the princes of the new dynasty that reigned in Uttor-kul; some giving four, and others as many as eight reigns in the interval between the accession of Subalik, called also Sotantk, and that of Protapira who is likewise known as Ram Chundra. For some cause which we are unable to discover, the seat of government was in the interim removed from Pura-pur (Tezpore) to Konyokagram in Gomiri, east of Bishnath. To Protapira, however, are ascribed the extensive forts, field-works, banks and bund roads in Gomiri, and also a stone fort situated on the side of a hill at the foot of which flows the Burhoi river, about twelve miles north-west of the village of Gomiri. Captain Dalton has furnished the following account of the antiquities to be met with here. He says:

"The mud forts are of considerable size, with lofty ramparts and deep ditches, and having tanks of good water within the defences. That nearest the village of Gomiri has, raised above its ramparts, high mounds of earth which may have been constructed over the graves of deceased kings and used also as watch towers. The broad roads are well thrown up, and as they lead from the Berhampooter to the gorge of the Burhoi, they show that the settlement in the low hills on the banks of that river, of which a high stone wall is all that remains, must have been of considerable importance. The massiveness of the wall, and the labour and trouble that seem to have been bestowed upon it point to it as having been the appendage of no mean work. It is about a hundred yards in length, of great breadth, and built of solid blocks of stone squared and piled with great nicety. A gateway in the centre opens towards the river. In some places, the interior is faced with brick, and seems as if buildings of that

“ material had been built against it. The hill has been levelled
 “ to some extent, but no further traces of buildings are now
 “ discernible.

“ About a mile higher up, there is a cave on the left bank
 “ of the river, which is said to have been constructed by the
 “ king for devotional purposes. The river having forced its way
 “ into this cave, has carried away a considerable portion of it,
 “ and its appearance is doubtless very much altered from what
 “ it was ; but in its present condition, there is no reason for
 “ supposing it to be a work of art.

“ Above this again, at a considerable elevation on the side of
 “ the mountain, there is a natural niche in the bare rock, and
 “ above it a mass which from the river appears to the naked eye
 “ to be a group of figures with as much resemblance to humanity
 “ as idols generally possess. The only people now frequenting
 “ this region—the gold-washers—believe them to be gods, and
 “ worship them as such ; and being in view of the cave, if the
 “ latter ever was used as a place of worship, it may have been
 “ for the adoration of these gigantic figures. A telescope
 “ dissolves the illusion of their bearing any resemblance to gods
 “ or mortals, and of course a closer inspection would do the same.
 “ But no one has ever ventured to approach the phenomenon,
 “ and if they did, they would consider the reality as the illusion,
 “ and report with some truth that the mysterious figure blended
 “ into the mass of rock as they approached, and consequently
 “ that a closer inspection of their awful forms than that obtained
 “ from the view at the cave, was not given to mortal eyes.”

Protapira, according to native legends, had a wife distinguished for her beauty, named Chundro-Probha,—the effulgence of the moon. She was also known as Radha, which name, we are informed by Captain Dalton, “ is handed down
 “ to us attached to a large tank near the Di-khrang in Moujah
 “ Naryonpur (Zillah Lukhimpore). On the banks of this tank
 “ are collected materials for the construction of a stone edifice,
 “ and these may still be seen there,—nothing further having been
 “ done. The work was perhaps arrested in consequence of the
 “ catastrophe that occurred to its beautiful founder.” The legends
 of the period go on to say that, living near the Berhampooter, the queen was in the habit of bathing in the sacred stream, until one day, the son of Brahma (Brahmaputra) having become enamoured of her beauty, acquainted Protapira with his passion in a dream, and demanded her of him on pain of his severe displeasure. But the king was resolved not to give her up, and removing his Court into the hills, he required his queen, for the future, to make her ablutions in the Burhoi.

Not understanding the reason for this injunction, she took an early opportunity to disregard it. One day, when her husband was out of the way, she went to the Berhampooter, but the moment she stepped into the river she was swept away by the current. After fifteen days she emerged at Bishnath, and taking up her residence there is said, in course of time, to have given birth to a son who was called Arimuri, or Arimot, from the circumstance of his head resembling the Ari fish. This Arimuri became, in due time, the leader of armies, and not only conquered all Western Kamroop, but overran a part of Bengal, and finally proceeded to attack Protapira's fort at Gomiri. His mother had not confided to him the secret of his birth or the fact of her husband's existence, but had merely prohibited him from advancing his arms in an easterly direction, not wishing him to come into collision with Protapira. But he disregarded her injunctions, and meeting Protapira on the field of battle, transfixed him with a javelin as he was attempting to cross a stream. This stream goes, to this day, by the name of Bollom-nodi, the river of the javelin.

Whilst Arimuri was thus making himself master of Kamroop and the northern section of Central Assam, Joypira the king of Cashmere (A. D. 772-803), following the example of his predecessors, advanced into the country. His first exploit was the reduction of a strong fort belonging to Bhim Sen, king of the Eastern region, and he thence proceeded against Arimuri who is mentioned as 'the magician king of Nepaul.' There is no such name, however, in the list of the Nepaul kings, and it is not unlikely that Arimuri was an adventurer from that country, who had usurped the throne of Protapira. The Cashmerian prince advancing into the country, found Arimuri posted with his forces on the bank of a river. Excited with the hope of a speedy triumph, he plunged into the stream, but found when it was too late, that he could not stem the current. Many of his soldiers followed him into the water and were drowned, and he, powerless to defend himself, was captured by a party of Arimuri's men who launched out into the torrent on inflated skins. He was confined in a strong castle on the banks of the 'Gondhica,' the same river, in all probability, as the Gunduck which, at that time, formed the Western boundary of Kamroop; whilst the remnant of his army returned in dismay to Cashmere. The tidings of this discomfiture and of the captivity of the king spread consternation throughout Cashmere. The ministers immediately met for deliberation, when one Deva Surma undertook to effect the liberation of the monarch. Proceeding with a considerable

force into Assam and encamping his men on the banks of the river opposite to where the fort stood which held his master captive, he himself repaired to the Court of Arimuri. At a private conference with the king, he intimated his readiness to give up to him the treasures of Joypira, which he represented to be with the invading army; but he at the same time intimated that as the amount and distribution of the money were known to the prince only, it would be necessary for him, the minister, to have an interview with Joypira and on some pretence or other elicit from him the required information. The artifice succeeded, and Deva Surma was admitted into his master's presence. In the interview that followed, the minister urged Joypira to let himself down from the window of his prison and swim across the river to his troops, but the latter declined to make an attempt that must fail on account of the impetuosity of the torrent below. After some further discussion, the minister withdrew to an adjoining chamber, promising soon to return; but as a considerable interval elapsed and he did not re-appear, the king went to seek him. He found him lying dead on the floor, strangled by means of his own turban. Beside him lay a leaf on which he had scratched some words with his finger-nail. In these words the devoted minister instructed Joypira to inflate the dead body and using it as a float to escape with all expedition to the opposite shore. Penetrated with admiration, at this proof of attachment, Joypira hastened to obey his friend's counsel, and reached his troops in safety. Eager to wipe off his disgrace, he made a sudden attack upon Arimuri, slew him, and left his country a depopulated waste.

Arimuri had been assisted in his government by twelve chieftains known in the Assamese annals as the Baro Bhuiyas, who appear to have acted as leaders of his armies, councillors of state, and heads of the different divisions of the kingdom. Omirodh was the ancestor of the present high priest of the Muttucks, and according to his account, the twelve Bhuiyas immigrated into Assam from Nepaul. This harmonizes with the tradition that Arimuri himself was from that country; and the idea of a council of twelve may have been suggested by the Banadar, or grand council of state of Nepaul, which consists of twelve members. On the death of Arimuri, the government continued to be administered by the Bhuiyas; each Bhuiya ruling over his own distinctive portion of territory, but uniting with the rest whenever occasion required, for the determination of questions of general interest. We learn of no dissensions among them, a fact all the more remark-

able when we remember the dense population of the country they ruled. They maintained their independence till A. D. 1660, when their territories were wrested from them by the Ahoms who thenceforward became masters of Upper Assam.

Not long after Joypira had withdrawn his forces from the country, his father-in-law, Joyontopal, subjugated Kamroop and there founded a new dynasty. He was a great patron of Brahmins, and is said to have introduced not only many Brahmin families but Hindoos of other castes into his newly acquired dominions. It is from this period, that is, about the commencement of the ninth century, that we may safely date the introduction of Hinduism into Assam. The worshippers of Budh, however, do not seem to have been molested, nor were their temples destroyed. Indeed, it is a noteworthy fact that no Hindoo temples were erected in Assam during the reign of the Pal dynasty. Joyontopal, the founder, was connected with the sovereigns of Gour, and may, from this circumstance, have claimed descent from Bhogodott and the early Buddhist princes of the country. A 'Tamro-pottro' or copper plate conveying a grant of land made by one of the princes of this dynasty, which has been recently discovered, may throw some light on this period of our history. It accidentally came to light in the year 1840, after having lain buried for ages in the ground near the station of Tezapore. It consists of three plates of copper fastened together by means of a ring of the same metal, to which is appended the royal seal. The character of the inscription is an antiquated form of the Nagri alphabet, now no longer used. The document conveyed to a Brahmin named Indoka, a grant of the village of *Abhissuravatok* and the fertile lands attached thereto, situated on the west of the Boshisto Gunga. This river which is said to possess all the sin-cleansing virtue of the great Ganges, runs along the western side of the modern town of Gowhatty. The engraving on the seal attached to these copper plates represents the head of an elephant, an emblem found to have been invariably adopted by kings of the Buddhist faith, but curiously enough, retained by the kings of the Pal dynasty even after the change of their religion. Below this device is the name of the sovereign Bonmala (Vanamala) and the date, 19 of an unindicated era. The inscription on the plate informs us that Pralombho (surnamed Joyontopal) was a lineal descendant of Bhogodott, the son of Norok and lord of Pragjoytishpore, and that he was succeeded by his son Hojora, the father of Bonmala. The era was in all probability the one adopted as their own by these Hindoo conquerors; so that we may assume the grant

of land to have been made by Bonmala in the 19th year of the dynasty of which he was the third king.

A similar *pottro* consisting, however, of only two plates, each measuring twelve inches in length by eight and a half in breadth, is now in the possession of the Basottaria (72 families) Brahmins settled at Shual-Kuchi in Kamroop. The seal which in all respects resembles Bonmala's, is made of brass and may weigh about 6lbs. It bears the name of Dhormmopal, and the date is 36, probably of the same era as the afore-mentioned *pottro*. The first plate, the one on which may have been recorded the genealogy of the prince, has unfortunately been lost, and the two that remain are of little historical value.

Of the sixteen princes that made up the dynasty of the Pals little or nothing is known beyond their names. Their sovereignty extended over three hundred and seventy-five years, or down to about A. D. 1175. The origin of the dynasty that succeeded the Pals in the government of Kamroop is given by native chroniclers with the customary admixture of extravagant fiction. The founder is said to have been a cowherd who suddenly awoke one day to the discovery that he was destined for kingly rank. This cowherd prince belonged to the Khyen tribe, a tribe without the pale of Hinduism. But however much the Brahmins affected contempt for impure tribes, they never failed to hold out the hand of fellowship to those members of them who became powerful and had favours to confer. Accordingly, this prince and the whole of his tribe were elevated to the dignity of pure Hindoos; and having assumed a Hindoo title he was thenceforward known as Niladhoj. He placed himself under the tuition of the sacred order, and a Brahmin was installed as prime minister. He built a city called Komotapur, on the west bank of the Dhorla—since included in the dominions of the Raja of Kooch-Bihar,—and he and his successors were known as Komoteshwor, or lords of Komota. Dr. Buchanan in his Topography of the district of Rungpore, describes the city as “a most stupendous monument of rude labour. It is “about nineteen miles in circumference, of which perhaps five “were defended by the Dhorla; the remainder was fortified by “an immense bank of earth, and by a double ditch.” Most of the buildings appear to have been constructed of bricks, which are still to be seen in loose piles mixed up with the ruins of the city. Dr. Buchanan mentions having seen stones in several places, but most of them were rude and uncut. There were, however, some fragments of carved columns, entablatures, &c., but from the positions assigned them in the buildings in which they were found and the total neglect of symmetry

with the adjacent parts, it was clear that they were not originally designed for the places they were occupying. In all probability, they had been abstracted from the old Buddhist temples in the eastern extremity of the country, which were despoiled for the benefit of the new city.

Niladhoj was succeeded by his son Chokrodhoj, to whom are attributed some extensive lines of fortification and well raised causeways that led through the length and breadth of the land, intended, no doubt, to facilitate commercial intercourse. The third and last prince of the family was Nilambor, who seems to have followed in the steps of his predecessor and to have governed with wisdom; but his overthrow was accompanied by deeds of the most savage barbarity. On entering his seraglio one day, he was seized with a suspicion that some stranger had intruded within its precincts. The offender who was discovered to be the son of the prime minister, was instantly but secretly put to death, and the father was invited to an entertainment at which the son's body was cooked and served up. To avenge himself on account of this act of hideous savagery, the minister escaped to the Court of Gour and persuaded the Mahomedan king to invade Assam. After a siege of twelve years, Komotapur was taken by Gyas-ood-deen, in A. D. 1220. The inhuman Raja was seized in his own palace, and his death closed the dynasty to which he belonged.

From this time to near the close of the 15th century, Lower Kamroop was held in subjection by the Koch and Mech tribes who had emigrated from the northern mountains. About the year 1491, the Mahomedans once more invaded the country. Bengal was at the time governed by Ala-ood-deen Hussein Shah, who after certain necessary reforms in his kingdom, began to aspire after foreign conquest. His march does not seem to have extended beyond Tezporé; and though he succeeded in demolishing their capital and loading himself with plunder, he was ultimately repulsed by the Baro Bhuiyas and was obliged to content himself with his possessions in Kamroop. He returned to his capital after appointing his son-in-law, Newab Dulal Gazi to the government of this province. On Dulal Gazi's death, his imbecile son was superseded by Sultan Gyas-ood-deen who received his commission from the Court of Gour. This prince introduced a colony of Mahomedans into the country, and made large consignments of land for the maintenance of the Moslem religion. Most of the land is, by permission of the British Government, still retained for this purpose. Extreme measures were also adopted for making proselytes, and temples were indiscriminately plundered and demolished. The

stone temples of Kamikhya on the Nilachol and of Moha Muni at Hajou, together with several others equally distinguished as works of art, were sacrificed to Moslem fanaticism. Gyas-ood-deen resolved to build a grand mosque which was to stand on the top of a high hill known as the Gorúrachol. There is a tradition that in order to give it peculiar sanctity, it was to have been built upon a stratum of earth that had been brought for this purpose from the holy city of Mecca. The hill is known to this day as Pao-mekka, and the Mahomedans of the country believe that four pilgrimages to it are equal in meritorious efficacy to one made to the tomb of the prophet. But Gyas-ood-deen died before he could complete the arrangements for the erection of the mosque. He was interred beneath the holy earth, and the materials he had collected were used in raising a monument over his remains, which also serves the purpose of a mosque.

We have already said that previous to the last Mahomedan invasion, Western Kamroop had been overrun by mountain tribes of whom the Koch were one of the most important. On the death of Gyas-ood-deen, Hajo the leading chieftain of the tribe, succeeded in uniting all the little principalities of the country under his authority, and so constituting himself master of Kamroop. His successor, in the year 1581, transferred all the western portion of his kingdom to his nephew from whom have descended the kings of Kooch-Bihar.

In the mean time, another race descended from the great Shyan family of the East, had come across the mountains that formed the southern boundary of the Boros. These were the Ahoms, a fierce, independent people who were destined eventually to supplant all the existing dynasties, and bring the entire valley under subjection.

The history of the Ahom dynasty brings us to comparatively recent times, and we may here leave the narrative in the hands of those who have already written on the subject. Before we close this paper, however, we should like our readers to take a glance at some of the architectural ruins of Assam, which likewise have their tale to tell of the magnificence of by-gone days.

The evidences of Gowhatti having once been an important city are both numerous and extensive. Its ruined gateways and the fortifications which connected the hills encircling the city, serve to this day to mark the extent of the ancient citadel which formed an amphitheatre twenty miles in circumference. This citadel was encompassed by a moat one hundred feet wide, backed by aggers or parapets of earth thrown up at different heights in a continued line along the outer face of the hills. For the greater part of their circuit these

ramparts are curvilinear, with as few sharp angles as possible, and evidently constructed with a view to deny protection to besiegers. The earth used in building them appears in several places to have been combined with masonry as if for greater security. Behind these walls so constructed, there is an even platform of considerable breadth, designed for the accommodation of the defenders. But the earth-works particularly deserving of attention are the high embankments that served to connect the hills together. These, still measuring from 25 to 40 feet in height, have a breadth of 150 feet at the base, and of 30 feet on the summit. The entrances to the city, of which there were ten, are set considerably back and stand in well-guarded passes which were protected by curtains. These curtains extending for about a hundred yards parallel to the outer moat, were themselves defended by projecting bastions. The covered gateways appear to have been originally built of stone, but massive brick-work was substituted in after times. They are vaulted through their whole length and were provided with double gates, as the holes in the pavement in which the pivots turned which served for hinges, clearly prove.

It is but a small portion of its former grandeur that now remains to this once important city. At what period, or under whose government these surprising works were executed, it is impossible to determine; but their magnitude evinces a high degree of civilization, an immense population, and a strong government. There is a tradition that the Berhampooter which now bisects the city, used in remote times to flow to the north of it. Appearances still indicate a well-defined water-course to the north of the ancient city to which even at the present time the waters of the Berhampooter flow during the rains. A high causeway the remains of which are still to be seen, issuing from one of the western gates of the city and extending about five miles in a north-westerly direction, led to the river, at which point it was spanned by a massive stone-bridge. Built of large slabs of granite and gneiss, this bridge still exists to remind us of former greatness. It is doubtless the bridge referred to in the account given by the Mahomedan historian, of Bhuktyar Khilijy's attempt to invade Thibet, A. D. 1205-6. He is said to have crossed the river by a stone-bridge consisting of twenty-two arches, but on returning discomfited from the hills, to have found to his dismay that the Assamese had dismantled the bridge and taken down two of the arches to cut off his retreat. In this dilemma he ordered his troops to proceed a little lower down the stream and take possession of a temple in the vicinity, which contained

many massive idols of gold and silver, whilst a party was employed in cutting down wood and bamboos out of which to construct rafts. But just at this juncture, the Assamese came upon them with a large army and caused them to retreat precipitately to the banks of the river. One of the troopers having discovered a spot at which the river was for a short distance fordable, was impetuously followed by the rest of the troops who discovered the mistake they had made only when it was too late to return. The greater part of them were swept away by the force of the current, and the general and a few of his best mounted soldiers were the only persons that reached the opposite bank.

With the exception of the injury the bridge received on the occasion of its dismantlement, when the slabs that spanned two of the water-ways at the two extremities (for, arches there were none,) were removed, it may be said to be still entire. It measures 146 feet in length as it now stands, and 9 feet in width. The under-structure consists of sixteen rows of pillars placed three in a row, and these are equally divided in their course across the river by three large, solid buttresses, each projecting from a circular mass of masonry, while the remains of two similar ones stand at the extremities of the bridge, making five buttresses in all. This arrangement gave twenty-two passages for the water between the rows of pillars and the buttresses. The pillars consisting of octagon columns, are supported on large slabs of stone, forming a basement of twelve feet, four inches in length, by four feet four inches in breadth. On this basement, at intervals of only fourteen inches apart, are laid two or more horizontal blocks, each two feet square, upon which rest the octagonal shafts of the pillars, having circular projecting capitals, and surmounted by architraves which support the road-way. The buttresses project a good deal beyond the width of the bridge and are rounded off, apparently with a view to lessen the resistance to the force of the current. They measure at their base, 16 feet 10 inches by 8 feet 10, and gradually tapering as they rise, are only 8 feet by 3 immediately under the road-way. The road-way is composed of large slabs, each measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length by 2 in breadth, and 6 inches in thickness. The centre of the bridge is nearly twenty feet above the water. There is nothing in the construction of this stupendous but simple piece of architecture to show that the people of the times to which it belongs, had any idea of the principle of an arch. The only idea the architect seems to have had in his mind was a stone structure to be set

up in the same way as the wooden bridges common in the country ; hence pillars, architraves and slabs take the place of posts, beams and planks.

The exterior surface of the stones employed in this structure, have been carefully worked to an even plane, and each block appears to be kept in its place by means of iron pins wedged into the stones and fitting into corresponding holes made in the blocks above and below them. These iron pins are still to be seen even where the stones have been displaced. Many of the slabs on the platform have small holes cut into them on the upper edge, about 4 inches square and three feet apart, apparently for the insertion of supports to a balustrade. But most of these slabs are evidently not in the situations originally intended for them ; a proof that they must at some time have been removed and then re-laid by less skilful workmen.

The temples and other sacred edifices whose ruins still survive to attest the ancient importance of the province, are well worthy of notice. But we must reserve our description of them for a future paper in which we shall attempt an account of the religious history of the Assamese.

SHORT NOTICES.

Poems and Ballads. By Algernon Charles Swinburne. London, 1866.

ALMOST every year we see published in England some book which achieves instant and wide notoriety, chiefly owing to the unmeasured abuse with which it is hailed on all sides; and whose fame is as ephemeral as it is brilliant. Such were the famous 'Essays and Reviews,' such was 'Ecce Homo,' and such a book is this volume of Mr. Swinburne's poems. The mere fact of its having been generally decried must have procured for it a large sale. But when the lover of literary delicacies has bought it on this recommendation, we can promise him that he will find in it certain real attractions, marred, we are bound to add, by much that is repulsive, and tinged throughout with the fantastic colours of the author's morbid philosophy of life. For the scholar and lover of poetry, there is provided here a treat which he will thoroughly appreciate, and though it is a treat which has been compared to a 'surfeit of raspberry jam,' there are some palates for which a dish cannot be found too lusciously sweet. The real value of these poems lies not in the thought but in the language: and this is not slight praise. Mr. Swinburne has shewn a power of moulding the language which belongs to genius alone. The language is at his feet, and he is as much master of it as the potter of the clay. And the result of this power is seen in an exquisitely musical versification, a melody and perfection of cadence in the rhythm of his lines which cannot fail to charm the genuine scholar. This is the first and chief title of the poet to fame; and if it is not his only title, it is the only one of which he ought to be proud. But unfortunately there is very much also in his philosophy and his views of the great problems of life that will attract numberless readers who, like the poet himself, are far from indifferent to these problems, but whose indolence and natural love of the voluptuous, and shrinking from the battle of life find the simplest and pleasantest solution in that fatal philosophy deduced by degenerate followers from the great teaching of Epicurus. For our part we are glad Mr. Swinburne has come forward so bravely and has clothed in such an exquisite garb—rather we might say, exposed in such nude perfection—theories of life which are at this time so universal, though seldom so openly

avowed; because we believe that they only require to be thus broadly proclaimed and expounded to convince every healthy mind of their hollowness and hatefulness. We are glad to see this refined 'philosophy of the sty' exposed so boldly by so powerful a believer in it; and we were astonished to hear of a body of civilized men like the members of the Cambridge Union actually debating upon the admission of the book into their library: as if every book should not stand or fall upon its own merits. Now this volume has very great merits, and if these are out-weighed by the falseness of its moral tone, it is only an exploded and contemptible weakness which would for that keep it out of the hands of readers.

At the same time, though we are averse to any censorship of the kind, we must maintain that this is a book which no modest man would like to see in the hands of his wife or daughter; and it is to the shame of its author that to a large class of his readers the chief attraction of his poems should lie in the appeal made to their lowest passions, in a tone characteristic of the worst parts of Byron. We do not hesitate to affirm that the book is bought and read by numbers of young voluptuaries simply and solely for the food which it affords the most detestable side of their character: simply for the sake of those pieces which, whatever people may say about works of art, do stamp the book as the product of a mind that has learned to

"Call the unlovely lovely, and the filthy pure."

Of course a bad mind might be equally harmed by the sight of a beautiful nude sculpture, but we appeal not to a morbid imagination of this kind, but to the healthy judgment of a sound mind, whether this plea of artistic beauty is not a false one in this case.

Let us turn however from the contemplation of this degrading aspect of the work before us, to look at one or two instances of the exquisite melody of language in which it is so rich, coupled as it is with the pathetic sadness of a hopeless philosophy. One of the most musical and least moral of the poems is "Dolores," which fully develops the poet's theory of life, and one stanza of which, appealing to the voluptuous gods of the Pagan mythology, has been often quoted:

What ailed us, O gods, to desert you
For creeds that refuse and restrain?
Come down and redeem us from virtue,
Our Lady of Pain.

Here is the essence of the Swinburnian philosophy: 'live like the swallow' as he elsewhere expresses it: how opposed to the faith which holds that the service of God is perfect freedom! In the same piece we have his view of death, a view which he is continually repeating under various and beautiful forms of expression:

We shall change as the things that we cherish,
Shall fade as they faded before.
As foam upon water shall perish,
As sand upon shore.

Then less hopelessly, but with infinite scepticism,

We shall know what the darkness discovers,
If the grave pit be shallow or deep;
And our fathers of old, and our lovers,
We shall know if they sleep not or sleep.
We shall see whether hell be not heaven,
Find out whether tares be not grain,
And the joys of these seventy times seven,
Our Lady of Pain.

So again in his 'Ilicet'

Outside of all the worlds and ages,
There where the fool is as the sage is,
There where the slayer is clear of blood,
No end, no passage, no beginning,
There where the sinner leaves off sinning,
There where the good man is not good.

'Félise' is one of the prettiest pieces in the volume, though again the morality is of the lowest. The poet's mocking denunciation of prayer is really powerful:

For none shall move the most high gods,
Who are most sad, being cruel, none
Shall break or take away the rods.
Wherewith they scourge us, not as one
That smites a son.

By many a name of many a creed,
We have called upon them, since the sands
Fell through time's hour-glass first, a seed
Of life; and out of many lands
Have we stretched hands.

When have they heard us? who hath known
Their faces, climbed into their feet,
Felt them and found them? Laugh or groan,
Doth heaven remurmur and repeat
Sad sounds or sweet?

Do the stars answer ? in the night
 Have ye found comfort ? or by day
 Have ye seen gods ? What hope, what light,
 Falls from the farthest starriest way
 On you that pray ?

Are the skies wet because we weep,
 Or fair because of any mirth ?
 Cry out ; they are gods ; perchance they sleep ;
 Cry ; thou shalt know what prayers are worth,
 Thou dust and earth.

O earth, thou art fair ; O dust, thou art great ;
 O laughing lips and lips that mourn,
 Pray, till ye feel the exceeding weight
 Of God's intolerable scorn,
 Not to be borne.

We admit that no quotations can do justice to the genius displayed in the poet's finished scholarship, and to the scholar, and to him alone, we recommend the book. For the philosophical position also we are little inclined to blame so young an author : Let him not flatter himself that his is that infamy of which a man may be proud, the infamy shared by the leaders of thought in all ages :—It is not for his crude philosophy, it is for the grovelling voluptuousness in which he loves to wallow, and because he can choose and gloat over such loathsome scenes as are described in his ' Leper ' and ' Les Noyades,' that we think he cannot be too severely censured. This is not Art, but the prostitution of Art. Here is the spectacle of a mind of the most delicate culture, which has given the rein to an imagination the most exquisitely refined, and revelled in the contemplation of every most bestial form of the voluptuous, till it has exalted debauchery into its religion ; and a more lamentable spectacle can hardly be imagined. It is some years since a poet, before whose name that of Mr. Swinburne pales indeed, asked

Oh, if we held the doctrine sound
 For life outliving heats of youth.
 Yet who would preach it as a truth
 To those that eddy round and round ?

But he is answered now, and we think even Mr. Swinburne might blush to own himself the priest of so hateful a creed.

2. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Edited by the Philological Secretary. Part I. No. IV., 1866.

THE Asiatic Society was founded under such distinguished auspices, and has numbered so many eminent scholars among

its members, that its present repute is almost greater than its actual constitution appears to warrant. Being at the same time under the direct patronage of the State, and also the parent of all the Literary Societies which have more recently sprung up in British India, it occupies both officially and popularly a pre-eminent position. Hence its publications become a matter of national interest: since they are considered on the Continent as a trustworthy exponent of oriental development and a sure test of the educational progress effected under Government direction. It is not too much to say that the character of British rule as a civilizing power is mainly gauged by this criterion. It is therefore most desirable that the Proceedings and Journal of the Society should be occasionally subjected to contemporary Indian criticism, in order that the Managing Committee may be kept alive to the importance of the functions which they have undertaken to perform.

The number of the Journal, quoted at the head of this notice, though dated 1866, has been circulated amongst members only during the present month, August, 1867. It contains four articles. The first is a topographical description of some of the principal sites and buildings in the neighbourhood of Delhi; and like most of the many brief sketches of a similar character which have followed in the wake of Major Cunningham's admirable survey, settles no disputed point and reveals no new fact of any importance. At the same time it explains a few minute details, which would probably escape the observation of any one who had not been long resident on the spot; and articles of the kind, however meagre, are always deserving of encouragement, since they tend to create and foster an intelligent interest in local antiquities, which in past years have suffered so much from European ignorance or indifference.

The concluding article is by Rájendralál Mitra, and displays all that accuracy of scholarship which invariably characterizes the contributions of the learned Babu. It consists of a transcript of a Sanskrit monumental inscription discovered at Aphsar in Bahár, accompanied by a literal translation, and illustrated by comparison with two mutilated fragments, also from Bahár, which many Pandits of inferior note had long vainly essayed to decypher.

Between these extremes and occupying by far the greater part of the number are two collections of notes, both of the very roughest description, and one so utterly devoid of any apparent merit that the casual reader cannot resist the surmise, that the Committee who tolerated its insertion must have

been the victims of a literary hoax. It is entitled 'Notes on Pilgrimages in the country of Cashmere,' and aims at an account of the different routes adopted by the Hindu pilgrims, with a list of all the stations and the order in which they are visited, noting in each case the derivation of the name, the legend attached to the spot, and any architectural remains to be found in the neighbourhood. The writer's exordium is not very perspicuous, but he would probably accept the above as a perfectly correct analysis of his design; and upon such a basis it would no doubt be possible to construct a very interesting paper. But the antiquarian notes either fail altogether, or refer only to the ordinary phallic emblems of Mahádeva which are to be found in every village throughout Hindustan: and the writer's architectural calibre may be adequately estimated by his remark upon a certain temple, which he says, "is dedicated to Siva and is not a Buddhist temple as stated by some," evidently unconscious of the fact that the modern dedication is not the matter in dispute, but the character of the original building which may have been subsequently converted to a different purpose.

His literary and linguistic qualifications are of such a singular character that they deserve a more detailed examination; and in order that our criticisms may be perfectly fair, it will be better not to select the most glaring absurdities that the whole article could afford—in such an *embarras de richesses* selection would be difficult—but to follow our author's guidance as closely as we can along one only, say the first, of his fourteen routes. This, he says, comprises twenty-two stations: at the second "appears the footstep of Suttee, the wife or active principle of the destroyer." Here is an obvious confusion between the two very different words *sati* and *sakti*. "(3) *Jubroroo* (love of youth) sacred to Siva and Mahádevi." It would seem that the derivation intended is from *jawán* and *rati*, but the name is given in such a corrupt form as to defy conjecture. "(4) *Awentipore*. The city of King Vena or Awenti." Both these names are well known to fame, but they are not generally considered synonymous; Vena being the father of Prithu, the first king, and Avanti the ancient designation of the city Ujain. There was also a King of Kashmír, whose name Avanti-varma is occasionally found in the shorter form Avanti, and this may be the personage intended. "(6) *Hurriepore*. The city of Ganesh, the elephant-headed, yellow." This notice is as concise and also as obscure as a formula of Panini: is it possible that the writer considers 'Hurric' equivalent to Ganesh, and 'pore' a

corruption of *píra*, yellow? “(7) *Wagahamoo*. House of *Wág* (spirit of the air, aider of the immortals.)” Here the words kindly given in the parenthesis suggest a conjecture that the portentous word ‘*Wág*’ is our writer’s idea of the Sanskrit *Váyu*. “(8) *Hasti-ki-nar-keoun-nargum*. The breathing of the ears and mouth of the elephant.” Both the initial words in the unknown language and their English equivalent no doubt have a meaning, but it is one quite unfathomable by ordinary intellects. “(10) *Deokie-zan*. Wife of Hurrichundra Rajah.” The writer’s extensive linguistic experience has possibly familiarized him with the use of the letter *z* in Sanskrit, though to less advanced students it appears an uncommon feature. Probably the word intended is *Devaki-nandan*, i. e., Krishna, the son of Devaki. “(11) *Wuzzeeshur*. A name of Mahádeva, signifying the conqueror.” Some faint reminiscence of the word *Visweshwar* was perhaps floating in the writer’s mind when he penned the above lucid comment. “(13) *Huriceeshur*. The word signifies father or giver of all”!!! At this startling etymology words become inadequate to express the amazement of the critic. “(14) *Soorie Goophar*. Caves of the sun. At this place it is fabled that Mahadevi was pursued by the demon, Bamasoor (enemy of the whirlwind) she thereupon prayed to Siva for power to destroy the demon, who was accordingly annihilated by fire, and his name hence changed to Bamásvár (the enemy burnt by fire)” the above is quoted *in extenso*, since otherwise it would be impossible to do full justice to the confusion of ideas. If the real meaning of the words in italics is ‘caves of the sun,’ they must be intended for *Súrya guhá*, and the legend will be the well known one of Kámadeva (*Váma*) who was reduced to ashes (*Bhasmasát*) by Siva for having disturbed his devotions and rendered him enamoured of Parvati.

To continue the criticism any further, even to the end of the first route as was originally intended, would be insufferably tedious: suffice it to say that in the whole article of fourteen pages, there is scarcely a single paragraph that does not contain some gross blunder, obvious to the merest tyro in oriental studies. Indeed Western as well as Eastern mythology appears to be a *terra ignota* to our philological pilgrim; for at the end of the first route we find the following sentence, “they pass by the holy rocks of Amreeshur (giver of immortality) whence issues the philtre of immortality proceeding from the crested head of Mahadeva, the drink or ichor of the immortals.” According to this, the beverage of the Homeric Gods is not nectar, as is generally supposed, but their own blood, ichor!

The writer is modest enough to conclude with the following admission : " the notes from which the above pilgrimages have been taken were made 14 years ago, and in a few instances may contain inaccuracies as my almost total ignorance of Sanskrit may have led me to misunderstand in some few instances the translator who read to me in Persian his own version of the Brahminical fables. For myself I confess to an utter distaste for this especial branch of research." Seeing then the low estimate which the writer puts upon his own production, it is inconceivable why the Committee did not at once consign it to the waste-paper basket. For although the treasurer has a standing grievance in the difficulty of realizing subscriptions and is naturally unwilling to lose a solvent member, still a contributor who spoke so slightly of his own performance would not be likely to resent its refusal very strongly.

Perhaps the only existing parallel to this curious composition is to be found in that repertory of puerile derivations, that bewildering travestie of Hindu history and mythology, which the Government of the North-West Provinces has recently been misguided enough to publish to the ridicule of the world in the report appended to the Census Returns, compiled under the supervision of Mr. Plowden of the Board of Revenue. As a specimen of the accurate scholarship which distinguishes this, the last literary essay of the Government, take the following sentence from the most elaborate of all the District Reports, *viz.*, the one compiled by Mr. Hume of Etáwa. "The Singhurs claim like the Goutum Rajpoots to be descended from Singhee or Siringhee Rish and a daughter of the then monarch of Konouj, but (as is added in a note) curiously enough many deny that the then royal race of Konouj were Rathores and assert that they were real Khattriahs, which none of the Rajpoots, nor indeed any existing race are by many schools admitted to be." Mr. Hume's orthography is so unusually eccentric that it is almost impossible ever to identify any of the characters that he mentions, but from other names given in the context it appears certain that 'Singhee or Siringhee Rish' is intended for the famous Rishya Sringa, the circumstances of whose marriage are related in an episode of the first book of the Ramayana. This event was of course long antecedent to the destruction of the Kshatriyas by Parasurám; and therefore the epithet 'curious' must be transferred from the facts to Mr. Hume's private interpretation of them. Blunders equally gross, and most of them far more obvious, may be found on every page, indeed the whole report may be most aptly described as a mass of errors, only occasionally relieved by a brief and scanty ray of sense. Thus in the

report from Mathurá, which is one of the shortest and perhaps mainly on that account almost free from actual absurdities, we find the following expression. "The Jadon Thákurs claim descent from Krishna through Jadu." It would be a precisely similar blunder to say, the sovereigns of England were descended from Edward the Confessor, through Alfred the Great. The word 'Jadon' is of course meant for Jadav; but the preposterous spelling which runs through the whole return is no doubt in a great measure due to the supervising care of Mr. Plowden; for it may be taken as a rule of general application, that a Civilian's knowledge of oriental letters varies inversely with his position in the service, the acme of kakography being ordinarily attained by a Commissioner.

As these reports were originally compiled by the Tahsildars and then systematized by the Collectors or their Assistants, the results form a faithful indication of the amount of knowledge possessed both by European and native officials of the earlier history of the country. It cannot be doubted that the deplorable amount of ignorance disclosed is mainly owing to the exaggerated importance attached by the Government to the study of such an artificial language as the Urdu. It is itself entirely a modern invention, and it renders all Hindu history and literature up to the beginning of the present century a *tabula rasa*; for when a Munshi who can only read and write in the Persian character attempts to articulate Sanskrit, the result is far more painful and ludicrous even than a Frenchman's pronunciation of English. And as the writer in the Asiatic Journal admits that he derived his facts from such an informant, we have at once an adequate explanation of his otherwise unaccountable errors. No doubt some of the ultra-devotees of Exeter Hall think it a good thing to get rid of the Hindi language, imagining that thus they will be enabled to make a clear sweep also of Hindu mythology: or as the argument is sometimes put, Persian has the chief claim upon our attention because it is the language of monotheism, while Hindi is that of polytheism. But thus stated, the argument is most superficial and utterly confounds the categories of Property and Accident. For although the modern religion of India has developed into a monstrous mythology, and words must of course conform to popular ideas, there is no such intrinsic conformity in the genius of the language. This becomes at once apparent to a translator; to give a correct and intelligible Persian rendering of an abstruse theological discussion on the unity of the Godhead, such for instance as the Athanasian creed, would be a task of very considerable difficulty;

whereas in Sanskrit every term could be readily expressed with the greatest neatness and precision. Moreover the some argument would condemn the study of the two classical languages of the West; and even with greater force, for however grotesque the legends of the Purānas may be, they are never so gross as the parallel fictions in the mythologies of Greece and Italy. Yet Greek was selected by Providence as the exponent of the fullness of divine Revelation; and Latin has for eighteen centuries been par excellence the ecclesiastical language of the greater part of Christendom.

The above remarks may appear somewhat foreign to the primary subject of this notice, but in reality they explain the origin of the errors criticized. We must now however return to the third article in the Society's Journal, which still remains to be discussed. It is entitled a "vocabulary of English, Balti and Kashmiri," and consists of a variety of words and phrases arranged in parallel columns; and if the selection had been made by a competent philologist, the comparison would no doubt have been curious and interesting. But the writer has such an extremely vague idea of Hindustani grammar and orthography that to interpret his Kashmiri by the Hindustāni translation is frequently only to illustrate *ignotum per ignotius*. Thus his first Hindustāni phrase is "Kit na beehta seb," not one single word in which is recognizable. Again, "under lao jaldi gaong se," where the principal word 'under' is unintelligible, unless we suppose it to be a cockneyism for 'ande.' This is probable because in another place we find 'mewur' given as the Kashmiri for 'fruit' meaning of course 'mewa.' Lower down we see 'tum atcha hy,' this is no doubt intelligible; so also is such English as 'me is a good boy,' but it is a style of construction which is not often heard beyond the walls of the nursery. Again it is of no service whatever to philology to bring together phrases from different languages, when the only ground of union is that their meaning is nearly identical; the object should of course be to select as parallel some phrase which is similar in origin as well as meaning, and to bring other languages to bear in illustration. Thus to give 'wahān jao' and 'hoar gutz' as Hindustāni and Kashmiri respectively for 'go there' does not contribute much to our knowledge of either language; whereas it would be of interest to indicate that 'hoar' is a corruption of the Hindi 'udhar' and 'gutz' of the Sanskrit 'gachchh.'

From a paragraph in the Society's Proceedings for May it appears that the Philological Committee have at length determined to adopt a uniform system for the romanizing of oriental

words, and intend for the future to return all linguistic vocabularies to their respective authors in order that they may be revised according to the system adopted. At present it is highly discreditable to a Philological Society to see the same word spelt two or even three different ways in a single page, and it is to be hoped that the new rule will be strictly enforced. May we also suggest that members would generally prefer to receive a few really learned articles rather than many volumes of waste-paper; and that if the Society would preserve its ancient prestige, it will be necessary to exercise a little more discrimination and firmness in the rejection of contributions which are obviously unsuitable.

F. S. G.

10th August, 1867.

3. *An Essay on the Philosophy of Lord Bacon.* By Bholanath Paul, M. A.

WE hardly know whether an essay of this description should be regarded as useful or pernicious in the present stage of Hindu thought. The Hindus are so prone to allow all their attention to be engrossed by metaphysical philosophy, and are so reluctant to assign a proper value to physical science and positivism, that an essay looking in the opposite direction may be beneficial, however intolerant it may on the other hand be of the importance and necessity of deductive philosophy.

The author of the essay appears to be thoroughly impregnated with the errors of the most exaggerated Baconians; his studies have evidently been one-sided and so are his views; his opening pages exhibit as clear a specimen of the effects of the 'idols of the den' as any of those which he afterwards quotes in illustration of this. Absurd as it may seem, he appears soberly to believe that Aristotle, who is one of his abominations, was nearly canonised! As we have said some admixture of this class of mind with the speculative type which is more prevalent among his countrymen may be useful, but if there could be no medium we would decidedly prefer to see all educated Hindus disciples of Rajah Radhakant than of Bholanath Paul. The style of thought which he seeks to foster is to our mind, far more pernicious than that which he seeks to overthrow.

No philosophy, as Guizot so emphatically argues in his latest work, can be true which ignores an important side of human nature. Positivism which is undoubtedly the legitimate development of Baconian principles ignores the soul with its sorrows and its aspirations. It ignores the mystery which

envelopes man's origin, his existence and his end, and boldly tells him in plain language that it is a waste of time to direct his thoughts to that which cannot be known by observation, or to build up any conclusion which cannot be tested by experience.

It is worthy of remark that Comte, the author and far the most consistent advocate of modern positivism, invented an extraordinary substitute for religion on the model of Catholicism of which he was a great admirer; and so impressed was he with the profound conviction of the emptiness of positive philosophy by itself only, that he protested energetically, but vainly as the event shews, against any one, and more particularly English literary men, adopting his philosophy without his religion.

Positive science like political economy has its own sphere in which it is of the greatest utility, and Bacon by his 'method' may be regarded as a real benefactor of mankind, however contemptible he may have been as a man and as a statesman. But the great danger of too exclusive an attention to physical science is the narrowness of view which it engenders; persons who are too devoted to it are, we speak from experience, the most incredulous and the most unreasonable of all men when confronted with facts which do not harmonize with their preconceived systems, while all the time they profess that the mission of positivism is to war against preconceived systems and exalt facts only.

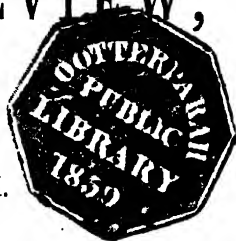
We acknowledge with thanks the Calcutta Police Report for 1866 and 'Thoughts from a Bengalee Cottage No. 1,' in the latter we recognise many old friends that have occupied English cottages, before they made their way into the office of P. N. Doss, printer.

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1867.

'No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.'—MILTON.

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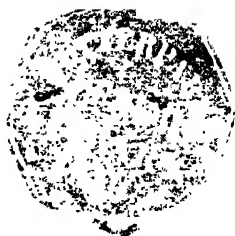
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\* Not continued beyond the first four months.

† These Reports were carried on from 1841 to 1860, Mr. Sevestre was in England from 1860 to 1863, and began to publish again in 1864.

‡ A private speculation, which was soon given up.

§ Published under contract with Government.

|| Mr. Carrau published the decisions from the middle of 1857 to the end of 1859 under the orders of Government.

¶ After 1852, they were printed with the Regular Reports and not in a separate volume.



24. *The Circular Orders of the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut* communicated to the Civil Judges and other civil authorities from 1795 to 1852 inclusive, in one volume with an Index. By J. Carrau, published by authority. Calcutta : Bengal Military Orphan Press. 1853.
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“**STARE DECISIS**” is the well-known legal maxim, which the Judges of England have applied in a strong spirit of conservatism, yet with a due admixture of radicalism, in constructing that grand fabric of law, which, like the British constitution, though not devoid of some imperfections (imperfection being inseparable from all things human), is yet the most stupendous and solid construction of its kind, built up in times ancient or modern. “Two principles,” remarks a philosopher, “govern the moral and intellectual world. One is perpetual progress, the other the necessary limitations to that progress. If the former alone prevailed, there would be nothing steadfast and durable on earth, and the whole of social life would be the sport of winds and waves. If the latter had exclusive, or even if it obtained a mischievous preponderancy, every thing would petrify or rot. The best ages of the world are always those in which these two principles are the most equally balanced. In such ages every enlightened man ought to adopt both principles into his whole mind and conduct, and with one hand develop what he *can*, with the other restrain and uphold what he *ought*.” By equally balancing these two principles, by changing the old for the new, when the new was found better, by tempering the spirit of innovation with cautious foresight, and by permitting no change till the results of experience had

demonstrated the necessity and wisdom of the change, those who have presided at the helm of affairs have been enabled to guide the bark of the state through the tempests of centuries, ever learning wisdom from the mistakes of those who had gone before them, and leaving the store of knowledge increased by their own experiences for the benefit of those, who came after them. In the same path the sages of the law have walked, or shall we rather say, have led the way, and by applying to modern combinations of circumstances the rules of the old\* Roman Civil Law, by evolving principles and precedents consistent with an uniform system and design, by respecting the labours of those who had gone before, knowing that the results of their own labours would be respected by those who came after them, they have built up the wonderful fabric of the common law, and those principles of equity, which by known and fixed rules now govern the numberless and multifarious transactions of the busiest nation in the world. "*Stare decisis*" was the maxim that influenced them never to pull down another man's building, unless indeed after mature and careful examination and consideration, in consequence of some defect in the then available materials or known style of workmanship, it was subsequently found to be faulty and unsound and therefore to be removed from an edifice, in which all the parts were to be as perfect as human wisdom and ingenuity could make them.

"It is," says Mr. Broom, "an established rule to abide by former precedents—*Stare decisis*—where the same points come again in litigation, as well to keep the scale of justice even and steady, and not liable to waiver with every new Judge's opinion, as also because the law in that case being solemnly declared and determined, what before was uncertain and perhaps indifferent, is now become a permanent rule which it is not in the breast of any subsequent Judge to alter or swerve from according to his private sentiments." And Lord Cottenham remarked that "with respect to matters which do not affect existing rights or properties to any great degree, but tend principally to influence the future transactions of mankind it is generally more important that the rule of law should be settled than that it should be theoretically correct."

English Judges, however, while always desirous of abiding by former precedent, have yet borne in mind Bacon's remark

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\* See Lord Campbell's account of the sources whence Lord Hardwick, the man universally and deservedly considered the most consummate Judge who ever sat in the Court of Chancery, derived his learning and preparation for the great task that he performed. *Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*. Vol. VI. p. 193.

that "a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation : and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new." Where therefore a former determination is clearly contrary to reason, they will not hesitate to alter it. Yet out of respect to the maxim, "*Stare decisis*" and unwilling to appear to change the custom of the realm as settled by judicial decision, they declare not that the former determination was *bad law*, but that it was *not law*.

Law is defined to be a *rule of action*, and municipal laws may be said to be those rules of action, which having been found by experience to be most conducive to the general welfare of the community have been declared by the governing power therein to be binding upon every member of such community. It might naturally be expected that in the early days of a state or individual society of men, many rules would be laid down, which on subsequent trial and experience would be found in some respect defective, and not to be the most suitable that could be devised for regulating the actions and conduct of the members. Again, as the same garments are not adapted for boyhood and manhood, so the same principles of action are not suitable to a society in its infancy and to the same society developed and expanded into a mighty nation. Bare and simple principles may work well enough at first, but diversity of circumstances soon introduces modifications, which considerably affect and not unfrequently wholly alter the application of the original principles. Where laws have at an early period been committed to writing (which has not often happened) other statutes are soon passed abrogating or grafting exceptions on the original rules. There has been in India (which under *our* rule is to a certain extent a new society) a notable instance of this sort of law-making. Statutes have been passed to meet the exigencies of a certain degree of development, which could not with safety be left to guide itself; and subsequent experience abrogated or altered rules made with knowledge imperfect indeed, but which at the time was all that was available.

More commonly however the first rules and principles constituted an unwritten code which formed the usage or custom of the community. Where regular tribunals were established (as in England and in ancient Rome) the usage or custom of the realm was regulated by those tribunals, which tested by their application to practical concerns the rules that had been received by a sort of consent. Not unfrequently (more especially in England) these rules had to be applied to combinations of circumstances, which never occurred to the first propounders of them; and the tribunals, eking them out with the results

of experience and their own ideas of what was fair and right, pretended by a sort of pious fraud, that the new rule derived from this admixture was part of the custom of the realm. In this way a vast quantity of Judge-made law, deriving force and consistency from the maxim "*Stare decisis*," kept pace with the requirements of a progressive state of society. Legislation stepped in often to sanction judicial determination and betimes to abrogate what had been declared to be the custom of the realm, but proving inconvenient and inadvisable could only be rescinded with the consent of the community expressed through the Legislature.

The action of the tribunals must to a certain extent precede perfect legislation. The duty of a Judge is indeed *dicere jus et non dare jus*—to expound not to make the law, and the maxim *Stare decisis* is no doubt capable of being followed in later times, when precedents are in existence, which can be followed. The Courts must however first lay down these precedents; and rules previously prescribed are by the tribunals brought to the touch-stone and tested as to their perfect fitness and adaptability to all the circumstances which they are supposed to govern. The compilation of a perfect code is thus only possible after the tribunals have practically proved the principles and rules sought to be embodied therein. Could the work of Justinian have been composed, if no Prætors had for a long series of years collected in successive *edicta* the rules that were found by experience to be the best and wisest that could be made binding on the community at large? Could the codes, that have already worked so much good in India, have ever been constructed, if the compilers had not found materials ready in the statute and common law of England? These codes have been compiled from existing materials modified, as far as experience to date had rendered modifications possible, in order to suit the requirements of India. The rules and principles, which have been made the basis of these codes, are being daily modified and improved in England; and the application of these codes to the different combinations of circumstances presented in this country, and which could not have arisen in England, will lead to new modifications in another direction not inconsistent with the general rules, but arising in endless variety from their application to particular combinations of circumstances.

From the above it will be evident that in India, in those cases in which no set of principles have been embodied in a code, the decisions of the highest Courts are the only repertory of the law,—and that even where codes have been compiled, there must be a great number of decisions, which contain the

application of the general principles to particular combinations of circumstances in respect of which application the most able and enlightened, not to say men of little ability or erudition, might entertain different opinions and as to which it is most desirable that one uniform rule be followed.

"English jurisprudence," says Burke, "has not any other sure foundation, nor, consequently have the lives and properties of the subject any sure hold but in the maxims, rules, and principles and juridically traditionary line of decisions contained in the notes taken and from time to time published, mostly under the sanction of the Judges, called *Reports*." Chief Justice Tindal observed that the decisions of the Courts "are at once the best exposition and the surest evidence of the common law itself." The system of equity also, which exists both in England and America, though derived from the Roman Civil Law, is yet contained for the most part in the decisions of the Court of Chancery. Before printing had induced a general rage for publishing, the decisions of the Courts of Chancery and common law could not be made known at large to all, who were eager for the knowledge contained therein. Certain practitioners of long standing were the repertories of that knowledge to a great extent and it was only in and about the Courts that the knowledge was to be obtained. It must be remembered that until the establishment of the recent County Court system, the administration of justice in England was almost wholly centred in the Courts at Westminster; and the knowledge of the procedure, practice and current of decisions of these Courts was centred in those who practised at Westminster. When these Courts went on circuit, the same Bench and the same Bar went forth to the country parts, and having discharged their functions in the same manner as if employed at Westminster, they returned to Westminster bearing back all their law with them. It was thus impossible to become learned in the law without repairing to study it in the precincts of Westminster and this has been one of many reasons why the book of the law of England has always been a sealed book to the *non-professional*. At the same time it will be obvious that while justice was administered by a competent Bench and Bar at Westminster, there did not exist a very urgent necessity for diffusing the knowledge of legal lore throughout the land.

Let us now turn to India. Since the commencement of our rule the administration of justice has been carried on all over the country at the head quarters of Zillahs or Districts. A number of these were up to 1833 subordinated in Bengal to Provincial Courts; and both before and since a Superior Court

at the Presidency Town has supervised the whole system, being as a Court of Appeal, revision or reference the *dernier ressort* of Indian litigants in India. In a certain class of cases the Privy Council has been a sort of *Ultima Thule*, where those, who had money could travel in search of success, which they had failed to obtain in India. The decisions of the superior Courts in the Presidency Towns and in a still higher degree those of the Privy Council, if not binding on the Zillah and subordinate Courts, have at least ever been regarded as of the greatest authority; and in those decisions is to be found the most important portion of the existing common law of India. By the principles elucidated therein, the proceedings and determinations of the Courts all over the country are judged, when they come before the superior Courts at the Presidency Towns; and the maxim *Stare decisis* has been nominally respected and quoted in India as in England. Under these circumstances it will be evident to the most casual thinker that there exists a paramount necessity in this country for diffusing into every district a thorough acquaintance with the decisions of the Courts in the Presidency Towns and of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The necessity is one, which did not exist and could not have existed in England previous to the establishment of the present County Courts; and since the introduction of this important reform, there has been no lack of the diffusion of this kind of knowledge in these days of rapid publishing. The error has rather been on the other side and until the introduction of the *Law Reports*, numberless cases were published, many of them containing points before decided and some of them no points at all. At the same time, when the new County Courts were established, the law had long reached a degree of fixity, which is far distant in India, where we are as yet merely in a transition state. The necessity of communicating the decisions of the superior Courts to the Courts in the Mofussil has never, we believe, been contested and, as we shall see, in the course of this article, several attempts have been from time to time made in this direction. Nevertheless, that we may not appear to rest the truth of the proposition upon the mere enunciation of it, we shall give the opinions of some, whose experience must add weight to what they have placed on record in this matter.

In 1813 Mr. Dorin remarked as follows: "I think it should be enacted by a Regulation, that from a given period, the judgments of the Court shall be considered as precedents binding upon itself and on the inferior Courts in similar cases which may arise thereafter. This will have the effect of making

" the superior Courts more cautious and of *introducing something*  
 " *like a system for the other Courts, the want of which is now very*  
 " *much felt.*" Again—"Hitherto it has not been much the  
 " custom to refer to precedent and for aught the Judges of the  
 " Court may know, *the same points may have been decided over and*  
 " *over again, and perhaps not always the same way.* It is obvious  
 " that having something like a system established would tend to  
 " abridge the labours of the Civil Courts." In July 1853 Mr.  
 Welby Jackson, a Judge of the Sudder Court, thus remarked  
 in his Report on the District of West-Burdwan. "The  
 " Moonsiffs say they have no copies of the Sudder Court's  
 " precedents: and neither they nor their vakeels hear of a  
 " new precedent, except by chance or *by finding their deci-*  
 " *sions under the old holding reversed. Considering the conti-*  
 " *nued change in the view taken on law points in the Sudder*  
 " *Court, it is really very difficult for the subordinate authorities to*  
 " *keep pace with them and for the Moonsiffs and their vakeels impos-*  
 " *sible.*" In the following year (1854) the Judge of Backer-  
 gunge thus addressed the Government of Bengal: "I would take  
 " the opportunity of suggesting to Government the advisableness  
 " of providing the native Judges with Bengalee translations of the  
 " Sudder decisions in order that they may be kept informed of  
 " the legal principles on which, from time to time, civil cases are  
 " adjudicated in the highest Court. In what way they manage to  
 " obtain an imperfect knowledge on this subject, it is hard to say,  
 " but a due regard for the proficiency of the native Judicial service  
 " seems to me to require, that they should not be left to pick up  
 " a knowledge of the legal principles which regulate the decision  
 " of civil questions from the highways, but that they should be  
 " provided with the best means within reach to qualify them for  
 " the administration of their duties in the most perfect manner  
 " attainable. Either the Government should furnish all the  
 " native Judges with a vernacular copy of the Sudder decisions,  
 " or those officers should be told that Government expects that  
 " they will provide themselves with a work so indispensable to  
 " the right performance of their duties." Mr. Macpherson, the  
 author of the work on Civil Procedure, makes the following obser-  
 vations. "The practice and doctrines of the Civil Courts must  
 " be deduced in great measure from an examination of the deci-  
 " sions at large, both those which have been specially adopted  
 " and published as precedents and those which are issued monthly  
 " as a record of the ordinary transactions of the Sudder Court;  
 " for all decisions practically tend to show by what principles the  
 " Court is governed; and they become law, that is to say, they guide  
 " men in their private transactions, and regulate the decisions of the

*Court.* No one can make the examination to which I have referred without perceiving that there is a large body of living doctrine which appears to mature itself by degrees in the minds of experienced judicial officers, but which is not to be met with in any definite form, yet by this test the judgments of the inferior Courts are necessarily tried, and no small portion of them are quashed for erroneous procedure, frequently with great severity of comment upon the part of the highest tribunal."

In the following passage taken from Mr. Morley's "Administration of Justice in India" will be found a further and an important reason for making the decisions of the highest tribunal known to the Subordinate Judges more especially to those of them, who are natives of India. "The practice of abiding by precedent is perfectly recognized both by the Hindú and Mahomedan laws. The text of Manu—'If it be asked, how the law shall be ascertained, when particular cases are not comprised under any of the general rules, the answer is this: that which well instructed Brahmins propound shall be held incontestable law'—is, to the Hindú, divine authority for deferring to precedent; and it is perhaps solely on account of the metaphysical tendency of the Indian mind, which has always interfered with the mere practical record of mundane matters, that we do not possess collections of decisions by the more ancient lawyers, which would have been in most cases as conclusive, as they would be desirable in all."

There is yet another point of view from which the subject may be regarded. We believe the time is not very distant when a complete separation of the executive and judicial branches of the public service will become a necessity in certain of the more advanced provinces of India. The want of judicial training is becoming more and more felt by the Government as well as by the public. When the separation shall have been effectually made, the study of Indian common law will become indispensable to all candidates for the Indian Bench; and where at present is this law to be found? Let us again quote Mr. Morley who must be an authority on this point. "The difficulty of attaining a knowledge of the law as administered in our Indian territories," he observes, "is well known to all who have attempted the task, and it is a matter of surprise that so few works exist which tend in any way to facilitate its study. It is submitted that a collection of decisions arranged alphabetically cannot fail to be of the greatest assistance to the student, the Attorney, the Barrister and even the Judge both in India and in this country, no work of the kind existing at present, and the reported decisions being spread over a multitude of volumes, of



"which many are not readily to be met with even in India." The study of English law is wonderfully facilitated by excellent Text-Books in which the principles of each department are concisely set forth and grouped together, so as to render the beginning of the student tolerably easy. The compilation of such Text-Books has been rendered possible by the existence of reports of the decisions, wherein are contained the principles, which can be found more fully detailed by a reference to the cases themselves. In India, we must have proper reports, before we can have Text-Books to abridge and assist the studies of those who seek to prepare themselves for the duties of the Bench or the Bar.

Having thus considered the necessity of a system, under which the decisions of the highest Courts in India might be made known to the subordinate Judges, we shall endeavour to show, what has hitherto been done in this direction; after which we shall discuss what yet remains to be done. Before however passing on to either of these portions of the subject, we shall give a brief outline of the history of *reporting* in England.

The first English reports were contained in the *Year-Books* or *Books of Years and Terms*. These reports were taken down by the prothonotaries or chief scribes of the Courts at the expense of the Crown, were published annually (whence their designation) and are extant in a regular series from the time of Edward II. to Henry VIII. It has been observed that they are rather curious for their antiquity, than valuable for their contents, which are undigested and loosely revised. King James the First subsequently at the instance of Lord Bacon appointed two reporters on salaries of £100 a year each, who should authoritatively print such decisions of the Courts and such only as would be useful, guarding against the publication of crude, trifling, contradictory cases, "which," says Lord Campbell, "had then become alarming and by which we are now overwhelmed." Unfortunately however this arrangement made by King James's so-called ordinance was soon permitted to fall through. The task of reporting fell in consequence into private hands, and became a subject of private enterprise; men who were qualified and men who were not qualified became reporters; and the result has been, that a vast mass of reports has been accumulated, some of which are valueless and many of them wholly erroneous. It has happened that the same decision has been differently reported and two quite contradictory accounts of it published. "Each of our numerous Courts," says Mr. Warren, "has voluntary reporters of its proceedings—The House of Lords :

"the Privy Council: each of the three Superior Courts of Common Law: the Lord Chancellor, Lords Justices, Master of the Rolls and three Vice-Chancellors, the Courts of Probate, Divorce and Admiralty. The proceedings are often reported by one, two or more separate reporters in separate sets of reports: and these, quarterly, monthly and even weekly."

Another account is as follows:—"Each Court has its reporters and their volumes often contain trifling matters, that swell them out to an unreasonable and useless bulk, and which has had the effect of making lawyers rely more upon the judgments in particular cases than on the general principles of law, that form the surest foundation of a sound legal opinion. The reports of cases occupy upwards of 200 volumes, exclusive of those which relate to election, admiralty and ecclesiastical law; and it is calculated, that if they continue proportionably to increase to the end of the present century, they will occupy upwards of one thousand volumes!"

A third account runs thus:—"The law reports are in the present day private speculations. A law-bookseller, who happens to think such an undertaking will pay, contracts with one or two Barristers to publish reports of the cases decided, in a particular Court. The Judges have, to some extent, sanctioned or authorized particular sets of reports for particular Courts, but they allow any reports to be quoted: and the consequence is that, beside the authorized reports in every Court, there are several sets of unauthorized reports published weekly or monthly and eagerly competing with each other. In order to give customers something for their money, every word that falls from every Judge in England or Ireland or from the Law Officers of the city of London is recorded in some form or other. The consequence is, that a thick and costly 8vo. volume, of which a large proportion is utterly worthless, is published every year about the proceedings of every Court; and members of the profession are obliged to buy it, because here and there it contains an important case."

The evil adverted to in the above passages had been keenly felt for many years, and many remedies had been from time to time propounded. At length on the 28th November, 1864, a meeting was specially convened to discuss the subject under the presidency of the then Attorney-General, Sir Roundell Palmer; and the discussion resulted in the establishment of the Council of Law Reporting. Sir Fitzroy Kelly became chairman of the Council, which comprised among its members some of the greatest ornaments of the profession. "The object of the scheme," as stated by its promoters, "was the preparation under professional

“control through the medium of the Council, by Barristers of known ability, skill and experience, acting under the supervision of editors, of one complete set of reports, to be published with promptitude, regularity and at a moderate cost, in the expectation that such a set of reports will be generally accepted by the profession as sufficient evidence of case-law; so that the Judge in decision, the advocate in argument, and the general practitioner in the advice he gives to his client, may resort to one and the same standard of authority. The principle upon which the *Law Reports* are established is that, as they are designed for a public object and purchased by the profession for professional purposes, they ought to be supplied at a price, which represents no more than the cost of preparation, publication, distribution and management—the cost of preparation including a fair and liberal remuneration by way of salary to the editors and reporters—and that any surplus proceeds, that may remain after answering these purposes ought not to be made the subject of private profit or emolument, but should be applied exclusively to professional objects.” The *Law Reports* have been now more than two years in existence; and the objects proposed by the promoters of the scheme have a prospect of full realization. A standard of uniformity has been set up, and there is every hope that all parties interested will conform thereto, and thus that the many evils of the previous system or rather want of system will be obviated in future.

Turning now to India, we shall endeavour to show what has been done in a similar direction, more especially in the Bengal Presidency, to which our experience has been confined and from whence our materials have been for the most part obtained. Various reports of the decisions of the Supreme Court have been published from time to time. A valuable series of notes of cases by *Sir Edvard Hyde East*, Chief Justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court from 1813 to 1822, was placed at the disposal of the late Mr. Morley and by him inserted in the appendix to his *Digest of Indian Cases*. *Sir Francis Macnaghten*, a Judge of the same Court, inserted reports of cases by way of illustration in his “considerations on the Hindú Law as current in Bengal,” published in the year 1824. *Mr. Longueville Clarke* included notes of cases decided on important points of native law in his edition of the “Rules and Orders of the Supreme Court at Calcutta” published in 1829. A single number of reports of cases of the same Court was published by *Mr. Bignell* in 1831. *Mr. Smoult* published in 1834 a collection of orders on the plea side of the Supreme Court at

Calcutta from 1774 to 1813 and inserted therein succinct but useful notes of cases of important points of practice. *Mr. Morton* published in 1841, a collection of decisions of the same Court. *Mr. Fulton* published a single volume of reports in 1845. *Mr. Montriau* published a volume of reports of the decisions of six months of the year 1846. *Mr. Taylor* continued these reports to the end of the year 1848, and in conjunction with *Mr. Bell* carried them down to the year 1853. *Mr. Montriau* also edited (1848 to 1851) a second edition of *Morton's* reports greatly amended and improved by the addition of further cases and notes, and he subsequently published in continuation, a collection of thirty-nine cases of Hindú Law, decided by the Supreme Court from 1810 to 1840. The cases decided by the same court from April 1856 to 1859, were reported by *Mr. Boulnois*, now Judge of this Chief Court in the Punjaub: and here the list of the reports of the *Calcutta* Supreme Court ends.

At Madras *Sir Thomas Strange*, Chief Justice, published in 1816 decisions of the Madras Supreme Court: and some decisions of the Bombay Supreme Court were published at home in 1853 by *Sir Erskine Perry*, formerly Chief Justice of Bombay.

All the above reports related to cases decided by the Supreme Courts before the amalgamation of these Courts with the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, which were the old Company's Courts not established by Royal Charter: they were in most cases edited by English Barristers, and in many respects resembled similar productions at home. It is clear that there was a demand for such publications, but when it is remembered that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was limited to the Presidency Towns, it will be manifest that no such effectual demand could arise, as would make the publishing and editing of the Supreme Court Reports a remunerative speculation. This must account for the fact that a single volume of some reports only was published, and then the undertaking was abandoned, lucrative employment no doubt in many instances inviting to other work more strictly professional the Barrister-editor, who had taken up *reporting* while waiting for briefs, perhaps with the object of thus bringing himself into notice and abridging the period of hope. Be this as it may, the publication of the Supreme Court Reports was never continued for any length of time by the same promoters bestowing their whole attention on the task; and even at the present day no undertaking is likely to succeed permanently in a pecuniary point of view, which limits itself to the cases decided on the original side of the existing High Courts.

We turn now to the reports of the decisions of the Chief or Sudder Court, which exercised appellate and controlling authority over the mass of tribunals civil and criminal charged with the administration of justice in the Mofussil or interior of the country and outside the limits of the Presidency Towns. This is the part of the subject with which our present article is more immediately concerned, and which shall therefore be treated with more detail. In the early days of the Company's Courts the proceedings of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut (chief Civil Court) and Sudder Nizamut Adawlut (chief Criminal Court) were kept in the English language and were copied for transmission to the Governor-General and the Court of Directors. It was in consequence necessary to require complete translations of the proceedings in cases appealed to the Sudder Court, which were in the vernacular in the lower courts. Under the new constitution of the Court as created by Regulation II. of 1801, the practice of keeping English proceedings, except as far as convenient for miscellaneous English correspondence and conducive to regularity, was discontinued; and copies of the Court's proceedings were not required to be furnished in future, except in cases of appeal to the Privy Council, or of reference to the Governor-General, as prescribed by the Regulations. The office of translator to the Courts of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and Nizamut Adawlut was abolished, and the subordinate courts, as a general rule, were no longer required to send translations of their proceedings, which were read in the vernacular in the higher Court. In order however to furnish the Court of Directors and the Governor-General in Council with the information before obtainable from the copies of proceedings submitted to them, it was proposed by the Court and approved by the Government, that an annual report should be prepared from the beginning of 1805 of all Civil Cases decided by the Dewanny Adawlut and of all trials, in which sentence was passed by the Nizamut Adawlut. A Deputy Register and a second assistant were added to the establishment for the purpose of preparing these reports, copies of them were transmitted to the Governor-General in Council and to the Court of Directors. Cases of importance were *selected* by the Judges and published for general information. "It cannot be necessary," says Mr. Harington, "to enlarge upon the utility of this measure, as calculated to establish precedents and to promote the uniform administration of justice in cases not expressly provided for by the Laws and Regulations."\* He adds in a note

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\* Harington's Analysis, Vol. I. p. 143.

that the first volume of "reports of select causes adjudged in appeal before the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, previously to the year 1805 and from that year to the end of 1811", with a second volume containing reports of select criminal cases adjudged by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut from the year 1805 to the end of 1811 had been printed and published with an Index before the beginning of 1819, when he left India.\* A new edition of this first volume was published in 1827 by William Hay Macnaghten, then Register of the Court. The following is an extract from his preface: "On the occasion of publishing this new edition of the first volume of reported civil cases . . . it may be as well to mention for the information of those not immediately acquainted with the forms of proceeding in the Company's Courts, that the proceedings are held in Persian and the opinions and decrees of the Judges delivered and recorded in that language. *It is only very rarely that an English minute is placed on the record,* and such a minute, when resorted to, only contains what the Persian record has already in substance. The reports contained in this volume were chiefly prepared by Mr. W. Dorin, now a Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, and formerly Reporter to those Courts. Some few of the cases towards the latter end of the volume, were prepared by Messrs. Bird and Holt Mackenzie. The notes appended to

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\* In the despatch of the 10th May, 1804, the Court of Directors remark as follows:—"We concur with Mr. Forster however in the utility of a report, as proposed by him, upon cases which have been adjudged on the authority of expositions of the Hindú or Mahomedan Law, given by the Law Officers of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and are further of opinion that it would be highly useful, if such a report were prepared in future of all civil cases decided by the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut as well as of criminal cases determined by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut. The formation of such a report, of which copies might be submitted for the information of your Excellency in Council and of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, would perhaps save the necessity of translating and transcribing the whole of the proceedings of the two Courts; and while the requisite allowance to an officer qualified for the discharge of this duty under the inspection of the Courts would be considerably less than the stated expense of two English copies of the proceedings at length, a well arranged report of the most important parts of them, *viz.*, of all judgments and sentences contained in them, would, we conceive, afford far more ready and satisfactory means of information upon the general administration of Civil and Criminal justice. We shall only add that the report suggested would also facilitate the periodical or occasional publication with the sanction of your Excellency in Council of such adjudged cases as from their involving any question of law or other matter of importance it might be deemed proper to make public, as precedents to the other Courts of justice or for general information."

“the different cases are entitled to weight, as having been written or approved by the Judges by whom those cases were decided; and those explanatory of intricate points of Hindú Law are especially valuable, as coming from the pen of Mr. H. Colebrooke.”

In the same year (1827), Mr. W. H. Macnaghten published the *second* volume containing select cases from 1812 to 1819 inclusive, and the *third* volume containing select cases from 1820 to 1824. In a letter of the 19th January 1827 from the Secretary to the Supreme Government to Mr. Macnaghten, His Lordship in Council considered it very desirable that the reports for previous years should be revised and a new edition, uniform with the third volume, prepared by Mr. Macnaghten, who had offered his services, and, on their being accepted, published in the following June the second edition of the *first* volume above referred to. In the same communication it was remarked that “criticisms on the opinions recorded by the several Judges in a case where a difference of opinion may have occurred, should of course be avoided; but that notes given on the responsibility of the reporter, explanatory of the views taken by the deciding Judges or illustrative of the law on which a decision may have been grounded must often prove highly useful.” The ability and diligence evinced by Mr. Macnaghten in the preparation of the reports were held to entitle him to the commendation of Government, and he was also allowed to draw an extra allowance of Rs. 500 per mensem from the 1st June 1825, to the 30th December 1826, which amounted to a total sum of Rs. 9,500. Furthermore for the completion of the criminal reports from 1820 to 1824, and for revising an entire new edition of the civil reports and for the additional duty of preparing the civil and criminal reports of the current year, the Vice-President in Council was pleased to determine that Mr. Macnaghten should draw another extra allowance for the year of Rs. 800 per mensem equal to a further sum of Rs. 9,600. In those days, when no budgets existed to hamper the liberality of the Government, Rs. 19,100 or nearly £2,000 were willingly paid as the reward of ability devoted with industry to the task of publishing the decisions of the Sudder Court.

The *fourth* volume was not published till 1834, and it contained select cases from 1825 to 1829. It was edited by “the Deputy Register and Preparer of Reports” to the Court, but in the preface it is stated that the cases reported in the earlier pages of the volume were selected and prepared by W. H. Macnaghten Esq. and the later cases by his successor in

office C. G. Udny Esq., the same method being observed as heretofore.

The *fifth* volume was not published till 1843 and it contained select cases from 1832 to 1834 inclusive "*by authority of the Court, reported by J. C. C. Sutherland.*" Mr. Sutherland's appointment happened in this wise. The publication of the reports had been always long subsequent to the decision of the cases, and when Mr. Macnaghten vacated the office of Register, the great impetus he had personally given to the work seems gradually to have declined. Mr. Udny indeed followed in some respect in his footsteps, but succeeding Registers seem to have regarded the preparation of reports as no part of their legitimate functions. We have seen that Mr. Macnaghten received extra remuneration for the task of preparing the first four volumes; and that about 1805, a Deputy Register and a second assistant were appointed for the express purpose of preparing the reports then required to be submitted. It will be in this way apparent that the duty of preparing the reports was scarcely intended to devolve upon the Register,\* and after Mr. Macnaghten and Mr. Udny had vacated the appointment, the gentlemen, who subsequently filled it, seem to have taken no active share in the work. The reports in consequence fell more and more into arrears. In February, 1835, Mr. Reid, the *then* Register brought it to the notice of the Court that the civil reports of 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833 and 1834 were in arrear and that it would be impossible for Mr. Harvey, the Deputy Register and Reporter, over-burdened as he was with other work, to overtake the arrears. He recommended that Mr. J. C. C. Sutherland should be employed to bring up the civil cases and that payment by contract should be made for the work. Mr. Sutherland asked Rs. 100 for each case. One of the Judges expressed a strong opinion that he was well qualified for the task, as he had in a very clear and able manner reported some of the Court proceedings in the public papers. The Government of Bengal accordingly sanctioned the arrangement. Mr. Sutherland's method was to employ one or two assistants in making full reports in Persian of each case, and then from these reports, but always with reference to the original proceedings to prepare a condensed report in English, aiming as much as possible at brevity and rejecting every thing superfluous. This was in some respects similar to the method adapted by the Welch parson, who had

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\* This was the appellation of the officer called the *Registrar* since the amalgamation of the Supreme and Sudder Courts. It is difficult to account for the use of the word *Register* as a noun masculine. It is generally used as a verb or a noun neuter. There was an old word *Registerer*.



been thirty years in the same parish. An old college-fellow asked him how he contrived to vary his sermons during this long period so as not to afflict his hearers with reiteration. His reply was that, when he had preached a sermon in English, he translated it into Welch and then back again into English and his hearers never recognized the original.

In 1836, the Court of Directors in forwarding certain decisions of the Privy Council observed as follows:—"It appears to us to be of great importance to the due administration of justice, that these judgments should receive the attentive consideration of the Judges of the several Courts under your Presidency. With this view we transmit you (a separate number in the packet) several printed copies not only of the judgments pronounced in the appeals in which we now forward His Majesty's Orders, but of those also, which have been pronounced in the appeals from the other Presidencies . . . . and we direct that you cause them without delay to be translated into the native languages, and communicated for information and guidance, where you may deem it necessary or expedient." A copy of these observations being forwarded to the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut in order to have the necessary translations made, the Court were at the same time called upon to report how the publication of the select reports was progressing and to propose measures for performing the new duty imposed upon them and preventing future accumulations. "His Lordship," the letter concludes, "attaches great importance to the regular publication of the reports of cases and, under the recent orders of the Hon'ble Court, of the translations of the judgments pronounced by the judicial committee of the Lords of the Privy Council, and is therefore very desirous that measures should be taken to place the branch of the Court's establishment by which those duties ought to be executed on a permanently efficient footing." To this the Court replied that the civil reports up to 1834 were expected to be ready by the end of 1837, and that the cases for 1835 were ready to go to the press, while the criminal reports up to the end of 1834 had already been published. They recommended that the Privy Council judgments should be translated by contract. They pointed out that in the preparation of the civil reports, a minute examination of the Persian record was necessary in the first instance in order to ascertain whether the appeal contained any precedent which merited notice or preservation: and that, when a case had been selected, the Reporter was obliged to furnish, from the Persian record, a correct abstract of the case, and an accurate translation of the opinions of

the Judges on the particular point upon which the decision hinged. The Court remarked that this duty imposed upon the Deputy Register a very considerable degree of labor; and that, if these duties were to be placed on a permanently efficient footing, it would be absolutely necessary that a properly qualified officer should be entertained, who should receive a fixed sum for every case selected and prepared for publication, and who should moreover engage to give his entire time and attention to this particular duty. It was thus proposed to relieve the Deputy Register of the task of preparing the civil reports, while other duties were assigned him including the preparation of the criminal reports, which, it was observed, was a task of much less difficulty, as the Sessions Judges were required by Section 57, Regulation IX. of 1793 to send with every trial referred to the Nizamut Adawlut a letter containing their opinion of the case, and in almost all instances this letter contained a general detail of the particulars developed in the trial. The Government in reply to these proposals sanctioned the translation of the Privy Council judgments by contract: but were averse to withdrawing the preparation of the civil reports from the Deputy Register, holding that he could perform this duty if relieved "from duties of less moment, which need not be assigned to a highly qualified covenanted officer." The Government moreover observed that the real difficulty of reporting cases seemed to consist in their selection, and that this difficulty might easily be done away with. The Governor of Bengal therefore proposed that the court should lay it down as a rule of practice that the Judge who finally decided a case or the majority of deciding Judges should note if it was deemed worthy of report, and that a memorandum of all such notes should be kept in the Register's office for the guidance of his Deputy, who would thus be spared the delicate and difficult task of selection. The same rule, it was said, might be beneficially extended to criminal cases. In their proceedings of the 3rd March following (1837), the Court adopted this recommendation and resolved that "any Civil or Criminal cases which may be considered worthy of report shall henceforward be noted as such by the Judges, who decide them, and that a list of such cases be kept by the Register for the use of his Deputy." They also proposed other arrangements for relieving the Deputy Register, who was directed to proceed with the preparation of the current reports from 1835, while Mr. Sutherland was told to expedite the publication of those in arrear up to 1835. They were not published, as we have seen, till 1843 or some six years afterwards. The Deputy

Register meanwhile laboured at the preparation of the current civil cases, and in 1844, volume VI. "*containing select cases from 1835 to 1840 inclusive*" made its appearance, "*approved by the Court.*" The seventh and last volume, "*containing the reports from 1841 to 1848*" also "*approved by the Court,*" was published in 1849. The parts for each year were published separately some time before the appearance of the whole volume, but the cases belonging to any one year were seldom published till from three to four years afterwards, and sometimes the interval was much longer. Before relating the circumstances under which the publication of the *select reports* ceased with the seventh volume we shall recount in chronological order certain other occurrences, which took place in the meanwhile and which had a considerable effect on the whole subject.

On the 29th July, 1843, was passed Act XII. of 1843, the preamble to which is as follows: "Whereas it is expedient, that "the decisions of Courts of Justice and the reasons for the "decision should be written and signed by the Judge at the "time of pronouncing his decision and in the vernacular "language of the Judge, it is hereby enacted,"—(Section 1.) "that, in all the Presidencies, so much of all decrees as consists of "the points to be decided, the decision thereon and the reasons "for the decision, and all injunctions for the revision of decrees in "regular suits, and all orders for reviews of judgment, which "shall be passed by Judges of the *Sudder Courts* or by Judges of "Zillah and City Courts, or by subordinate or Assistant Judges of "Zillahs, shall be written originally in English and signed by "the Judge or Judges at the time of pronouncing such decision "and orders: and shall be translated into the vernacular lan- "guage commonly used in the Court, wherein the suit to which "the decree or order relates shall have been instituted; and the "translation shall be incorporated in the decree." \* Immediately upon this Act being passed, the Government of Bengal asked the opinion of the Sudder Court as to the advisability of publishing these decrees in monthly numbers for general information. The Court in reply saw no objection to the publication of the decisions recorded in English, provided a selection were made of such of them as contained precedents on points of law, it being obviously useless to accumulate

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\* Act XII. of 1843 was repealed by Act X. of 1861 and in consequence of the introduction of the present Code of Civil Procedure, Sections 184-185 of which contain provisions somewhat similar. See also Act XXXIII. of 1854, which applies to *decisions, sentences or final orders made or passed by any officer of the East India Company acting judicially*, and is in force where Act VIII. of 1859 does not apply.

precedents on points already settled. The Government of Bengal or rather its Secretary, Mr. Halliday, observed that the Court had misapprehended the chief purpose of the proposition made to them. "Selected cases are now annually (?) published by the Sudder Court to serve as precedents and guides to the lower Courts in matters of law and practice," writes Mr. Halliday, "these selections will for the present at least continue to be published, and therefore it is not for the sake of collecting precedents of law that the new proposition is made, for that is already provided for. But the new proposition is made in order to improve the general working of the Sudder Court itself by bringing it more constantly and prominently than at present before the view of an intelligent public. In English Courts of Justice there are always numerous and intelligent auditors and spectators; and (which is of still greater importance) there is a highly educated and critically observant Bar, before whom, if the Bench would retain their necessary superiority, a constant exertion of skill and display of learning are indispensable. Even more influential than this is the daily newspaper report of all that passes, which brings the Bench as it were always before the eyes of the whole nation. In this country these useful if not indispensable checks and stimulants are almost entirely wanting. The spectators in the Sudder Court are few and unintelligent; the Bar though doubtless improving, is looked upon, His Excellency apprehends, with comparatively small respect, and has little influence with the Judges, while newspaper reports are rarely and very incorrectly made. The Governor therefore directs me to request that these decrees may be printed monthly, commencing with the 1st January, 1845, exactly as given and copied into the books and without any subsequent alterations. The impression should be made in an octavo form, as soon as possible after the close of each month, and it may for the present consist of 200 copies. Of these the Court will be pleased to retain ten copies, of which one at least should be for the use of Vakeels. The remainder of the impression will be transmitted regularly to this office for distribution in the usual manner." The Sudder Court carried out these directions and an arrangement was entered into with a Mr. Kirkpatrick, who was to publish the decisions on his own account at the Military Orphan Press, and to supply the Government with any number of copies at prime cost on condition of being allowed to print additional copies for disposal to the public at large. This arrangement was sanctioned experimentally for one year. Mr. Kirkpatrick also proposed to publish an Oordoo version of the decisions, but the Government declined to

support this, though they were not opposed to its being tried as a private speculation. The agreement for one year for the publication of the English decisions was subsequently extended till further orders. About the same time the *summary decisions* of the Court were published in the *Bengalee Gazette*, translated into Bengalee for the information and guidance of subordinate judicial service.

There were now two sets of reports of the decisions of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut published at stated intervals. One set was expressly intended to keep the public informed in a sort of newspaper fashion of the proceedings of the Court, was meant to supply the want of an efficient public press and to bring public opinion and criticism to bear upon the administration of justice: all decided cases being published under the directions of the Executive Government: but it was distinctly understood that all these cases were not to be regarded as decisively establishing points of judicial precedent. This object was secured by the publication of the "Select Reports" which, as we have seen, consisted of important cases involving points of law or practice selected (from the commencement of the sixth volume, by the Judges) out of the whole of the decisions of the Court and published by authority. The two sets of reports were not however continued for any length of time. On the 20th April, 1849, Mr. Colvin, a Judge of the Court, recorded a minute in favour of discontinuing the publication of the selected reports of civil decisions. We here quote a portion of it. "The reports from 1820 to 1824 were prepared and published together by the Register in 1827. The selection was not in practice determined by the Judges of the Court, nor were the decisions ever published, as far as I have been able to trace, under its orders as authoritative precedents to be binding prospectively on itself. Volumes I. to IV. of the Civil reports are published, it will be seen from their title pages as by the Register or Deputy Register only. When the publication of reports was entrusted to Mr. J. C. C. Sutherland, the title-page (see Vol. V.) bore the words 'by authority of the Court.' More recently, the reports, as thought fit for publication by the (Deputy?) Register, have been circulated to the Court at large previously to being placed among the selected decisions; and when so placed with its approval, they have been issued as '*approved by the court*,' (see title-page of Vol. VI., and subsequently) and regarded as of final authority, even when the judgments have been those only of single Judges. This mode of forming judicial precedents not to be afterwards open to question is, I think, .

“ very unsatisfactory and open to much objection on principle. “ No decree ought, it appears to me, to acquire the force of a “ binding precedent for the future, unless adopted by a collective “ Bench after full argument and reference to former concurrent “ judgments similarly passed after a complete discussion at the “ Bar. I have extreme reluctance to assenting to any precedent “ as of final authority upon a mere perusal of the abstract of “ the case and record of the judgment in circulation together “ with such subsequent discussion of the case, as can be held “ at our English sittings. It is only when a question is “ thoroughly sifted upon argument on behalf of the parties “ interested, in Court, that we can, I apprehend, feel at all “ confident that its merits and bearings are completely before “ us. Now that *all* our decisions are published monthly, the “ judgments of a Full Bench, when in conformity with several “ former like judgments, will, in almost every case, be naturally “ viewed as precedents of complete authority, and it must “ be left to the Judges, who may successively sit at Full Bench “ hearings to build up, in the course of their regular decisions “ and with the requisite deliberation and caution, a body of “ precedents by which the Court shall permanently be guided. “ Some uncertainties and consequent inconvenience may arise “ upon this plan: but these evils will be felt chiefly at first, “ and in reference especially to single decisions of recent dates, “ which may have been followed and may be cited as precedents “ from their having appeared among the selected cases; but “ in the end, the change proposed will be calculated to ensure “ far more soundness and accuracy, and not less certainty “ in our interpretation and application of the law. The latest “ decision of a Full Bench on a given point will be a fixed “ guide for the decisions of the Lower Courts, until that “ decision may be varied by another decision of a Full Bench. “ At certain intervals, as after every three or five years, a “ selection of cases may perhaps be made for publication under “ the Court’s direction, not as absolutely binding precedents, “ but whenever as many as, say, three concurrent judgments may “ appear to have been passed by a Full Bench on the same point. “ It will doubtless be of advantage to have such cases brought “ together in separate volumes for ready reference. In intro- “ ducing a change such as is here recommended, it will be “ necessary that our ordinary monthly reports of all decisions “ should be made as accurate and precise as possible, and “ I would suggest, that we should adopt it as a practice that “ the marginal note of the exact point ruled by each decision “ should be prepared by the Judges, or the majority by whom the

"decision may have been passed. The labor of preparing the table of contents of the monthly reports is now with the Register, which is scarcely fair to him, while what is required is not only a general Index, but a distinct and correct statement of the point of each decision."

The other Sudder Judges concurred in Mr. Colvin's minute. Mr. Welsby Jackson remarked: "Selections might be made for the sake of convenience, not with a view to give additional weight to the cases selected and less to those rejected; but simply for the purpose of bringing more prominently forward decisions in which the facts and points of law are clearly and forcibly laid down and to save the trouble of referring to such as are less clear, less conclusive and of less importance. The Register might make the selection without the Court's intervention, which certainly does give a greater weight to the selected cases than they ought to carry with them."

This concurrence of opinion was embodied in the following resolution. "The Court find that *Selected Reports* of the cases determined in the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut have been published as *approved by the Court* to the end of 1848. They direct the discontinuance of their publication from the first January last (1849). As regards the *Selected Reports* of summary cases, which have also been published to 31st December 1848, the Court are of opinion that their publication may go on, not as *approved by the Court*, but with the sanction only of the Judge in charge of the Miscellaneous Department, whose decisions they are, and who will note such of them as he may think useful for publication."

The publication of the Select Reports accordingly ceased, while all the decisions of the Court continued to be published monthly (as proposed by the Government of Bengal in 1844-45) down to the end of 1861. Various selections of cases (as will appear from the list prefixed to this article) were from time to time published by individuals. They were however in most instances mere reprints of the more important or striking cases included in the general monthly publications. In July, 1862 the present High Court was established and as to what has been done since that time we shall speak presently. Before doing so however, there are one or two points which deserve notice.

Most people, who know anything of India, are aware that the administration of justice is in a great degree entrusted to native Judges. Native Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors dispose of a large quantity of criminal cases and of suits connected with land. The subordinate Civil Judges, Principal

Sudder Ameens, Sudder Ameens and Munsiffs deal with the largest proportion of original civil cases; and the Principal Sudder Ameens have moreover a considerable appellate jurisdiction. A large proportion of these functionaries are wholly ignorant of English at the present day (though the number is gradually decreasing), and some years ago a knowledge of English formed an exceptional accomplishment. It is evident therefore that there was and still is a class, more or less numerous, who could not benefit by the publication of the decisions in English. We have seen that when the Government advocated the publication of all the Sudder cases in 1844-45 for public information and criticism, they declined to support a translation into Urdu. At length however in 1854, the Judge of Backergunge addressed Government, suggesting the advisability of providing the native Judges with Bengali translations of the Sudder decisions in order that they might be kept informed of the legal principles, on which from time to time civil cases were adjudicated in the highest Court, and not left to pick up such knowledge from the highways and byeways. Mr. Welsby Jackson, as already mentioned, remarked to the same effect in reporting on East-Burdwan. The Government of Bengal now addressed the Court with a view to something being done. This was not however the first effort that had been made in the same direction. In 1849 two of the pleaders of the Sudder Court proposed to publish translations of the decisions into Urdu. The Court recommended that 350 copies at two Rupees per copy should be taken for the use of the native Courts. This recommendation was not indeed acted upon, yet Múlví Abdúr Summud carried on the work from 1850 at his own risk. The cost of taking 350 copies at two Rupees each would have been more than Rs. 8,000 per annum, and the Government were unwilling to incur so large an expense at the time. When Mr. Welsby Jackson and the Judge of Backergunge urged on Government the necessity of doing something to enlighten the subordinate portion of the judicial service, the question of expense again stood in the way. Múlví Abdúr Summud however offered to supply the translations at 12 Rs. per annum or 1 Rupee 4 anas per number. A calculation was made and it was found that there were in Bengal 124 native Judges, who wrote their decisions in Bengali, 48 in Persian, and 63 in Urdu. The Register, Mr. Buckland, therefore, recommended that 175 copies of the Bengali translations and 65 copies of the Urdu translation should be taken, the English decisions being supplied to those, who knew English. The 48 Judges, who wrote their decisions in Persian,



being all in Bengal districts and conversant with the Bengali language, it was thought that they might well be supplied with copies of the Bengali translation. The Court however held that the Urdu translation was the proper one, and accordingly Government was asked to sanction the purchase of 125 copies of the Urdu translation by Múlví Abdúr Sumud and of a similar number of copies of a Bengali translation by Babú Kisto Chunder Haldar and others. The Government of Bengal in reply were of opinion, that the translated decisions should be supplied to the *offices* not to the *officers*: and that every uncovenanted Judge in the Bengal districts should be furnished with a copy of the Bengali version: and every uncovenanted Judge in the Behar districts with a copy of the Urdu version. An expenditure of Rs. 280 per mensem was accordingly sanctioned for the purpose.

In connection with the publication of the decisions of the Sudder Court, it may be well to mention two other species of judge-made law, which emanated from the same source. We speak of *Circular Orders* and the old *Constructions*. Circular Orders contain directions to the Lower Courts generally speaking on points of practice: and are in many instances explanatory of the law. The power of issuing these Circular Orders has always belonged to the Sudder Court and it has been continued by the present Civil and Criminal\* Procedure Codes. Collections of the Civil and Criminal Circular Orders have been from time to time published. Many of those issued by the old Sudder have now become obsolete and the whole of the Circular Orders are at present under revision. The collection and publication in a single volume of all those at present force is a most useful work and one which a total change in the procedure of the Courts has rendered almost necessary.

The *constructions* of the old Sudder have we believe no parallel in English law or procedure. The right to make them was founded on Sections 2 and 3, Regulation X. of 1796. Section 2 of this Regulation ordained that when a precept had been issued by a Provincial Court of Appeal or a Court of Circuit to a Zillah or City Judge or Magistrate, the latter might, if he differed in opinion, suspend its execution and give his reasons for holding otherwise. If the superior authority still maintained the same view, the Zillah or City Judge

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\* Section 443 Act XXV. of 1861. "The Sudder Court shall have power to make and issue general rules for regulating the practice and proceedings of that Court and of all Criminal Courts subordinate to it, and also to frame forms, &c., &c." See also Section 40 Act XIII. of 1861.

or Magistrate was bound to carry out its orders ; but, if still dissatisfied, he might have copies of the papers transmitted to the Sudder Court. This reference was to be strictly confined to cases in which the sense of the Regulations, from a difference of construction or otherwise, might appear doubtful and uncertain, and was not to be made in cases clearly left to the discretion and judgment of the Provincial Court or Court of Circuit by the Regulations. Section 3 enacted that where such a reference had been made to the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut or Nizamut Adawlut, the determination of those Courts, "who are empowered to prescribe the forms and conduct to be observed by the Provincial, Zillah and City Courts of Dewanny Adawlut, the Courts of Circuit and the Zillah and City Magistrates in all cases provided for by the Regulations, agreeably to their construction thereof," was to be held final and conclusive. From the above it might be obvious that *constructions* could only be made by the Sudder Court in cases which had actually occurred. From the correspondence, which eventually resulted in the cessation of these constructions, it is however apparent, that they had extended to extra-judicial questions. The correspondence commenced in this way. The Sudder Court issued a construction defining the offence of perjury, to which the Government took exception. After some discussion, the following extract from a Dispatch of the Court of Directors (No. 21, dated 29th September, 1841,) was communicated by the Government to the Court, who were requested to act strictly in accordance with the principles conveyed therein. "On the subject of *constructions of law* promulgated by the Sudder Court in Circular Orders for the guidance of the inferior tribunals, we entirely concur in the sentiments which you have expressed. The practice may be highly serviceable in aiding the judgments and supplying the deficiencies of officers in the judicial department, as well as in securing uniformity in their proceedings : but it is liable to serious objection, if it be found to withdraw the attention of the Sudder Court from the actual business before them to hypothetical cases raised by the ingenuity of persons speculating upon cases of judicature. We are therefore of opinion that the only constructions of law by the Sudder Adawlut, which should be promulgated in Circular Orders for the guidance of the department, are such as may have arisen in the discharge of their appellate jurisdiction, and as may, before being circulated, have been reported for the information of Government." On receipt of the letter containing this extract, the Sudder Court were unanimously of opinion that the Government could

not interfere with or control the issue of constructions, if any such interference or control were meant to be implied in the constructions being reported to Government for information. After some discussion of the whole subject, the Government was asked by the Court, whether the observations of the Court of Directors were to be understood as directed only to the *circulation* of constructions or to the giving of extra-judicial constructions at all. The Deputy Governor of Bengal was of opinion in reply that the Court should abstain from giving *extra-judicial* constructions at all; and that any judicial constructions, which they gave, must be submitted to Government previous to circulation. Upon receipt of this opinion the Calcutta Sudder immediately consulted the Court of the North West Provinces. The following passages from their letter will best convey the ideas of the Calcutta Court. "The Court are now instructed not to give "any other than judicial constructions and not to circulate "even such constructions without previous submission to "Government. The Court will consider these points separately, "leaving the particular instance out of which the present "correspondence has arisen to be dealt with in accordance with "the principles and practice which they propose to show have "invariably governed the proceedings of the Sudder Courts "in regard to the subject under consideration for a long series "of years. The first point for consideration is the power of "the Sudder Courts to give any other than judicial constructions. The Court would remark in the first place that a "reference to the printed construction book will show *that the "practice of giving extra-judicial constructions has been followed* "by the Court since the year 1798, that is, nearly half a century "without having called forth any expression of doubt on the "score of legal competency on the part of any authority up to "the period of the present correspondence. Apart from the "consequences of now declaring every extra-judicial construction "of the Sudder Courts to have been an illegal proceeding, the "Court consider that the mere fact of their undisputed exercise "of such a power for so long a time is quite sufficient to require "the sanction of a legislative provision for depriving them of it. "But that the power is vested in the Court has been fully recognized by the Government itself on various occasions. The Government resolution of the 22nd November 1831, provided that 'in "all instances wherein a reference respecting the meaning and "intent of any regulation may be made to either Court of "Sudder Dewanny Adawlut or Nizamut Adawlut under Section "2, Regulation X. 1796, or Section 2, Regulation XXII.

" 1803 or otherwise, the Courts shall respectively communicate  
 " such reference with their sentiments thereon, each to the other,  
 " and no construction on the point so referred, shall be  
 " promulgated until the same shall have received the sanction  
 " of both Courts.' This is sufficient to show that it is only  
 " within a recent period that Government have entertained any  
 " doubt in regard to the law of the case. The same may be fur-  
 " ther shown by a reference to the correspondence which took place  
 " in 1840, and which terminated in the suspension of the objec-  
 " tionable and (in the opinion of this Court) illegal rule, which  
 " prescribed a reference to Government in cases of difference  
 " between the two Courts. The Court however do not consider  
 " that the practice is sanctioned only by long prescription and the  
 " recognition of the Government, but that it has further the  
 " authority of express law. Section 2, Regulation X. 1796,  
 " and the corresponding enactment for the Ceded and Conquered  
 " Provinces refer to cases of difference of opinion between the  
 " Lower Courts: but Section 3, while it provides that the deter-  
 " mination of the Sudder Courts is to be held final and conclusive,  
 " has the declaratory Clause, *that those Courts are empowered*  
 " *to prescribe the forms and conduct to be observed by the subor-*  
 " *dinate Courts in all cases provided for by the Regulations,*  
 " *agreeably to their construction thereof.* Here the law expressly  
 " recognizes the powers of the Court to give other than merely  
 " judicial constructions; and what the construction of that law  
 " itself has been, the practice of half a century sufficiently  
 " shows. . . . With advertence to the  
 " foregoing observations this Court are of opinion that it is  
 " not competent to the Government to deprive the Sudder  
 " Courts of the power of giving extra-judicial constructions in  
 " any other way than by legislative enactment. . . .  
 " . . . Should the power of the Sudder  
 " Courts in regard to the mere circulation of extra-judicial  
 " constructions be doubted, the Court would refer to the pre-  
 " ceding arguments in favor of their legal authority to pro-  
 " nounce such opinions. The Court conclude that, what opinion  
 " they can give to one officer under their control, they can  
 " give to another. Indeed, it is not the circulation of extra-  
 " judicial constructions, but the power to give such, that is  
 " the real point at issue." The arguments put forward by  
 the Sudder Court were addressed, it will be observed, not to  
 the Government, who disputed the position, but to the North  
 Western Court, who contended for it. Some lurking suspi-  
 cion, that these arguments were untenable, is to be found in  
 the following passage at the close of the letter. " At the

"same time the Court are perfectly ready to meet the wishes  
 "of the Government as far as, consistently with their duty,  
 "they can do so in regard to extra-judicial constructions.  
 "The Courts determined sometime ago not to answer any  
 "merely hypothetical cases. This Court would now suggest  
 "that no constructions be given in any cases, that are appeal-  
 "able: and that officers asking for constructions of law shall  
 "be required to certify distinctly, that the case out of which  
 "the reference has arisen is not appealable to a higher Court."  
 The Western Court concurred generally in the view taken by  
 the Calcutta Court, but recommended that this latter Court  
 should take their stand upon the statute law, remarking that  
 Government could by a mere order in Council direct the dis-  
 continuance of an usage unsanctioned by the authority of  
 a legal enactment. The Calcutta Court now addressed the  
 Government and intimated that in the opinion of both Courts  
 the power of giving *extra-judicial constructions* could not be  
 taken away otherwise than by legislative action, and that the  
 Government had no power to direct, that judicial constructions  
 before issue should be submitted for sanction. At the same  
 time they mentioned the proposed rule that no constructions  
 be given in appealable cases, and that officers asking for con-  
 structions of law be required to certify distinctly that the case  
 out of which the reference arose was not appealable to a higher  
 Court. It was pointed out that this rule, coupled with the  
 new special Appeal Act, which made all *points of law* finally  
 determinable by the Sudder Court, would supersede the necessity  
 of giving any more constructions on points of civil law; while  
 on the criminal side the same practice could be enforced in  
 regard to trials, all which could be brought before the Court  
 on the ground of illegality; and, in regard to miscellaneous  
 criminal orders liable to be contested in a civil action, the Court  
 would always hesitate to give any construction. "Extra-judicial  
 "constructions therefore of points of law," the letter concluded,  
 "may be said to cease on the Special Appeal Act coming into  
 "operation, and the Court hope that their printed judgments  
 "will be the only judicial constructions which will be hereafter  
 "promulgated. At all events, to this point the Court will use  
 "their best endeavours to limit their constructions." The  
 Government made no immediate reply to this communication,  
 but in a letter from the Government of India to the Govern-  
 ment of Bengal written in August, 1846, (more than three years  
 afterwards) we find the following passage. "The book of  
 "constructions appears to have been immediately brought to  
 "a close, and such constructions of law as the Sudder Court

“ have since promulgated in the form of Circular Orders relate  
“ only to the jurisdiction and procedure of the subordinate  
“ Courts Civil and Criminal, and exhibit an anxious desire on  
“ the part of the Court to confine themselves to the legitimate  
“ exercise of the power declared by Regulation X. of 1796 to  
“ be vested in them as a superintending and controlling  
“ authority. Under these circumstances the interference of the  
“ Legislature does not seem to the President in Council to be  
“ called for.”

The High Court, as already remarked, was established in July 1862; and from that time down to the present, the most important decisions have been published in some form or another. It must be remarked that with the old Sudder ceased all Government arrangements for publishing the decisions of that Court and having them translated into the vernacular for the use of the subordinate Judges, who were not conversant with English. No similar scheme has since been regularly carried out for enabling judicial functionaries in the Moffussil, whether European or native, to become acquainted with the High Court decisions; and thus, we believe, an immense amount of good, that might have been done, has been left undone. It must be remembered that few natives take in English newspapers, and that none of the English newspapers contain regular reports of cases. An important case is now and then inserted, but an Editor is not the best judge of the importance of legal decisions, and the *most* important are not always selected. The native papers have not yet commenced to insert any law reports in their columns, and to those who do not know English, the decisions of the High Court even so far as published are therefore a sealed book. In this way we can understand why cases are brought into Court, that never would have been instituted in a country like England or America where the public, who are not lawyers, have from newspapers and other sources a sufficient knowledge of their rights to prevent them rushing into Court without a leg to stand upon and lavishing money without any result on legal advisers, who are nearly as ignorant as themselves. The litigiousness of the people of India and particularly of Bengal has often been commented upon; and their ignorance in such matters is one great cause of this litigiousness, the most effectual cure for which will be to disseminate among them a knowledge of their rights as constituted by law, and to improve the judicial service in all its branches, so that the same law may be administered everywhere, and that uniformity and fixedness may be secured. The good expected from the establishment of the High Court will be realized ten-fold, if the law that it

administrators be made known to the mass of the public, who must read the decisions of the Court in the vernacular or remain ignorant of them. The interests of the litigant public are, and for a length of time must remain in the hands of a set of men called Mooktears, who have no legal training or knowledge. It is a significant fact that no man ever goes to a Mooktear or Vakeel to ask advice as to whether, under such and such circumstances, he ought to go to law—but having made up his mind first, he then goes to these practitioners to obtain their aid in carrying on his case. The decision of the case in the first Court is only the beginning of the litigation, which from a regular appeal culminates in a special appeal and perhaps in a remand, while the best cases are oftentimes lost in consequence of the remedy being wholly misconceived, or the necessary evidence not being produced to support the real points in issue, though there is abundance of evidence on other points that are not disputed, or which are wholly immaterial. That a certain amount of legal knowledge should reach the *substrata* of the judicial service and of the practitioner class is absolutely necessary before the benefits of the High Court can be adequately realized: and to accomplish this end the publication of vernacular reports of cases for the use of the classes above indicated is obviously most important. If the Lower Courts decide wrongly from ignorance of the law and of the last rulings, or from the case being improperly presented for adjudication by ignorant practitioners, the decision will be reversed on appeal, to the great cost of the parties and to the encouragement of litigation, while as at present an appeal always presents some hope of success. Were the law known to the Courts and to those who practise therein, the same judgment pronounced in appeal would convince parties of the folly of throwing good money after bad, and practitioners would soon find it for their interest to give sound advice as to the chances of appealing.

Of the advantages to be derived from publishing reports of the decisions of the High Courts for the use of those interested therein, we shall say no more on the present occasion. Any one who reflects on the subject, taking even a small degree of interest therein, will find arguments enough to convince him of the absolute utility of the measure; and the opinions of those, whose position and experience make their opinions valuable, have been already quoted in the course of this article. Before, however, the High Court Reports are translated into the native languages for the purposes above indicated, there should be some organized system of reporting in English, which would

command the confidence and approbation of all parties interested in the matter. When the system inaugurated by the Sudder Court came to an end together with this institution in 1862, the necessity of substituting some other system in its place was generally felt: and after some delay and discussion, Mr. Marshall, an English Barrister, was in March 1864 appointed Official Reporter to the Court on a salary of Rs. 1,000 per mensem, with leave to practise at the Bar. The salary was subsequently raised to Rs. 1,300 per mensem, the liberty of practising being at the same time withdrawn. Mr. Marshall immediately on his appointment set to work to bring up the reports from the commencement of the High Court sittings. He began with the civil reports and included only cases selected for their importance by himself. He published within the year five parts making one volume, and containing selected cases from the beginning of July 1862, to the end of July 1863. The criminal cases were to appear subsequently; and Government had expressed its willingness to sanction an expenditure sufficient for translating the published reports into the vernacular languages. Mr. Marshall, however, after working from March to the end of August, resigned: and, with his resignation, the whole scheme fell to the ground. This occurrence taken in conjunction with a similar ending to so many sets of reports started in the days of the old Supreme Court, may show that no scheme can ever be permanently successful in this country, which depends upon an individual for its realization and existence. Better prospects in other directions are sure to invite away young Barristers of ability, who may undertake reporting, while they are waiting for briefs and looking about them to see how to make a beginning. A sufficient salary might perhaps secure permanently the services of a Reporter of sufficient ability; but even then sickness and enforced absence to Europe may occur, when a substitute is not to be had for the efficient performance of the same duties. The general ability with which Mr. Marshall executed his task as far as he went, has, we believe, never been doubted: yet there *was* room for the improvements that result from experience; and his reports are in some places disfigured with errors, which a slight acquaintance with the Mofussil would have rendered impossible, and which point to the advantage derivable from associating a gentleman possessing such experience with a Barrister in any future similar undertaking.

When Mr. Marshall's reports came to an end in July 1864, the loss was severely felt, and, in consequence, private speculation was induced to come forward to supply the want. The enterprising



firm of Messrs. Wyman & Co. had been publishing since September 1863, "*The Revenue, Judicial and Police Journal*," a monthly serial of the Government Acts, relating to Revenue, Judicial and Police matters, as they come into force; Circulars of the Board of Revenue, of the High Court, and of the Inspector General of Police; and Rulings of the High Court in Criminal and Revenue cases, &c., &c." This was a sort of *lanx satura*, containing a little of every thing, and calculated rather to meet a paying demand in the Moffussil, than intended to carry out any organized scheme of reporting. The Revenue cases were the most useful part of the publication, which contained no reports of decisions in cases of civil law. *The Legal Remembrancer* was started by the same firm to meet the demand in this direction, but after a few numbers had issued, it was for some cause or other discontinued. The *Revenue Judicial and Police Journal* was carried on successfully to the end of 1865. In January 1866, the proprietors substituted for it "*The Revenue Civil and Criminal Reporter*," a bi-monthly serial containing the Circulars of the Board of Revenue and all decisions on appeal to the High Court in Revenue, Civil and Criminal matters; with Circulars and letters of the High Court and of the Judicial Department of the Government of Bengal: Privy Council decisions: Small Cause Court references, &c., &c." This publication has been supported by the Government subscribing for a number of copies, which are distributed to the Revenue Courts. It is still being carried on, and is, we believe, successful in a pecuniary point of view. It must not, however, be supposed that *all* the decisions of the High Court are therein reported. It contains only selected cases, and the selection is not, we believe, guided by that undivided attention and sound experience, which would be an effectual guarantee, that nothing of real importance to the profession had been omitted to make way for that which though new as an instance is yet referable to principles already founded and settled. The marginal notes also are not such as would meet the approval of an English Reporter and are far inferior to those in Marshall's reports. We do not mean to be hypercritical. We readily acknowledge the utility of the publication, but it cannot be regarded as a substitute for the reports, which we desire to see published, of the decisions of the Calcutta High Court, as near as may be after the model of THE LAW REPORTS, which, issued under the direction of the Council of Law Reporting in England have within the last two years superseded thirteen sets of authorized reports and innumerable unauthorized publications.

In August 1864, was published "*The Weekly Reporter*, Appellate High Court, containing decisions of the Appellate High Court in all its branches, viz., in Civil, Revenue and Criminal cases as well as in cases referred by the Mofussil Small Cause Courts, together with Letters in Criminal cases and the Civil and Criminal Circular Orders issued by the High Court: also decisions of H. M.'s. Privy Council in cases heard in appeal from Courts of British India, by D. Sutherland." This publication has been regularly carried on up to the present date. Mr. Sutherland holds the appointment of short-hand writer to take down judgments orally delivered by the Judges. We are not aware that he is possessed of any legal qualifications to fit him for the difficult task of reporting. His so-called reports are mere office-copies of the judgments orally delivered and taken down by himself, or written out by the Judges before and in order to delivery. The facts of the cases and the arguments of counsel are not given: and the marginal notes or abstracts are sometimes incorrect and seldom hit the point the whole point and nothing but the point decided. Most useful this publication has undoubtedly been in the absence of any thing better and for the purpose of keeping its subscribers informed in a sort of newspaper fashion of the doings of the High Court; but neither it, nor *Wyman's Reporter* can claim for a moment to supersede the necessity for establishing a proper system of reporting. The *Weekly Reporter*, as a speculation has, we believe, proved a profitable one, and the fact that there are at present in existence two publications which have turned out successful investments for private enterprise, is a strong argument to show that an organized system of reporting, inaugurated and subsidized by the Government at first starting, would soon become self-supporting or nearly so.

The best independent attempt that has been made to establish a proper series of reports, since the institution of the Calcutta High Court, is perhaps the *Jurist*. This is mainly due to the fact that the *Jurist* has been generally edited by a Barrister, whose professional training indicated the proper method of executing such a task. But the cases reported in the *Jurist* have in general been those decided on the original side of the Court and few civil cases of Mofussil interest have found their way into its columns, while scarcely any attention has been paid to Criminal or Revenue reports, which are of such importance to judicial functionaries and practitioners in the interior. The *Jurist* is in fact a continuation of the old Supreme Court reports: and those, who have laboured or taken any interest in the undertaking, have known

more of the original side of the Court, than of the appellate side and its requirements and experiences. The result has been that the *Jurist* has not obtained that support in the Mofussil, which we believe would have been gladly accorded to the form of the publication, had it contained the necessary matter.

We may remark before closing our narrative of the published reports of the Calcutta Court that Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Sevestre have filled up the gap between Marshall's Reports ending with July 1863, and the *Weekly Reporter* commencing with August 1864, and that Mr. Sevestre still continues to publish selected reports of decisions, some of which are not to be found in the other publications.

We have now detailed what has been done in the way of reporting during the *regime* of the old Sudder and Supreme Courts, and since the institution of the present High Court. The publication of the reports of the Supreme Court was never carried on in any uninterrupted series for reasons already stated. To the Sudder Reports, the *Weekly Reporter* and the *Revenue Civil and Criminal Reporter* are entirely applicable the remarks contained in the following extract from Mr. Morley's chapter on the subject,\* written before the High Courts were established. Speaking of the monthly collections of the decisions of the Sudder Court published by order of Government, he remarks, "Does the present system of publishing the decisions afford to the subordinate judicial officers, the means of acquiring the requisite knowledge for their guidance with the least possible amount of labour and expenditure of time? I apprehend that no one will answer in the affirmative. The judgments themselves, it is true, show, on the face of them, that they are the result of patient investigation and deliberate weighing of the facts, and in numberless instances they are remarkable for their lucidity and precision. It will however be obvious to every one accustomed to the use, and consequently appreciating the value of full and explicit reports of the leading cases decided in the superior Courts of justice, that the meagre record of judgments, however valuable in themselves, without discrimination or comment, regardless of repetition, difficult of reference, and mixing up the most trivial with those of the last importance, can afford but slight instruction to the profession at large." The reports published in England contain a brief clear statement of the facts of the case, the arguments of counsel which refer to the most important cognate decisions, the judgment of the Court and a marginal note or abstract, which

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\* Administration of Justice in India. p. 341.

gives in terse perspicuous language the pith of the decision, the real point actually settled.\* To write a good marginal note, it has often been remarked, requires considerable ability. It may be safely said that no one is fitted for the task, who has not considerable legal knowledge and experience in order to enable him from his general acquaintance with the whole subject to comprehend and appreciate the particular point decided. Mr. Wheaton the accomplished author of the work on International Law, when Reporter of the Supreme Court of the United States, not only gave a summary of the able arguments, by which the cases were elucidated, but explained every important proposition by citation of the authorities adduced by counsel, and by copious notes giving the views entertained on the different questions by able lawyers.\* His twelve volumes of reports were declared by a German critic to contain the golden book of American law.

In this view it will be apparent that no proper *reports*, in the strict sense of the term, have ever been published, either of the decisions of the Sudder Court, or (Marshall's Reports perhaps excepted) of the decisions of the High Court on the appellate side, and that the undertaking yet remains to be accomplished either by the direct action of the State or by private enterprise. Of the paramount importance of the measure there ought to be no question. The Commissioners appointed to enquire into the expediency of a Digest of the Law of England, and of otherwise exhibiting in a compendious and accessible form the law, as embodied in judicial decisions, made a three-fold division of the sources of law in their first report presented to Her Majesty a few months since, *viz.*,

1. The *first* source is the common law, which consists of customs and principles handed down from remote times, and accepted from age to age, as furnishing rules of legal right.

2. The *second* source is the statute law, which derives its authority from the Legislature.

3. The *third* source is the law embodied in, and to a great extent created by judicial decisions and dicta. These, indeed, as far as they have relation to the common law and statute law, are not so much a source of law as authoritative expositions of it; but, with respect to doctrines of equity and rules of procedure

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\* "Reports," according to Sir W. Blackstone, "are histories of the several cases, with a short summary of the proceedings, which are preserved at large in the record, the arguments on both sides, and the reasons the Court gave for its judgment, taken down in short notes by persons present at the determination."

and evidence, they may often be regarded as an original source of law.

Of these three sources, the *first* is in India greatly influenced by the operation of the third, seeing that the customs and principles handed down from remote times are being gradually re-moulded under the influence of a foreign civilization.

The *second* source engages the attention of an able Jurist, employed by the State in India to keep the statute-book like a well-managed garden, in which everything is ready at hand for seasonable use, and all redundancies are carefully lopped off and removed. New laws are passed yearly under his auspices to meet the requirements of a rapidly advancing community; and the last *Gazette*, as we write, contained the draft of an Act repealing some 150 Acts and Regulations, which have become obsolete.

Shall nothing be done as to the *third* source; or, in order to avoid incurring a present small expenditure, shall it be left to spread neglected and unregulated\* making work for a future

\* The following account by the same Commissioners of the present state of things in Enland, is fraught with warning.

"The judicial decisions and dicta are dispersed through upwards of 1,300 volumes, comprising, as we estimate, nearly 100,000 cases, exclusive of about 150 volumes of Irish reports, which deal to a great extent with law common to England and Ireland. *A large proportion of these cases are of no real value as sources or expositions of law at the present day.* Many of them are obsolete; many have been made useless by subsequent statutes, by amendment of the law, repeal of the statutes on which the cases were decided, or otherwise; some have been reversed on appeal, or overruled in principle; some are inconsistent with or contradictory to others; many are limited to *particular facts or special states of circumstances furnishing* no general rule; and many do no more than put a meaning on mere singularities of expression in instruments (as wills, agreements, or local Acts of Parliament), or exhibit the application, in particular instances, of established rules of construction. A considerable number of the cases are reported many times over, in different publications; and there often exists (especially in earlier times) partial reports of the same case at different stages, involving much repetition. But all this matter remains, incumbering the books of reports. The cases are not arranged on any system, and their number receives large yearly accessions, also necessarily destitute of order; so that the volumes constitute (to use the language of one of your Majesty's Commissioners) 'what can hardly be described, but may be denominated a great chaos of judicial legislation.'

"At present the practitioner, in order to form an opinion on any point of law not of ordinary occurrence, is usually obliged to search out what rules of the common law, what statutes, and what judicial decisions bear upon the subject, and to endeavour to ascertain their combined effect. If, as frequently happens, the cases are numerous, this process is long and difficult; yet it must be performed by each practitioner for himself when

commission, and meanwhile creating difficulties and uncertainties in the administration of justice, to the great expense of *bond fide* litigants and the encouragement of wanton, if not fraudulent litigation.

We believe that the necessary measures we advocate could be taken without difficulty and with very little cost to the State, and that if a proper system were inaugurated, it would soon become self-supporting to a great extent. We have already shown, that there are at present in existence two publications which are profitable, as private speculations. We are well aware that the cost of *copying* the judgments of the Court, and the other expenses incident to these publications are no proper measure of the expenses, that must of necessity be incurred in carrying out a proper system of reporting; but the fact is an indication that there is a large number of persons in India, who would gladly become subscribers to an authorized set of reports; and that the whole cost of the undertaking would not fall upon Government. We believe that private enterprise, subsidized by Government, would effectually accomplish what is necessary, or that perhaps an enterprising firm of booksellers would be found to take upon themselves the risk of publication, if only the reports were *authorized*, and they were secured the privilege of being sole publishers. The old-established printing firm of Messrs. W. Clowes and Sons undertook the printing, publication and distribution of the *Law Reports* upon terms, which absolved the Council of Law reporting from all pecuniary liability. The result has been all that could have been desired. Could not something of the same sort be done here in Calcutta? If Government would to a small extent subsidize the undertaking, on condition that it be subjected to proper management, there would be no doubt of success. The Judges of the High Court would willingly, we believe, note at the time of decision the cases, which they considered of sufficient importance to be published. Let a Council be constituted, consisting of certain of the Judges and other gentlemen of suitable qualifications. Let the cases so noted for publication be submitted to this Council for approval and further *weeding*. Let two or more editors be appointed, and let the selections be made so as to secure a union of legal training with Mofussil experience, such an union as is now

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the question arises, and in some cases after an interval of time it may have even to be repeated by the same person. Without treatises, which collect and comment on the law relating to particular subjects, it is difficult to conceive how the work of the legal profession and the administration of justice, which greatly depends on it, could be carried on."

found on the amalgamated Bench of the High Court; and let proper measures be taken for translating the *High Court Reports* into the vernacular languages, and let those reports be regarded as the *authorized reports*. And here we may remark that too much stress was laid upon the words *by authority*, when the old Sudder Court stopped the publication of the Select Reports. Every decision and every judgment of each Judge must issue under the authority of the Court, but lawyers never give more weight to any decision than it is entitled to, all the circumstances of the case being considered. When a particular precedent is quoted in an English Court, it is constantly impugned or supported by the argument, that the decision is "ill-reported"—"a mere *obiter dictum*"—that the case "was ill-argued" or "not argued at all"—"the application was not opposed"—"the Court was equally divided"—or "not unanimous"—"the decision has been disapproved by the Judges"—"the reasons of the judgment are not given"—"no account is given of the pleadings"—"there must have been other facts not apparent in the report"—"a certain previous case was not cited"—"it is inconsistent with previous or later decisions"—"was made in forgetfulness of a particular statute"—"has never been challenged or acted upon"—"was not a deliberate and final judgment"—or—"it was the *dictum* or decision of an eminent, a cautious, an accurate, a very learned, an acute Judge, of great industry and research; peculiarly skilled in that particular branch of the law"—"it is the judgment of a full Court, or a *strong* Court, or an unanimous Court"—"after time taken for deliberation"—"twice argued"—"argued by eminent, astute and painstaking counsel, who were not likely to overlook any point"—"acquiesced in by the parties"—"never appealed against,"—"constantly cited and acted upon for a number of years"—"certain to have been challenged, if erroneous"—"never disapproved of"—"reported by a gentleman of well-known learning and accuracy"—"consistent with many later cases"—&c.\* It will be thus obvious that the value of every decision is not the same, and is to be estimated *inter alia* by the number of Judges, who pronounced it. The publication of *selected cases*, by permission, or under the authority of the Court does not then imply, that the whole Court, including every Judge on every Bench, accept every one of these cases as a final and decisive settlement of the point decided. It means or should mean nothing more than that the most important cases are published with a view of drawing particular attention to them

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\* See Warren's Law Studies, Vol. II. p. 739 and 740.

as an exposition of the case-law of the country, as far as they go, authoritative indeed as far as the maxim—*Stare decisis*—makes them so; but not immutable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, so as to be incapable of being affected and improved by time and experience.

Beside the decisions, which should be included in the *authorized High Court Reports*, there are many matters connected with the every day current of legal life, as to which judicial officers and practitioners and others would be usefully kept informed. The observations made by the High Court on the revision of Sessions trials, points of practice, explanations of doubtful Sections of the Acts, important *obiter dicta*, &c., &c., which have not the binding effect of final and decisive judgments, but are yet suggestive and important to all engaged in the administration of justice. All these, together with legal news of all kinds, changes, appointments, &c., might well be published in a sort of newspaper addition to the *Reports*, but in size and type kept carefully distinct therefrom—the *one* being merely a passing chronicle of the things of the day, which must possess a certain amount of interest for those, whose daily life is concerned therewith, and who may well be benefited by the experiences of others—as well as their own: the *other* being an important collection of case-law compiled for present and future use, to diminish the practical mischief of the necessary maxim *ignorantia juris non excusat*, and to secure uniformity in the administration of justice. A publication such as that we have attempted to describe would create a taste for legal study in the Mofussil, it would bring home their deficiencies to the Judge and to the practitioner, would set them thinking and stir up their minds to improvement; and would supply to a certain extent the present want of criticism and discussion, which are necessary as well as conducive to progress. Stagnant waters become impure, and stagnant air breeds malaria and sickness. The brawling brook contains the purest water, and there is more *ozone* in the air after a storm. So the human mind is improved by discussion and reflection and the attrition of new ideas against old ones.

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## ART. II.—*Unpublished Journal of Captain Musafir.*

THE requests which have reached us on the subject, from very many quarters, induce us to lay before the public the third and last division of Captain Musafir's tour in the mountains of Europe. We do so with the less regret because we regard the subject as pre-eminently fraught with interest to Anglo-Indians. Those who have passed the best part of their lives in India, and to whom Europe appears in the same light as did the promised land to the wearied followers of Moses ere yet Pisgah was reached and the waters of the Jordan left behind, are particularly anxious to learn from the experience of travelled Anglo-Indians, what they must do, where they should go, what preparations are necessary for the journey, the capabilities of the countries which they must traverse, the habits of European life, the expenses of travelling, its discomforts, and advantages. Now, we need scarcely repeat that we do not write for those whose sole, or whose chief, object in life is what is called "society,"—a phrase which we take to signify shabby-gentility of the highest order,—a sort of life in which each family vies with its neighbour in profusion of outward show, and in which the giving and attending formal dinner-parties, with their necessary concomitants of late hours and heating stimulants, appear the end and aim of being. Such a life as this, with its many variations, its natural fostering of superficial accomplishments, and its tendency to emasculate the mind, has always appeared to us to be a waste of existence. For those congenial spirits whom it suits these pages are not written. We address ourselves solely to those who love nature in her endless varieties of matchless beauty, who prefer the green slopes of the mountain sides to the waxed floor of the ball-room, the glorious sunrise to the glare of gas-lamps, and the sparkling water of the mountain stream to the peculiar compound which too often does duty as champagne. For these and these alone we string together the rough notes of Captain Musafir. In a perusal of his travels they will find, at least some indication of the pleasures which wandering over the Alpine regions opens out to the manly mind ;

they will see that it requires little money and that it entails little trouble to find enjoyment unsurpassed anywhere in the world ; and, seeing this, they will think it no deprivation to abstain from costly and unsatisfactory indulgences in this country, in order the more thoroughly to avail themselves, when they are able to take to their furlough, of the rich enjoyment of European travel.

It has been suggested to us by more than one of those who have expressed an interest in the previous account of Captain Musafir's wandering, that we should endeavour to add to the practical character of the narrative by stating in a detailed form the proper outfit of a traveller, the amount of baggage to which he should confine himself, and the expenses of the route. It is our intention to respond as fully as we can to this invitation, and, as we hold very strongly the opinion that the pleasures of travelling, great at all times, are immensely enhanced by the society of ladies, we shall make our remarks on this head applicable to both sexes. We shall indicate the nature and number of the dresses each ought to carry, and shall point out the means by which those who are accustomed to the unlimited amplitude of an Indian wardrobe may be induced to restrict their requirements to the simple necessities of the traveller. In fact we hope to make this paper practically useful to the Anglo-Indians of the class for which it is written.

But before we enter on this part of the subject we shall lay before our readers, from Captain Musafir's notes, his account of his tour in the Tyrol and the mountains adjacent. It was but a simple walk of a month's duration, taken in company with a friend. But though simple, it was beyond description enjoyable. In fact its simplicity constituted one of its chief charms. To see the mountain-peasants in all the vivid reality of unsophisticated life, courteous, friendly, hospitable, fond of strangers, anxious to please, unspoilt by a pseudo-civilization, neither grasping nor reserved, but, in the highest sense of the term, enjoying existence, going to their work in the morning with zest and returning from it with a light heart, ready to join in the rustic dance, or to listen to the sound of the guitar, its strings deftly struck by the hands of some village maiden ;—to see them, happy and contented, never uproarious or drunken, satisfied with little, never happier than when hired to assist a gentleman in his pursuit of the chamois, or to accompany him in a crusade against the finny tribe ;—to see them thus, is a sight now, alas ! only to be witnessed in Austria and the Tyrol,—countries in which no over-pressure of a selfish civilization has produced rudeness of speech and sullenness of conduct, and

where, as yet, associations for licensed murder, such as those which have lately been exposed at Sheffield, are, thank God, unknown and impossible. Of all the European races, indeed, there are none who in manly symmetry of form and in womanly beauty, in hearty, honest simplicity of life and manners, and in natural refinement and warm-heartedness, can bear comparison with the peasantry of the four Austrian provinces, *viz.*, Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, and the Tyrol. In this part of the world the traveller, if he be not himself a boor, can enjoy the best and finest of all those blessings which make this earth so bright; he sees the most glorious scenery, not surpassed by Switzerland; he can wander over paths, accessible to all, and of surpassing loveliness; he need take with him only a few clothes, for everything else he finds provided in the cleanest of inns by the most civil of hosts; he has abundant society, for the conversation of the peasants is a mine of gold,—not to speak of the travellers constantly met with; music is there a national passion; sport of all sorts is abundant; civility and kindness are Austrian habits. To enjoy all this it is only necessary that the traveller should be capable of enjoyment; that he should not have been spoiled by artificial manners and that over-refinement of civilization which can see nothing good in a foreigner; that he should conform to national customs and meet politeness with its like. For a man who can do this, and who understands the language of the country, those four provinces are a Paradise.

Captain Musafir's last tour was necessarily limited in point of time. He, alas! had within six weeks of its conclusion to set out once more for his Indian home, and he could spare but one month for the final peep at the country which, during his wanderings of the previous year, he had learned so much to love. It was impossible therefore to traverse the whole of it. Much that is beautiful and lovely has therefore been left for another visit to Europe. Bearing in mind the time available, it was determined by him, in consultation with the friend who was to be his companion, and whom we will call Mercator, to walk first over the Salzkammergut, then, after a glance at the König's See, to proceed southwards to Wiledbad Gastein; crossing thence the Rauriser Tauru to Windish Matrey to make their way *via* Meran to Innsbrück, thence through the Finstermünz Pass, and over the Stelvio into Italy as far as Tirano; from that place across the Bernina into the glorious valley of the Engadin,—the head quarters of the Alpine Club,—and thence *via* Chur and Ragatz to Zurich, where the tour would end. A glance at the map will shew the excellence of the plan, and though the weather, as we

shall see, prevented its being carried out in its entirety, its main features were yet substantially adhered to throughout.

The two travellers met at Salzburg on the morning of the 4th August. In proceeding to that place Musafir took the opportunity of stopping at and inspecting the fine old town of Bamberg, and of renewing his acquaintance with Nuremberg, which he had visited five years before. Both these cities, the symbols of a bygone era, are most interesting. Though very near to one another,—the distance being but thirty-eight miles,—they were respectively, during the religious wars of the seventeenth century, the head quarters of the rival parties in Bavaria,—the free city of Nuremberg being firmly and exclusively Protestant, whilst the archi-episcopal Bamberg was rooted in its attachment to the ancient faith. In this respect they are altered only in so far that they are less exclusive and more liberal, for Bamberg still retains its Romanist character, whilst in Nuremberg, out of a population of 60,000, there are but 4,000 who are not Protestants. Of the two cities Nuremberg claims the attention to a far greater degree than the other. Once within its walls the traveller lives, as it were, in the sixteenth century, when it was one of the chief cities of Europe, and its fame was in every land. The picturesque streets with their gabled houses still bearing the ancient sign boards; the magnificent churches, uninjured, though Nuremberg became reformed, during the reformation; the fine old castle on the hill overlooking the town, glorious not only from its still stately appearance but from its many reminiscences,—for not only was it the ancient seat of the Hohenzollerns, but from its towers the great Gustavus watched the blockading army of Wallenstein, and from it he sallied to fight his first great battle with the leader whom he was yet destined to beat, though in beating to die. The monuments of Peter Vischer and of Adam Krafft; the paintings of Albert Durer; and, perhaps more than all, the unmistakeable assertion of former glories apparent in every street, in every building, in the lofty deameanour of the inhabitants;—all these are wonderfully impressive. The genius of the place asserts itself everywhere. The stranger is under an influence such as no other city is capable of producing. The magnificence of a past era appeals irresistibly to the spell-bound imagination. The admiration excited by every striking portion of the old town is mingled with reverence and awe; and when he does tear him self away, he is sensible not merely of departure from one place to another, but of a return to the world of the present.

Those who should visit Nuremberg and Bamberg intent upon other objects than merely the inspection of both cities, would do well to remember that they form two angles of a triangle, of which the third angle is Baireuth, containing a most charming district, full of hills and rivers, fossil caves and lovely scenery, known as Franconian Switzerland. Ten days or a fortnight can well be spent in rambling over this most lovely district, equally attractive to the fisherman, the geologist, and the lover of scenery. The trout and grayling fishing is really most excellent, and can easily be procured. Nine years ago Musafir went over a part of this district with some relatives, and he has to this day a vivid recollection, not only of the lovely scenery, but of the excellent fishing properties of the numerous clear and rapid rivers which he met with in his travels. There is consolation in the thought that it is a country which will well repay a second visit.

Leaving Nuremberg, Musafir proceeded by rail to Munich. Starting from that place early on the following morning he met Mercator at the railway station, and they travelled in the same train to Salzburg, putting up there at the hotel, visited by Musafir the previous year, known as the *Drei Allirten*, kept by the obliging Mr. Jung. Again were the salient points of this most striking town visited and admired; the two hills, which add so much to its beauty, on either side of the Salza, ascended, our travellers stopping on the summit of the Capuzinerberg till the view it commanded,—that of the castle surmounting the town in the foreground, with the Untersberg, Watzmann, and other glorious mountains behind it, became deeply impressed on their memory. Returning thence to the inn, making on their way the necessary arrangements regarding the exchange of their English gold into Austrian paper, they found that Mr. Jung, true to his reputation, had already procured a guide, who agreed to conduct them as far as the lake called the Mond See, eighteen miles distant, the following morning. Having settled with this needful companion, they asked Mr. Jung how they could spend the evening pleasantly. “Oh,” he replied, “why not go to the open air concert;—entrance free, and the best band in Salzburg.” Thither accordingly, after dinner, they proceeded. We record the fact merely to show the pleasant, easily amused, orderly, nature of the Austrian people. The two Englishmen entered a large piece of ground enclosed all around, and capable of containing thousands. On a raised platform near the entrance was a magnificent Austrian band. Beyond this the ground was nearly covered with little tables, fitted each to accommodate from two to eight persons, with as many chairs.

At these tables were the population of Salzburg of all grades. Some had before them ices, some coffee, some wine, but the majority beer and cheese. In fact almost all belonged to the artisan class. But there they sat, so quietly, so orderly, and yet listening intently to the music; giving vent to their feelings only in a tremendous *Hock*,\* when some favourite or national air touched a chord in their hearts. Between the performances, they went to their beer, or talked good humouredly with one another. The band, as are most Austrian bands, was magnificent. It was a sight peculiarly Austrian. The people of this nation possess an instinctive love of simple pleasures, and never allow their spirits to carry them into excesses. At Vienna, they almost jostle the Emperor in the gardens of Schönbrunn and on the Prater. There is no attempt to incommode their sovereign by crowding round him and staring at him; but with true politeness they allow him to pass as one of themselves. At Salzburg this audience of artisans conducted themselves with as much order and propriety, and with as true an appreciation of music, as could have the most aristocratic society at a concert in the Hanover Square rooms.

On the following morning the tour commenced. Each traveller was armed with a small bag, containing the wardrobe necessary for a walking expedition,—the nature of which will be hereafter described,—an umbrella, a light overcoat, and a stick or Alpine stock. The bag was of such a size that it might easily have been carried by the traveller in case of necessity. Practically, however, both bags were always carried by the guide, it being a service to which men of that class are accustomed. We have said that an arrangement had been made with one of these men to conduct our travellers as far as the Mond See, eighteen miles distant, the remuneration being fixed at two florins.† Accordingly, on the morning of the 5th, after a good breakfast, they bade adieu to Mr. Jung and started. The road to Thalgau, twelve miles, is pretty and picturesque, over undulating ground, with no very steep ascents, and no very remarkable scenery. It is here a corn-growing country, and the peasants were engaged in gathering in the harvest. It was a day admirably adapted for that purpose, being bright and sunny, rather hot indeed for pedestrians, but not the less enjoyable. Thalgau was reached about 1 o'clock, and at a clean little *auberge* in this pretty village, luncheon, consisting of an omelette, the national dish of the poorer Austrians, and in making which they are unsurpassed, was ordered. Whilst this

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\* The Austrian Hurrah.

† An Austrian florin is about the value of a rupee.

was being prepared, the guide made his appearance and protested his inability to walk further. His shoes, he said, had pinched him, and his feet were so blistered that he could not go on. A council of war was at once held, consisting of the two travellers and the obliging hostess. The resignation of the guide was of course accepted, and his claims were audited by the hostess, who took upon herself the appointment of his successor. This having been satisfactorily arranged, justice was done to the excellent luncheon, and the route resumed, under the direction of the new guide, at about 2 o'clock.

The six miles from Thalgau to the Mond See took the travellers over a very lovely country, beautifully wooded, the glorious mountains ever nearer and nearer. As the lake was approached, without however being yet visible, these beauties increased; the tints of the foliage being lovely in their endless variety. At last they came upon the lake itself, nine miles long, with bright clear water, shut in on one side by precipitous rocks, in contrast to which are the prettily wooded banks on the other. Our travellers put up at a little inn called the Krone, situated at the head of the lake, and commanding in the distance a full view of the Schafberg, the giant of the Salzkammergut. The Krone was a decent little inn, very clean and comfortable and kept by an obliging landlady. The water of the lake had however greater attractions for our travellers, who, after a little rest, sallied forth intent to try its depth. After walking along its banks for about ten minutes they suddenly came upon a bathing establishment, consisting of a building with dressing rooms built out into the lake in deep water for the convenience of swimmers, who were thus able to swim back to their room and dress in comfort. There was an upper storey to these rooms where hot coffee was always ready, and which was used as a lounge. This place was the property of one Peter Taffner, a great character, and who also kept a small inn, more popular evidently than the Krone, for it was quite crowded. It appears that the Mond See is a great resort for the holiday-makers of Salzburg and the neighbourhood. The loveliness of the scenery, the pretty walks in the neighbourhood, and the quiet, combine with the excellent arrangements of Taffner to recommend it to those who are in want of rest or recreation. Taffner himself is the model of an obliging host. He is ever cheerful, ever active, ever intent on carrying out the wishes of others. Nor are his charges unreasonable. He informed one of our friends that his terms for board and lodging, including the use of the swimming rooms and boats, were two florins a day, and that he would take two people for three florins. His little inn seemed clean and

comfortable, and, certainly, in so far as the attention of the landlord could conduce to comfort, it would have been impossible to be better off anywhere.

That evening and early the next morning our travellers enjoyed the deep limpid waters of the Mond See. After the second operation they returned to the Krone, and settling with the landlady, started off in a boat, intending to traverse three-fourths of the length of the lake to a little village called Schärfling, whence they would ascend the Schafberg. This mountain, though only about 5,800 feet above the level of the sea, is a great favourite with the Austrians. The ascent is steep, with scarcely a single level or gradual incline to break it. But once on the summit it commands a view, which, in beauty and extent, is not inferior to that enjoyed from the summit of the Rigi. Thence may be seen all the mountains and lakes of the Salzkammergut and Upper Austria, as far as the forests of Bohemia, on the one side; on the other, the snow-clad Alps of Styria, the glorious Watzmann and Hohe Göll, and even, sometimes, the snowy summit of the gigantic Gross Glockner. The numberless lakes to be seen in every direction add greatly to the beauty of the panorama, and give to the foreground a life and reality which would otherwise be wanting. The number of lakes visible on a clear day surpasses even the number of those to be seen from the Rigi. On the summit is a little inn, just finished at the time of which we are writing, containing eight bed-rooms and a large *salle-à-manger*. To secure the possession of one of those bed-rooms, it was necessary to be armed with a ticket obtainable only at St. Wolfgang, a village on the high road on the side of the mountain opposite to that on which our travellers were to attempt it. They, therefore, were compelled to trust, in this respect, to chance.

The two friends had a pull of about an hour and a half in the lake before they reached Schärfling. Taking a hasty meal at the little hostelry of that place, and depositing the bulk of their traps with the kind landlady, they started off without a guide,—for the road was not difficult to find,—to make the ascent. A walk of thirty-five minutes took them to the village of Hüttenstein. After passing this, the road makes a turn to the left, and the ascent fairly begins. It is steep, and, as we said, the steepness is continuous. Nevertheless it commands lovely views in every direction, long before the summit is reached, and it was inspiring to know that the view from that point was the finest of all. In three hours and a half, after a very leisurely walk, that point was reached. No other travellers had arrived. As our friends gained the summit and entered the little inn they



were met by a smiling waiter, rubbing his hands, and professing great anxiety to please. He at once gave them a room on condition that they were to evacuate it in case any ticket-bearing travellers should arrive; even in that event he promised them each a mattress in the *salle-à-manger*. It soon became apparent that it would be necessary to have resource to this expedient, for travellers came pouring in in great numbers, till not only were the rooms occupied, but it seemed probable that it would be difficult for the *salle*, large as it was, to accommodate all. The new travellers, as they came up, were however all met by the same smiling waiter, in the same smiling manner, and all were equally assured of "a mattress at all events,"—the waiter, as he said this, throwing an impressiveness into his manner which it was quite delightful to witness. Our friends, indeed, as they sat waiting for their dinner, could not refrain from taking a great interest in his generalship, and in wondering how he would manœuvre so as not "to break the word of promise to the hope." The *salle* was provided with separate tables, large and small, according to the Austrian fashion, and at these each person dined with his own party. At last all the travellers seemed to have arrived, dinner was served to them in the order in which they had come up, none but the smiling waiter being in attendance. It was wonderful to watch how well he understood his work, how cleverly he waited upon several tables at the same time, never making a mistake. By 9 o'clock his task was apparently over, all the dinners had been eaten, coffee had been served, cigars had been lighted, and all began to think of their mattresses. Our friends, anxious to admit some little fresh air into a room in which so many had dined and were smoking, and upon whose floor some twenty would have to sleep, had even contrived to open, unseen by the multitude, a window in their vicinity. Suddenly, however, just after the waiter had announced his intention of bringing in the mattresses, the door opened, and a cantankerous-looking man, accompanied by three sons, one about eighteen, the other two about fifteen and twelve respectively, entered the room. The man, who was very hot, stood at once in the centre, wiping his face with his handkerchief, and took a good survey about him. All at once his eye fell upon the open window. He immediately preferred a request that it might be shut. This was of course done. He then sat down with his party at the table, and, on the waiter appearing, ordered some wine, saying he could not eat. A pint bottle of light wine having been brought, he proceeded to divide half of it in exact mathematical proportions, according to their size

if not according to their age, amongst the three sons, each receiving from about one to three table-spoonsful. The division made did not, however, appear very agreeable to the second son, for, in a most unmistakable manner, he asked for more. This demand having been refused, a controversy ensued between father and son, and continued for about twenty minutes, to the great amusement of the other strangers present, who, having nothing else to do, could only look on. The boy all this time continued deaf to his father's arguments and to insist upon his rights, whereupon the father, to settle the matter, divided the remainder of the wine between himself and the two other boys, to the absolute exclusion of the second, who, thereupon, abandoned himself to tears. It was past 10 o'clock before this matter was settled, and then all began fondly to hope that the mattresses might be brought in. But just as the smiling waiter had arrived apparently at the same conclusion, he was summoned by the cantankerous man and ordered to bring dinner. There was no help for the outsiders, and indeed to Musafir and his friend it was no deprivation, for they derived intense amusement from watching the manners of their neighbours,—all intent on enjoyment; they took advantage, moreover, of the cantankerous man being engaged in his cutlets to re-open the window, and thus to give some relief to the atmosphere of the room. Meanwhile the waiter began to bring in the mattresses. The first of these, which had been placed in a corner, was instantly appropriated by a man with a comical face, a flowing robe and a high-crowned cap, which caused him to bear a striking resemblance to a high priest. This manœuvre of his excited the admiration of his friends, who proceeded to follow his example, amid the general good humour of all. At last all the mattresses had been brought in, twenty-two in number, the cantankerous man had finished his coffee, and all prepared to turn in. It was thought, after a short interval, that every one had turned in, and one of the Austrians was preparing to put out the light, when the voice of the eldest son of the cantankerous man was heard begging him to delay that operation, as his father had gone into the kitchen to dry his clothes. He did not come back for half an hour, and his first act when he did return was to reclose the window, the opening of which had till then happily remained undiscovered. He then proceeded to undress, and arraying himself in an improvised night-cap, which gave him a most fantastic appearance, at length put out the light. The atmosphere of the room was however stifling. Upwards of thirty people had dined and smoked in it; now twenty-two were to sleep in it, and every door and window were firmly closed. It appeared

to both Musafir and Mercator that such a state of things was scarcely to be borne. Yet as it was impossible to go boldly against public opinion, which had apparently endorsed the act of the cantankerous man, it was determined to effect by subtlety that which could in no other manner be accomplished. Waiting then till all were apparently asleep, Musafir crawled up to one of the windows, and tried to open it: but it was stuck too fast. With a second one he was more successful, and for ten minutes they revelled in the enjoyment of pure oxygen. But only for ten minutes. At the expiration of that time the voice of the cantankerous man was again heard, begging that the window might be shut. Thenceforth there was no help for it, but in sleep.

At 4 o'clock every one rose to watch the effect of the sunrise on the panorama of the distant mountains. A glorious wash in the cold water outside the house somewhat compensated our two friends for the atmosphere inside the room, and they ascended the little elevation above the inn with calmer minds and refreshed bodies. Soon the glorious red disk appeared, illuminating the horizon, tinting the distant snow with his rosy colour, shewing a long succession, first of the far-off mountains, then of the varie-coloured hills nearer, than of the clear bright lakes underneath them. To distant Bohemia, to hill-bound Bavaria, to the waters of the Danube on the one side, and to the glaciers of the Gross Glockner on the other, the eye penetrated. Long did they gaze at this glorious picture of nature,—far more splendid, infinitely more glorious and more seductive, than the artificial panoramas, which, with the glare of gas-lamps, evoke the astonishment and admiration of the untravelled denizens of towns!

An hour later the two travellers started to descend, doing the journey to Schärfling at a great pace. Under the trees of the garden attached to the little hostelry of that place they had a capital breakfast, then, repossessing themselves of their traps, they entered a narrow canoe-shaped boat and paddled to Sager-Mühle, at the extreme end of the lake, the furthest point from that whence they had set out the preceding day. At Sager-Mühle they landed, and shouldering their traps, walked about two miles to Unter-Ach, a little village on the Atter See, the largest lake in the northern part of the Salzkammergut,—it being upwards of fifteen miles in length. On the banks of the lake at Unter-Ach is a clean and comfortable inn, with a sort of pavilion built out into the water, commanding a most lovely view. The beer at Unter-Ach is especially to be commended. The scenery at the lower end of the lake is

very pretty indeed, being well wooded and hilly, but the upper part is somewhat bare. A lovely river runs out of it into the Mond See. Our travellers stayed here only long enough to make arrangements for a boat to take them to Steinbach, whence it was their intention to walk across the mountains to the two little gems, the lakes of Langbath, visited by Musafir and his wife the previous year. The boat was soon ready, but it required an hour's hard pulling to reach Steinbach, a rather straggling village on the opposite bank of the lake, and much higher up it. As there was no road thence to Langbath, but only a mountain path, amongst many others leading elsewhere, it was absolutely necessary to engage a guide to show the way. This was, strange to say, a work of some difficulty. It was a fête day, and the villagers were enjoying themselves at the lake and apparently did not much care to go so far out of their way. However the offer of two florins and a half with a meal at the end of it induced a young fellow to volunteer for the service, and off they started. The distance to the little inn near the first lake was but twelve or thirteen miles, but it was the most trying walk our travellers attempted during their tour. It was over a succession of high mountain ridges, very beautiful and picturesque, but steep and tiring. No sooner had one height been reached, and the travellers had looked eagerly forward in the hope of catching a view of the beautiful lake, than another ascent appeared before them. The pace too at which they had descended the Schafberg told upon them, and when they reached the little inn at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 in the evening, they both felt dead beat. It was refreshing under such circumstances to receive the warm greetings of the worthy old couple who kept the inn. "It's the Herr Capitain," called out the Krähmayer as they approached, holding out both his hands to welcome his visitors. Instantly there appeared, in his wake, the old lady with her honest kind face betokening the warmest interest. She was followed by the two servant girls, smiling their welcome. Questions were asked of all that had happened in the interval, mingled with expressions of pleasure at the renewal of the acquaintance. It transpired in the course of conversation that the little inn was full. The worthy couple, however, insisted upon putting Musafir and his friend into their own room, saying they could easily manage elsewhere for the night. Meanwhile the hostess gave orders for the preparation of a repast in her best style, of which the speckled trout was to form a necessary portion. This was done ample justice to, and the rest of the evening was spent in pleasantly chatting with these honest, warm-hearted Austrians.

Early in the morning, after a plunge in the glorious little basin formed by the river just below the inn, our two friends started to spend the forenoon at the two lakes, the peculiar beauties of which we have already described.\* We will only refer to them now to remark that notwithstanding the glowing language in which Musafir had painted them to his companion, Mercator found the reality, especially with respect to the second lake, far surpass the conceptions he had formed. As to Musafir, he thought it then, and he thinks it still, one of the wonders of Europe. Had it been situated in Switzerland it would long before this have been thronged by crowds of tourists; in the course of a few years its simple beauty would have been spoilt by the erection of artificial grottoes, and vulgar refreshment-rooms, but being in unsophisticated Austria, off the line of rail, and not on the high road, unmarked, or scarcely marked, by the English guide-books, it has happily hitherto escaped defilement of that sort, and still constitutes, in its simple majesty, a place in which nature reigns supreme and triumphant, far beyond the puny efforts of art.

That same afternoon our two friends bade farewell to their kind hosts, after many promises—alas! not yet fulfilled—of a future visit, and started in an einspänner for the little village of Traunkirchen on the Gmunen lake. An einspänner is one of the best sort of carriages for mountain travelling. It is a four wheeled chaise, with a hood, a low seat in front, and a place behind for the luggage. In the seat over which is the hood it can accommodate two people, whilst in front there is a place for the driver, and, if need be, for a fourth person beside him. It is fitted up with arrangements for keeping out rain, and is, altogether, a most comfortable sort of conveyance. In one of these our two travellers drove to Traunkirchen, a distance of only seven miles, and, arriving there, put up at the comfortable little inn facing the giant Traunstein, a rocky mountain rising straight up from the surface of the water to a height of nearly 5,500 feet, and giving by its presence an air of stately grandeur to that part of the lake, in marked and striking contrast to the smiling verdure and green foregrounds, studded with villas, on the other side. The landlord of this little inn did not at all impress our travellers at first sight. He was short and stout, with a swarthy complexion and gloomy air, giving one the idea of a man to whom a smile was unknown, and in whose eyes a hearty laugh was the surest indication of moral turpitude. But a few hours' acquaintance with him was sufficient to dissipate these illusions.

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\* *Calcutta Review*, November, 1866.

It soon appeared that he was a very good little fellow, rather matter of fact indeed, but quite a character in his way. After our friends had finished dinner they invited him, according to the homely Austrian custom, to come and sit at their table, and partake of some wine. It soon appeared that not even an innkeeper is proof against the liquid that "maketh glad the heart of man," for in a few minutes he was engaged in unfolding the principal events of his life. The most important of these had reference to his service in the Austrian army during a period of six years, in the course of which had been fought the battles of Magenta and Solferino, at both of which he "assisted." He was then a corporal, and he complained bitterly,—he felt it, he said, even then,—of having been kept for three days and three nights without food of any kind. In relating this sad event, his face assumed an expression of agony, which, contrasted with his well-rounded form, was, to our travellers, inexpressibly comic. "But," suggested Mercator, mildly, "it does not appear to have made you thin." "Thin," shrieked the landlord, with an awful grimace, "I was as thin as a lath, "you could have pulled me through a ring; I was just like that"—saying this, he drew in his face hideously. It was evident that he still felt the pangs of those terrible three days. He talked freely of the Austrian Generals, and of all but Benedek disparagingly. But his greatest fury was reserved for the mention of the name of Giulay. "The scoundrel," he said, "*hole ihn der Teufel*,"—and he draws full pay to this day!" Many anecdotes of his military life did he relate, almost all personal to himself, and told with an air of gravity, which, considering that the ludicrous predominated in the stories, was most comical.

We pass over the walk to the Traunfalls, the visit to Gmunden, the drive to Ischl, interesting as they were, because in a previous number\* we have described the impressions made by these places on the mind of Musafir. On reaching Ischl the travellers drove to the Kaiserinn Elisabeth, but, it was the height of the season, and that hotel, large as it was, was crowded to the topmost garret. But this did not much signify. The obliging landlord, Herr Endmoser, recommended them to an adjoining hotel, and engaged to procure for them, for next morning, the best guide in the country to conduct them over the mountains to the Grundl-See.

Very early next morning they started,—not indeed by the carriage road followed by Musafir and his wife the previous year,—

but *vid* Rettenbach over the Sandling Alp,—about 5,000 feet high,—one of the most charming walks possible to conceive. There was but a path-way, but it led to most lovely places : some of the gorges being magnificent. The ascent of the Sandling was steep, but once surmounted, the travellers came upon a large plateau of lovely green turf, covered with wild strawberries, at first level, but afterwards descending with an increasing slope towards Alt-Aussee. From this summit were visible, apparently quite close, the shining Dachstein with his field of snow, the stern stony Loser, causing the Dachstein to shine still more brightly from the contrast, below, and between them and the travellers, a smiling green foreground. Not long was this view vouchsafed them. The clouds, then rising from the horizon, soon over-spread the heavens, and scarcely had Alt-Aussee been reached, four hours and a half after leaving Ischl, than the rain poured down in torrents. The summer-house, jutting out into the lake, of the little inn at Alt-Aussee was however admirably adapted to lunch in on a wet day, and the travellers fondly hoped that before that meal had been consumed, the rain would hold up, and the walk across the hills to the Grundl-See resumed. As however the rain still continued "to pour, it became necessary to give up the walk across the hills and to proceed to the Grundl-See by the road, through Aussee. An hour and a half took our friends to the lake. There, as at Langbath, the greetings were warm and friendly. The hostess was, as usual, demonstrative, but many changes had occurred in the household. Elise, the under-cook, had been allowed to accept the situation of head-cook in a neighbouring inn; whilst Fanny, the Kellnerinn, had left to live with her mother, who was infirm. The old Kanzler, however, was there, as anxious as ever to go about with the "Herrschaft." The lake itself, notwithstanding the clouded state of the sky, was as glorious as ever, still soft, beautiful, and bewitching, well deserving the title of the Pride of Styria. Other lakes may indeed surpass this in some one particular point, but in the combination of beauties of all sorts the Grundl-See remains unrivalled. It is enchanting in all weathers, and though the day on which our travellers arrived was peculiarly unfavorable, Mercator, who saw it for the first time, was struck with its wonderful loveliness, as well as with the magic effect produced by the quickly passing clouds on the mountains, differing so widely from one another, by which it was surrounded.

At 6 o'clock next morning,—the rain having ceased though the clouds were still hanging about,—our travellers walked to

the inn, about one-third of the way down the lake, at which Elise was cook, and after partaking of a breakfast prepared by her, were picked up by the Kanzler in a boat, and piloted to the end of the lake. Thence they proceeded to the Töplitz and Kammer Sees. Notwithstanding the weather, the lakes looked most glorious, and it was with regret that the two friends found it impossible to stay there another day. Had they been sure of fine weather it might have been attempted, but the prophets continued to prophesy rain. It began to pour indeed on their return to the inn, and continued so with few intermissions the entire afternoon. Nevertheless, after an early dinner, they tore themselves away and walked twelve miles to Obertraun, a little village on the lake of Hallstadt, the Kanzler leading the way. In fine weather this is a glorious walk; even under the actual circumstances it was enjoyable; for though the rain came down in heavy showers, and the clouds rested on the tops of the mountains, there were occasional breaks, affording lovely peeps, and occasionally disclosing very grand scenery. From Obertraun a boat conveyed them to the little inn, the Grüner Baum, at Hallstadt.

We will not accompany our travellers from Hallstadt to Golling,—they having followed the same route as that pursued by the Musafirs the previous year,—but this time under the disadvantage of heavy rain, all the low mountains even being covered with snow to within a few hundred feet of the road. At Golling however it promised better things, and our travellers determined, therefore, after seeing the waterfall, to cross the Rossfeld Alp, about 5,000 feet high, instead of going round as the Musafirs had done, by Hallein. The other, and loftier, mountain route, that over the Königsberg, was reported by the guides to be impracticable on account of the fresh snow having obliterated the path-way. The Rossfeld Alp was accordingly tried. It was a tough walk, some of the ascents being very steep,—but the views from the top were magnificent. Here the travellers were walking, as it were, under the lee of the Hohe Göll, upwards of 8,000 feet high, covered with snow, and producing on its peaks that chaste mountain-flower known as the “Edelweiss.” The Untersberg too, on the other side of the valley, looked grand with his cap of snow. The effect produced by the appearance, ever and anon, of the sun, shining brilliantly, and driving away the clouds from the snow, was most enchanting. On the top of the Alp, near the boundary between Austria and Bavaria, our travellers came upon an Almhut, clean and tempting, the shelves of its rooms laden with milk-pans, and the whole presided over by a blue-eyed, fair-haired, maiden, as kind and, courteous as



she was pretty. Our travellers rested here to partake of a bowl of milk, then, pushing on, they reached Berchtesgaden six hours after having left Golling. We ought to have stated that the view of this town, during the descent from the Alp, is strikingly picturesque, situated as it is in a lovely undulating valley, a clear trout stream running underneath it, and the Watzmann and Untersberg displaying their glories on the back ground.

Two days were spent in this neighbourhood in inspecting the beauties of the König's See, which we have described in a previous number. During the whole of this time the weather was very unfavorable, the clouds hanging very low, and the rain coming down with but little intermission. The wondrous beauties of the König's See defy, however, the inclemencies of the weather. Indeed it is questionable whether the succession of light clouds passing over the mountains, with an occasional peep of sunshine, does not produce a grander effect than the monotony of a clear blue sky, lovely as that is.

In the afternoon the rain came down in torrents, and the weather seemed so unsettled that it was seriously debated whether it would not be more advisable to drive to Salzberg, and take thence the rail to Innsbrück rather than to proceed to Wildbad-Gastein and thence over the mountains to Windisch-Matrey and the capital of the Tyrol. The two travellers left Berchtesgaden in an einspänner before this knotty point had been settled. As they approached the turn of the road leading to Hallein it became necessary to make a decision. In vain was it to look towards the sky. Nought in that direction was visible but a mass of vapour which, as it neared the earth, seemed to melt into rain. The driver, when appealed to for his opinion, declared it would go on raining for a month. Most dismal seemed the prospects. At length the turn was reached and the driver asked for orders. Without consulting one another both travellers arrived at that moment at one and the same conclusion. They resolved to take the chances of the weather and to hope for better times. The order was accordingly given for Hallein.

The first thing on arriving there was to take places in the mail-coach for Wildbad Gastein. The stage-coaches on the high roads in Austria are most comfortable conveyances, quite as much so as a private carriage. There is, moreover, this advantage connected with them; that, if a traveller take a place in the coach over night, and the coach, on arrival, happen to be full, the postmaster is bound to furnish a separate carriage for the individual. On this occasion there was plenty of room available, and our travellers started early on the following

morning. They drove through Golling, Pass Lueg,—one of the grandest and most magnificent passes in Europe, and which a few hundred men could hold against an army,—through Werfen, Lend,—after leaving which is a magnificent gorge, Dorf Gastein, and Hof Gastein, arriving at the late hour of 9 at Wildbad Gastein. There they put up at the Hirsch, there being no room at the crack hotel, Straubinger's.

Gastein is a lovely place, situated in a basin from all sides of which rise the lofty green mountains. It abounds in cataracts and waterfalls, and from it the most enjoyable excursions may be made. Of these the principal are Böckstein, three, and Nassfeld, seven, miles distant. From this a splendid view is to be obtained of the giant of the Noric Alps, the Gross Glockner, 12,869 feet above the sea, and its lovely glaciers. In fact at Nassfeld the traveller stands, as it were, within the precincts of that noble mountain. The still falling rain took away from our travellers the hope they had previously entertained of crossing the glaciers to Heiligenblut, but in the afternoon the clouds dispersed and the sun appeared in all his glory. It seemed even possible that the journey might be attempted, and an application was accordingly made to the guide who possessed the greatest reputation in the place, and who rejoiced in the name of Haas. This man however declared that the attempt to cross the pass after the fresh snow that had fallen would be most dangerous, that the tracks had all been obliterated, and that he would not make the venture for the world. On leaving him, somewhat crestfallen, our travellers met another guide, namd Freyberger. This man gave an opinion exactly contrary to that of Haas. He declared that there was no difficulty in the trip, and that the fallen snow made it only the easier. The German guide-books, which were available, appeared rather to strengthen the opinion offered by Haas; nevertheless, Freyberger seemed so confident, he was so ready to risk himself, and our travellers were so anxious to go, that they were most unwilling to give him up lightly. In this extremity they determined to ask the opinion of the oldest inhabitant of the place, Mr. Straubinger, the owner of Straubinger's hotel, and whose family has flourished in Wildbad Gastein for three centuries, as to the relative merits of the two guides. If Mr. Straubinger should state that Freyberger was as much to be depended upon as Haas, then it was determined to follow him and start on the expedition.

Though our travellers were not staying in his hotel, Mr. Straubinger met them with truly Austrian courtesy, listened patiently to their question regarding the merits of the two guides, and then said very decidedly that Haas was the better

man of the two, and, in all matters referring to the mountains, was the more implicitly to be relied upon. He then, in reply to a question, stated that in such weather, he considered the proposed trip one of very doubtful safety. It would have been hazardous to act against such an opinion; most reluctantly, therefore, the expedition was given up.

Perhaps, at the time, there was no alternative; for our travellers were personally unacquainted with the mountain, and the weight of evidence was against them. Nevertheless, they both regretted their decision, and they had afterwards collateral evidence that the attempt might have been safely made. Haas, it appeared, had almost given up the duties of a guide, and had taken to trading, whilst Freyberger lived by excursions such as these.

The resolve, however, having been taken, they returned next day to Lend, determined to proceed thence, along the valley of the Pinzgau, to Innsbrück. This valley as far as Mittersill, is the most uninteresting valley in the Tyrol, being low, marshy, and commanding no good view, notwithstanding that from many points in it most lovely excursions may be made. Our travellers too made a great mistake, in that, on arriving at Mittersill, they did not take the lower road to Kriml, Gerlos, and Zell in Zillerthal, but followed the upper and far less interesting route to Kitzbühel. Both led equally to Innsbrück, but it was a pity to miss the splendid gorges and magnificent cataract of Kriml, finer than any in Switzerland, the snowy valleys of Gerlos, and the domestic gaiety of the inhabitants of Zell. The fact was that the travellers had fully counted on being able to cross to the southern side of the Alps, and had neglected to study the route on the northern side. It was a great mistake, but it has at all events marked Kriml and its neighbourhood as places to be visited on the earliest opportunity.

We pass over this uninteresting valley, and take our travellers to Innsbrück. How is it possible to describe this wonderful city, with the mountains, 9,000 feet high, so overhanging the town, that, it is said, the wolves peep over the summit to see what is passing in the streets;—the golden-roofed house,—the wonderful churches, with their imperial and royal statues, among which is one of Arthur, King of England,—its interesting associations? From Schloss Ambrass, a castle, about two miles away from the town, the view of it was magnificent, picturesque and striking beyond description. Perhaps indeed the town itself does not look altogether so imposing as Salzburg from the Capuzinerberg, but it is not in itself less interesting, for here the place is peopled in imagination by the sturdy

sons of liberty who knew how to die rather than submit to the yoke of the foreigner.\* Such a place it is impossible to describe, nor is description necessary. It is a city which must be seen to be appreciated, which deserves to be visited over and over again. On each occasion of his return the traveller will be more and more struck with the natural wonders which make Innsbrück so loveable. We may add that there are capital inns and shops, and that it is always feasible, as it is indeed in every large town in Austria, to change notes, both circular and Austrian, for gold, and *vice versâ*.

The weather became again threatening as the travellers left Innsbrück, proceeding by coach to Landeck, whence it was their intention, in conformity with the original plan, to walk through the Finstermünz Pass, and over the Stelvio, into Italy. From Landeck, a return carriage took them to Ried, whence they walked,—nine miles,—to Pfunds—the valley becoming more and more picturesque as they went on. At Pfunds they put up at a little inn called the 'Traube,' the type of a Tyrolese inn, so clean were the rooms, so kind and attentive the hostess. For their dinner here, including a bottle of Tyrolese wine, their bedrooms, and their breakfast, the travellers were charged the extremely moderate sum of three shillings and eight pence. Yet nothing could have been better than their fare!

Next day they were to walk through the famous Finstermünz Pass, nearly 3,300 feet above the level of the sea. It is a gradual ascent from Pfunds, with very grand scenery, second only, it is said, to the *Via Mala*. The pass was formed by the river Inn, which by forcing its way from the Engadin valley, made this cleft in the mountains. It constitutes now a splendid defensive position, and has been fortified by the Austrians in such a manner as to make it almost impregnable. After leaving the little village of Nanders, beyond Finstermünz, the traveller, if he look back, enjoys a most splendid view of the pass, rising from the narrow cleft, through which the Inn flows rapidly, to a point, the height of which that very narrowness tends, in appearance, to increase. About an hour after leaving Nanders the road rather descends, and half an hour later the village of Reschen is reached. Here the scene is entirely altered. The green foliage of the pass entirely disappears; and the traveller approaches gradually an undulating ground, called the common, or pasture land, of Mals, famous as the spot on which the Swiss finally defeated the Austrians in 1499, and achieved their independence. Beyond

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\* Travellers who go to Innsbrück should take with them Baroness Tautphœus's latest novel, "At Odds".

this again, soaring far above every other mountain, is the snow-covered Ortler, nearly 13,000 feet above the sea, every peak capped with snow, and shining with glaciers innumerable. This is now the traveller's land mark, for under the lee of the Ortler he must pass over the Stelvio!

It is difficult to describe, but many of our readers have doubtless experienced, the wonderful beauties that open out to a traveller as he approaches a gigantic snow-mountain; now the haze, caused by distance, imperceptibly clears off, and beauty after beauty is disclosed; now the outline, at first perhaps dim, becomes sharp and vigorous; the snow, from being a vague mass of white, shines more brightly than polished ivory; now, as its base is approached, the height of the mountain seems mote and more overwhelming. What magic is there in the crowded theatres or the densely packed ball-rooms equal to this? Every step forward is a delight of the purest character. On that spot have these mountains remained fast since the creation of the world! Here they have welcomed the sun, the rain, and the hail;—on their heads the lightning has darted, innocuously, his forked javelin; the rise and fall of peoples, of nations, of kingdoms, of generations, have taken place around them, and yet they are unaltered; the mountain which the patriot Swiss invoked in 1499, in their decisive struggle with the mailed cavalry of Austria, is still, nearly four hundred years later, the great object of interest to the peaceful traveller. It remains the very same, whilst all around changes and is changing. Or, if there be any difference, it is this, that these mountains, believed by our forefathers to be sacred from the foot of the stranger, have yielded in this nineteenth century to the energy and perseverance of English, of Austrian, and of Swiss mountaineers, and that there is scarcely one of them that does not bear upon its summit the symbol of the undaunted nature of the race, that perisheth!

At Mals,\* which our travellers reached that evening, after a walk of twenty-one miles, there is a diverging of two roads, the one leading by Prad to Trafoi, a small village whence the ascent of the Ortler is generally made, thence over the Stelvio into Italy, the other *via* Naturns to Meran, the heart of the Tyrol. The former was the route of our travellers. But, as it was a matter of some importance with them to reach Bormio

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\* In this village is a most extraordinary image of our Saviour, life-size, attached to a well. Fixed in the side of this image is a hollow tube, through which the water, pumped up from the well, flows for the supply of the villagers.

that evening they drove to Trafoi, breakfasted there at a clean little inn, and then commenced the ascent. The road over the Stelvio was formerly considered one of the wonders of the engineering art, but since the war of 1859, which severed Lombardy from Austria, its repairs had been neglected, and at the time of our travellers' visit it was gradually falling into decay. For pedestrians however it was still and will ever be traversable. From Trafoi to the summit is one of the loveliest walks possible to imagine. Under the lee, as we have said, of the Ortler, every turn discovers some new beauty. The Ortler itself is quite close to the path traversed, and the snow flakes were clearly visible. In three hours, the summit, 9,000 feet above the sea, was reached. Here the snow was under them and all about them; the highest point of the Ortler had been left behind; and before them was Italy! It was an exhilarating feeling. To be thus on the summit of the highest pass in Europe, the air so fresh and bracing, and below, the classic land, rich in a thousand recollections, and whose people had, after years of oppression, roused themselves to a sense of the value of the natural birthright of the human race. For all practical purposes, Italy, at least that mountainous part of it visited by our travellers, is still far behind Austria. It is curious that within the distance of a few miles this difference should be so strongly marked. But so it is. Descending the mountain, our friends reached, in half an hour, the little inn of Santa Maria, where they had resolved to lunch. It became at once perceptible that they were in Italy. A dirty table-cloth instead of the clean linen always offered even in the humblest villages of Austria; greasy cookery; bad attendance; and exorbitant charges, made it clear to them that the frontier had been passed. To Musafir the evidence of the fact was equally brought home in another manner. Hitherto, though Mercator could speak German, Musafir had acted as spokesman, and had managed the trip; alike in Austria, in the Pinzgau, and in the Tyrol, he had hailed the opportunity of airing his German. But in crossing the frontier his occupation was gone; he did not understand a word of Italian; all the arrangements were therefore, for the two days they were in Italy, confided to Mercator, who possessed a conversational knowledge of that language. They could not indeed have been made over to better hands; but the feeling of helplessness which ignorance of the language of a country always induces came home to Musafir with double force after the pleasantness of his German experiences, and he inwardly registered a vow to make himself acquainted with Italian before again venturing on the soil

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of Italy. Nothing is more true than that a knowledge of the language of the country quadruples the pleasures of foreign travel.

The descent from Santa Maria to Bormio being uninteresting, and it being somewhat late in the day, our travellers hired an einspänner to take them there, Mercator chatting all the time with the driver in a most provoking manner. The mountain scenery was wild, rugged, and solitary. At Bormio however the scene changes. Near this place is a large bathing establishment, consisting of a grand hotel with hot water baths attached to it. These baths are supplied from saline sulphureous springs, the water of which has a green tint. Some of them are large enough to swim in. Such temptations were not to be resisted, and though a doubt may exist as to whether a plunge into a saline sulphureous bath is, in itself, a thing to be relished, there can be none as to its powers of refreshing after a long day's work. This hotel at Bormio is infinitely preferable to the inns in the town, and is a most luxurious establishment. The country around is very pretty.

Our travellers started the next day for Tirano in an einspänner. After continuing the descent for some time, they came gradually into a valley, very fertile and well populated, and which realised the preconceived ideas of sunny Italy. It was extremely bright and pretty, the hill sides being covered with vines, which were cultivated with studious care by the strong limbed and picturesquely clad population. Soon was reached the valley of the Adda. The road along the banks of this river was however in a perilous condition in consequence of the recent floods, and in one part had entirely been washed away. But by the aid of the peasantry the carriage was taken over the dilapidated spot without much delay. Thence to Tirano the road lay through the same bright sunny scenery. Our travellers passed through that rather deserted-looking town, and went on a quarter of a mile further to Madonna-di-Tirano, a little village at the foot of the pass leading to Puschiamo,—the drive from Bormio having taken four hours and a half. At this village there is a fine church, famous for its wood-carving. The little inn too is tolerable, though inferior to those on the Austrian side. In the square in front of it, the Bersaglieri had just turned out for bayonet exercise. Very smart fellows they looked, though by no means equal, in Musafir's opinion, to that splendid body the Chasseurs de Vincennes, or to the Jäger régiments of the Austrians. After luncheon the route was resumed for Puschiamo. This was for

five miles a glorious walk up a magnificent gorge. About one mile from Madonna the Swiss frontier was crossed. Soon after it came down to pour in torrents. This rather spoiled the pleasure of the afternoon's excursion and indeed was the cause of considerable inconvenience to Musafir, for having walked to the top of the gorge in the rain, and become completely soaked through, he incautiously seated himself in his wet clothes in an einspänner, and drove for three miles to Puschiavo, thereby catching a cold so severe as to take from him the power of walking the next day. It was indeed a caution to travellers. At the top of the gorge, the lovely lake of Puschiavo was reached. Here is a grand hotel with baths, apparently most comfortable. The situation is beautiful, and the hotel would make capital head quarters for a month or two in the summer. The lake is full of trout, and surrounded by prettily wooded hills, whilst the glorious range of the Bernina, with its unequalled glaciers, towers up a few miles beyond. To be able to start, so as to cross that range on the morrow our travellers did not remain at the lake, but pushed on three miles further to the town of Puschiavo. Here their Italian driver, who had imbibed so freely as not to be master of his actions, and who relieved himself by shouting alternately in favour of Victor Emanuel and of Garibaldi, took them to a den, which however looked so uninviting, that, as he obstinately refused to move, they left him, and shouldering their traps, went themselves in search of a more decent-looking hostelry. They soon found one, the hotel Albricci, kept by the most obliging people, and in cleanliness and comfort vying with the inns of Austria. The daughter of the house, who seemed to manage everything, was extremely pretty, and had the most charming manners. She spoke Italian so prettily, that the drawback of not being able to talk or understand that language was more than ever deplored. Nothing could exceed the kindness and attention with which the wants of our travellers were attended to at this little inn; nor were such services unduly charged for,—the bill being moderate in the extreme. The little town is prettily situated, being at the foot, as it were, of the Bernina Pass. It would not, however, be ordinarily much frequented by travellers, as these would probably prefer the hotel on the lake of Puschiavo on the one side, or Pontresina, Samaden, or St. Moritz, on the other.

Next morning our travellers started to cross the Bernina Pass to Samaden. Musafir being quite unable to walk from the cold that had attacked him, it was necessary to charter an einspänner. The morning was dull, and the clouds were very low; still hopes were entertained of being able to cross



the pass before the rain should actually fall. For two-thirds of the way it held up, though the heavy clouds quite obscured the view. Suddenly, however, just as they were turning a corner, the storm, preceded by a terrible howl, burst upon them. Such a storm as it was! Wind in all its fury, succeeded by heavy rain: the rain in its turn giving way to snow; and the snow again to rain. The carriage was then at a height of about 4,000 feet, on a narrow ledge of a road, with precipices underneath. The wind blew in such gusts that it appeared more than once as though it would blow the little vehicle off its balance. Fortunately, however, a place of refuge was at hand. A little inn, called La Rosa, was within a few hundred feet of them, and this was, though with difficulty, reached. Meanwhile the thunder was pealing all around them, and the forked lightning was beyond description vivid. Though but a short time exposed to the violence of the storm, the hail had collected in masses on the apron of the carriage, and the horse and driver had been most thoroughly drenched. The delight of a little inn, humble as this was, with a cheering fire and warm soup, cannot be described. The cold was even then great. A few minutes later there arrived for the same shelter a lady and gentleman coming from the opposite direction. They described the cold on the top of the pass as being absolutely intense, not to be encountered driving without many more wraps than those which our travellers possessed. There seemed no help for it, however. But when, three hours later, the storm abated and the other travellers went down the hill, the kind landlord lent to our friends a blanket and a great coat on the promise that they should be returned the next day from Samaden. They then started, the sun coming out immediately afterwards, and disclosing a panorama unrivalled in beauty of that peculiar kind. The air was clear and cold, the sky blue, but all around them was snow. The peaks of the Bernina are particularly striking in their form, and their snowy covering shone brilliantly in the bright sun; there was a wildness about the scene which was most captivating, and it was difficult to resist the fanciful impression that the wolves of the nursery story were hovering in the distance ready to follow the track of the wearied horse. The cold was terrific. Never had either of the travellers felt anything approaching to it. The wraps lent by the host, though intended for winter use, could not keep it out. It pierced to the very bones.

At length the summit was reached. Here are two little lakes, each with a character of its own. One is formed of glacier water, & yellowish brown in color; the other is bright

blue. The contrast of this latter with the white snow was very beautiful. But who shall describe the cold? Here the full force of the wind, sweeping over the Monte Rosso, or coming up from the Pontresina valley, was upon them. It was scarcely to be borne. Still there was no choice but to go on. At last, three quarters of an hour after leaving the height, a little inn, the Osteria Bernina, came in view. A halt was made; our travellers alighted, though, especially Musafir, with difficulty. A glass of hot brandy and water soon however restored the circulation, and they accomplished the remainder of their journey to Samaden without let or hindrance of any kind,—the air becoming perceptibly warmer as they proceeded. It was still cold, not so much so, however, as to prevent the enjoyment of the lovely Alpine scenery which presented itself to the gaze in this most lovely valley. First there was the Morteratsch glacier,—the finest in Switzerland,—most glorious to behold;—the Rosegg glacier, smaller though scarcely less grand; Pontresina, the head quarters of the Alpine Club, most prettily situated on a green spot on the banks of a sparkling, swiftly flowing river,—the heights of Monte Oro and Monte Rosso towering above. These, however, are but the salient points. The place is sparkling with beauty and brightness. From the windows of the little inn at Samaden, called the “Bernina Aussicht,” the view is magnificent. There is the green patch of Pontresina, the clear sparkling river, the wonderful glaciers and the snowy giants in the background. Of its kind it is unsurpassed if not unrivalled.

This is the valley which an Anglo-Indian, with sound lungs and suffering only from the effects of long residence in India, should resort to. Though called a valley, it is nearly as high as the top of the Rigi. Its climate is described by the residents as being “nine months winter, and three months cold.” But during those three months cold, the rest of Europe suffers three months of intense heat. The cold in this valley,—called the valley of the Engadin,—during this period, is of the most healthy character. It is dry, bracing, and, to the last degree, invigorating. There is nothing like it anywhere else. Here a man feels that he can breathe; he soon ceases to be an invalid, and he pants then to climb those glorious heights which have yielded, one and all, though after much perseverance, to the daring energy of the members of the Alpine Club.

It is well worthy of remark, too, that in this valley the houses and villages are scrupulously clean, and the people more than ordinarily obliging. So great has been the increase in the number of visitors of late years that each village has several comfortable inns. Those at Samaden, Pontresina, Silva Plana

and St. Moritz are perhaps most to be commended, but there are doubtless others. Sure we are that in any of these the invalid Anglo-Indian will speedily recover his faded vitality, and with it that elasticity of spirits which is the natural gift of those mountain regions.

But our tour has almost come to a close. After booking a parcel containing the coat and blanket to the kind host of La Rosa, our travellers, pressed for time, prepared to start by coach for Chur,—the air of the Engadin having driven away Musafir's indisposition. Driving through the pretty village of Silva Plana with its two charming lakes and glorious views of snow, our travellers crossed then the Julier Pass, about 6,800 feet, bare, rugged, and uninteresting, till they reached Mühlen. Thence to Tiefenkasten, a village romantically situated in the bottom of a valley, the view grows gradually prettier; and occasionally some remarkably fine bits are to be seen. It is pretty for the remainder of the way. Darkness had however set in before our travellers were landed at the Hotel Luckmanier in Chur.

Once more on the line of rail they proceeded along the valley of the Vorder Rhine to Ragatz. The visit to the famous Bad Pfeffers, about three miles from this place, may be regarded as the last, as it was the least considerable, of their pedestrian excursions. To Pfeffers the road runs immediately along the banks of the Tamina, a high and continuous wall of rock rising up from the opposite side of the river. The effect of the dark stream running under this rock is very fine indeed, and the walk is extremely pretty. But it is at the baths themselves that admiration is forced even from those whom long gazing at the marvellous has palled. Imagine a deep gorge with high rocks on either side, now open at the top and shewing the green trees and blue sky above, now closed so as to make all dark below; at the bottom of the gorge, several hundred feet below the surface, there dashes fiercely along a dark, turbid, stream, at one turn of which the ascending steam proclaims the existence of a hot spring, so hot that the atmosphere in its vicinity resembles that of a vapour bath. By degrees the eye becomes accustomed to the dim light, and, glancing upwards, notices what perhaps is the greatest wonder of all. Along the rocks, high up, even near the summit, are long lines of water marks, shewing clearly that some thousands of years ago that dark river ran its course nearly level with the summit. It could have been no sudden fall,—that which the traveller here sees;—it must have been the gradual work of long ages. The sinking of the line was probably unnoticed in any single age; it must have been gradual as the

passing of a man's life, imperceptible to mortal eye. It is very wonderful, and very suggestive.

Leaving Ragatz, our travellers proceeded to the Hotel Baur at Zurich, and parted the day after at Basel. Their tour was over. It had been a most delightful one,—a little cramped perhaps by the shortness of the period allotted for it, but in every other respect most enjoyable. On counting up expenses it was found that this tour of nearly a month's duration, in which economy had by no means been studied, had not cost each more than £15! With so small a sum is so much enjoyment to be realised in Europe!

We now proceed to indicate, as briefly as may be, the amount of wardrobe, and the other requisites, to which it may be possible for a tourist to confine himself. The wants of a man are few. The inns on the road provide everything except wearing apparel and soap. At these too he can always arrange to have his linen and under-garments washed. Giving these out at 4 or 5 in the afternoon, he can always have them in the morning. He will be amply supplied, therefore, if, of under-garments, he have three of each sort. For pedestrian excursions no shirts are to be compared to those made of silk; they fold into a small compass, and even when wet through they keep out the cold to a far greater extent than flannel. Of outer clothing the traveller should take one suit, consisting of a coat, waistcoat, and knickerbockers. These last are far preferable to trowsers, especially in wet weather, and, if the traveller be a fisherman, it is always easy to keep the knickerbockers dry, and at the most a change of stockings is involved. The best material is a smooth-surfaced tweed, and the best colour a dark grey. A coat made of coloured Russian duck may be likewise taken, as it may be worn with advantage when the heat of the sun makes the other almost unbearable. We would recommend him also to take a light black coat and waistcoat and a pair of trowsers. It is not respectful to the inhabitants of a large city to appear at the *table d'hôte* of its principal hotel in the costume of a vagrant. Such a costume should be reserved for the mountains. In a town the ordinary dress of towns-people should be worn. It is astonishing how the fair fame of our countrymen has suffered by a neglect of this simple custom. A light shower-proof over coat is quite as serviceable as a Mackintosh and infinitely more comfortable. These are obtainable all over the Continent. In Germany they are called "Wetter Mantel," and cost but a few shillings. These are as serviceable though perhaps not so elegant as those purchased in England at a higher price. No hat is so comfortable or so

serviceable, as the soft high-crowned felt hat of the Austrian mountaineers; it is far pleasanter to wear than any English-made hat, it keeps out the rain, and its broad brim wards off the sun from the face. They have this additional advantage that in Austria every one wears them. Of shoes we would recommend that two pairs should be taken, both to lace up in front, but one pair rather thicker than the other. It is easy to have them "nailed" in any part of Austria. A good umbrella is indispensable as a protection against the sun, more even than against the rain. It should be attached to a good stout stick pointed with iron, so as to be used, if needful, in climbing. An Alpine stock is only necessary in the higher ranges. For a bag to carry these things not one is equal to the Austrian Rucksack, which may be obtained for few shillings in any town or village.

Admirable maps may be procured anywhere. For Austria, the Tyrol, and Bavaria, those by Mayr are the best; for Carinthia and Carniola those by Justus Perthes of Gotha cannot be surpassed; for Switzerland there are several, but probably that now preparing under the auspices of the Alpine Club, and which will be published by Messrs. Longman and Co., next year, will be better than any now existing. The best guide-book for the whole of Germany is Baedeker's. It is not to be surpassed, and his recommendations for the hotels can always be relied upon. His Swiss guide-book is equally good, but he has a rival in M. Berlepsch, a Swiss, and a practical mountaineer. It is only fair to say that both are excellent.

To provide for a change of seasons it is always open to the traveller to send on a box of clothes to any town which lies on his route to await his arrival there. Having changed or replenished his stock he can again send it on to another place. This custom is well understood all over the continent, and is constantly resorted to.

A few days' experience will show the traveller in what respect his stock is deficient. It is always easy to replenish it at any town. It is better in the mountains not to have anything in excess. The addition of one or two pounds to a heavy bag is often sufficient to make a guide refuse to carry it.

We turn now, with diffidence, to the lady's outfit. This is a very difficult question. Ladies are so accustomed to an excessive wardrobe in India, that they find it difficult to believe that they can ever accustom themselves to one of the diminutive nature requisite for a mountain excursion. Yet we have never known an instance in which a lady, taking with her at the outset, "the very least she must have," did not find at the end of a month, that she had more than double her actual requirements.

The fact is that excess of baggage becomes a nuisance and an encumbrance. It is soon found that with the many conveniences offered by the inns in the shape of washing, a small quantity supplies the wants as well as a large one, whilst it is infinitely more handy. A lady, therefore, whatever may have been her previous ideas on the subject, would always be eager to propose to discard the superfluous. That may be waiting for her at the nearest town. There can be no object in dragging silk dresses across the mountains. Two dresses indeed are ample for all purposes of travel, the one condition being that both shall be of strong material. Stout boots lined with flannel, a shower-proof cloak reaching almost to the heels, a useful hat,—none can be more so than those of the Austrian shape now coming into fashion,—a small umbrella, and some good warm wraps. Fortunately it is no longer necessary to talk about crinolines, than which no article of dress is more out of place in the mountains. Changes of garments can always be sent on to await arrival, if necessary, at the first large town on the road.

The expenses of travelling in Austria are not very great. As a rule a party of gentlemen can do it for much less than a mixed party of ladies and gentlemen; but in neither case is it ruinous. The pleasantest number for a party is four, two of whom should be ladies. Four can fill one large carriage, or two einspänner; four will generally be able to find accommodation even in a rustic inn; and in that magic number are companionship and society. The entire expenses of a party of four ought not to exceed from £50 to £80 per mensem, inclusive of everything, or from £12-10-0 to £20 a head. Much depends on the length of the halts at each place. The enjoyment of travelling is greatly increased by the knowledge on the traveller's part that there is no limit as to time; that he can stay as long as he pleases at each place; that the season is absolutely at his disposal. There are many places, such for instance as the Grundl-See and the lakes of Langbath, the beauties of which cannot be thoroughly examined under a week or ten days, and from which it is difficult to part even then. In a long trip, with several halts of this sort, the mere expenses of travelling are spread over a longer period, and lessen proportionately the monthly expenditure. There are few Anglo-Indians who could not well afford such an outlay as that we have mentioned. It ought in Austria and Bavaria, in no case, to exceed the larger sum. In Switzerland it would probably be nearly doubled.

It is, however, essential to the comfort, and it will add greatly to the enjoyment, of a party of travellers, if one at least, of

their number understand the language of the country through which they are passing. We think it was Charles V. who said that a man has as many separate existences as he knows languages, and all experience goes to confirm the truth of the apothegm of the great emperor. The knowledge of a new language most certainly opens out to a man a new world. He reads not only the thoughts of great men as they expressed them in books, but he has opportunities in conversation for the study of character, and for acquainting himself with habits and manners, not otherwise attainable. The attempt, too, to acquire a new language constitutes a delightful study, alike enlarging the mind and contributing to strengthen the resources which every man, it is supposed, possesses, to a greater or a lesser degree, in himself. Few things, moreover, tend more to give a man self-confidence, and to foster independence of thought and feeling, than a knowledge of languages. Any knowledge gained by the independent action of the mind must shew the possession of a certain amount at least of sterling qualities. It must shew perseverance, energy, a determination not to be baffled, a power to withstand temptation to amusements, when something more important is in view. Above all it trains a man to travel on that road,—which is the surest path-way to success,—the road which leads without a single deviation to a pre-determined end. Now, success in study, which is only accomplished by the exercise of those qualities, immensely strengthens them. It assures the man of his capacity to succeed in other things. It thus gives him confidence in himself,—and that self-confidence is the parent of the independence of thought, without which a man is necessarily a machine.

In this country, which, in the present day at all events, is regarded by few but as a resting place, the study of European languages ought, one would think, to be peculiarly attractive. At the great places of resort on the Continent of Europe the tone of society corresponds far more to that of India than does the tone of society in England. At those places people meet for pleasure, acquaintances are easily made, and a very agreeable society is thus formed. There is no occasion here for letters of introduction, or formal presentations. All meet on the same footing, it being generally understood that only those travel who can afford to do so. A visit to the continent during the summer and autumn would, then, offer strong temptations to those Anglo-Indians who consider English manners and habits peculiarly repelling. Yet, as many of them have found, a journey on the continent, unaccompanied

by a knowledge of the language by one at least of the party, is often rank misery. In fact, to our mind, it is of all social miseries the greatest. It is a repetition of the tortures of Tantalus. The traveller sees how much there is capable of enjoyment, and yet that that enjoyment is withheld from him,—by ignorance of the language!

If people in India knew how easy it is to acquire some rudiments, at least, of a continental language, we are sure they would not be diverted from the study by the temptation of those second-rate pleasures which India can alone offer. To our mind India is the place of all others best fitted for the study of the drier portions of a foreign language. We can understand that in Europe, where there is so much to tempt a man into the sunshine and open air, where the streams invite the angler, the slopes of the mountain the botanist, the forests the sportsman, and where the merry laugh and innocent smiles of the daughters of the land invite all,—it must require the virtue of a St. Anthony to persevere regularly in such studies. But in dull, prosy India, in which the men are so care-worn and mysterious, and the society is a society of cliques, in which there are few temptations to ramble out of doors, and where every one seems bent on maintaining or increasing his social position,—a study of that sort is a refuge from a world, which, in their hearts, few can find congenial. In a country in which every one complains of a want of occupation, this is of all occupations the most delightful and the most repaying. It is easily accomplished, even if it is impossible, for the moment, to obtain a master. The system of Ollendorf has been made applicable to all the languages of Europe. A key is attached to each exercise-book. Sooner or later the student is sure to meet with an Italian, a Frenchman, or a German, who will be glad to impart to him the mysteries of the pronunciation. He quickly becomes interested in his task; somewhat later, and all the difficulties of the grammar are surmounted; he is able to read, even to speak a little. He will not then require any incitement to persevere. He is at the portals of a new world, and nothing then can restrain him from culling its fruits.

The desire thus to learn—how many possess it? The perseverance requisite for the task,—who will admit that they have it not? It is a great quality,—greater even than genius, and it has this peculiarity, that it is capable of being acquired by all who have force of will. It is a quality which gains strength by being used, which increases in intensity as the will becomes more firm, the aim more direct. We may be sure of this, that without such



a quality nothing great can be accomplished : unsupported by it, we shall be more and more inclined to grovel in the narrow lanes of life : great thoughts, noble instincts, will gradually desert us. Possessing it, there is scarcely any aim so high, to which a man otherwise capable, may not aspire.

We conclude, then, our last account of Musafir's wanderings by expressing a hope that a perusal of it may induce others, ladies, as well as gentlemen, to qualify themselves for the perfect enjoyment of that pleasure, which, of all those offered to Anglo-Indians on their return to Europe, is the simplest, the most health-giving, the most delightful.

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## THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ASSAM.

ART. III.—1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

2. *The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian* ; from the French Edition of the Foe Koue Ki of MM. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse.

3. *Sketch of Buddhism*, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

FROM the sketch we have already published of the history of Ancient Assam, it will be evident that the people of this valley were not always the apathetic, unambitious race they now seem to be. Time was, when under the spirited administration of the Buddhist dynasties, they constituted the ruling power of North-Eastern India, and when, as in later days, they successfully resisted the Mogul yoke. Indeed, the contrast between their present degeneracy and the character given of them in the following quotation from a Mahomedan historian, is very suggestive. "Their strength," remarks this writer, "and courage are apparent in their looks, but their ferocious manners and brutal tempers are also betrayed by their physiognomy. They are superior to most nations in physical strength and hardy exertions. They are enterprising, savage, fond of war, vindictive, treacherous, and deceitful. The virtues of compassion, kindness, friendship, sincerity, truth, honor, good faith, shame, and purity of morals, have been left out of their composition. The seeds of tenderness and humanity have not been sown in the field of their frames." "They have not bowed the head of submission," he adds, "and obedience, nor have they paid tribute to the most powerful monarch ; but they have curbed the ambition and checked the conquests of the most victorious princes of Hindustan. The solution of the difficulties attending a war against them, has baffled the penetration of heroes who have been styled conquerors of the world."

It must be borne in mind that this description applies, not to the Hindus of Kamroop, but to the more manly population of

Upper Assam; and that though in the main truthful, it is the testimony of one who, like all his co-religionists, could see nothing good out of the pale of Islam. The fact is, the Assamese were to the Moslems what the Numidians and Mauritanians were to the old Romans,—‘*genus insuperabile bello.*’ Traces of their early civilization, fostered as it was by long ages of independence, still remain in the architectural ruins with which the country abounds, and in the traditions that survive of former greatness. But though now they seem in common with the other subject nationalities of India, to have lost much of their individuality of character,—the political subjection to a certain extent repressing the social life,—still their present depressed vitality is, in a measure, indicative of the reaction common to all tribes whose submission to foreign rule is of recent date, and it will gradually yield to healthy commercial stimulus. With the yearly extension of the tea-trade, the increased cultivation of other products of the soil, and the wise interdict on indigenous opium, Assam, for many years only swamp and jungle, is already re-quickening into industrial activity; it is multiplying its population, and bringing to birth higher necessities of administration. Under the wise care of the late Colonel Jenkins, whose power of sympathy with the people won for him universal confidence, the interests of the country have been defended against some of the most fatal influences that can beset the life of a people. It is now steadily rising in commercial and political importance, and demands, with its outlying hill-tracts, to be made the seat of a Chief Commissionership.

Every thing serving to throw light on the social condition of the people, and enabling us to trace the influences that have contributed to it, must, under such circumstances, have a peculiar value as well to the economist and politician, as to the philosopher and philanthropist. And what can throw more light on the social condition of the Assamese than their religious history? It is to this we must turn if we would seek the hidden forces that have given bias to their civil institutions and moulded their social spirit. They have been so little known, having all along been regarded by us as only one remove from savages, that we take for granted that they had neither polity nor religion till they came under the influence of the Brahminical faith. We have already endeavoured to show that they were an important and highly civilized people long before they were overshadowed by Hinduism. The history of the ancient dynasties attests the long prevalence among them of the Buddhist faith. And it is to further testimony

on this point that we wish, in the first instance, to direct the attention of our readers.

All Budhists, whether in India, China, Thibet, Burmah or Mongolia, agree in representing Central India as the cradle of their religion. Its doctrines, so far as they are understood, have evidently grown out of Brahminism; and Budhists do not hesitate to acknowledge the superior antiquity of the religion of the *Vedas*. The Budhist books now extant are divided into three classes, under the collective title of *Tri-pitok*. They are the *Sutro-pitok*, or the discourse of Budh; the *Vinoy-pitok*, or the discipline; and the *Obhidharmo-pitok* or the manifested laws, that is, the metaphysics. The first of these, the Sutros, are ascribed to Sakhya Muni himself, the last of the Budhs, and they preserve in the simplicity of their form and language indisputable traces of their origin. They consist of ethical and philosophical dialogues in which Sakhya acts the part of teacher, and throw considerable light on the connection between Buddhism and Brahminism, a subject on which the merely speculative treatises are almost entirely silent. The gods whose names appear in the Sutros are Naraiyon, Jonardhon, Shib, Brahma or Pitomah, Borun (Voron) Songkar, which is only another name for Shib, Kubir, Sokr, or Vasob, and Vissookormo. Besides these nine superior deities, there are occasional references to secondary gods, at the head of whom stands Indro who, under the name of Sachi-poti, or husband of Sachi, is often found associated with Upendro, one of the old names of Vishnu. All this goes far to show the connection of the popular deities of India with the founder of Buddhism. Sakhya-doubtless found their worship already existing, and the accommodating spirit of Buddhism admitted them to some degree of reverence, although to Budh is uniformly assigned a power with which none of these gods is accredited. Buddhism was the result of a reaction of feeling from the pantheism of the Bramhins. The tendency of Brahminic philosophy was so to confound the Deity with the works of His creation as to obliterate all moral distinctions. But disastrous as the practical consequences of such teaching must necessarily be, it is impossible entirely to crush out the innate sense of individual moral responsibility in men. This feeling asserted itself in opposition to the doctrine which sought to identify the Divine Being with objects cognizable by the senses, and, as in the case of all violent reactions, led to the extreme conception of a God who possessed no attributes whatever. The Supreme Being became a simple abstract existence,—for this is the idea conveyed in the word

*Swabhâb*, a self-immanent substance. And since man's ideal of perfection is always identified with his ideal God, and the Buddhist conception denies to the Deity all action, purpose, feeling or thought, it follows that the highest perfection to which men can rise is a similar sublimation of existence. This is the *Nirban* of the Buddhists. The term itself is equivocal; but etymologically it signifies *extinction*, and this, we believe, is the true idea of the Buddhist creed. It is, at all events, the sense in which one of the Sanscrit books of Nepal uses it; for, in one passage, the supreme blessedness is likened to the going out of a lamp or of a fire, for want of fuel.

The Buddhist Scriptures are not regarded as an immediate revelation from God, but simply as the teachings of a high intelligence, inferior to the Divine Being, but competent to lead man through knowledge to ultimate absorption into the incommunicable substance of all things. Whilst Brahminism, blinded by its pantheistic belief, refused to recognize the existence of evil, and the ancient religion of Persia sought to account for the intermingling of good and evil in this world on the hypothesis of a two-fold original principle, Buddhism denied that the Supreme Being took any active or responsible part in the creation of the world. A fatality having occasioned the development of the self-immanent Substance, there emanated from it *Budh*, i.e., Intelligence, and Matter; these two elements combining to give origin to all existing species of things. The order of derivation is spoken of as being correspondent with the degree of approximation in the constitution of each species to the emanated Intelligence, which is a subtle constituent of all created existences, and, taking rank next in the scale of being after the mysterious Substance, is represented as having only the activity of contemplation. Accordingly, a Budha state is the last stage in the progress towards perfection to which a man comes before plunging into *Nirban*. The idea of Budh as a great teacher is associated with the eternal and invariable rotation of great Kalpos or æons, in each of which an age of degeneracy and decay is succeeded by one of renovation, when Budh, the first emanation of Intelligence, is believed to become incarnate with a view to rescue the human spirit from the darkness of illusion by shedding on it the effulgence of its original light. These Kalpos or rounds of ages had, we are told, been completed eleven times at the commencement of the present Kalpo; and Budh has come among men during every alternate age of the series constituting each Kalpo, right through the eleven Kalpos that are past. Indeed, he is believed to have appeared four times already

since the present Kalpo began its revolution; coming, on the last occasion, in the person of Sakhya Muni, who has given the law to the existing age. Such are the fundamental peculiarities of Buddhism.

Sakhya is to Buddhism what Vyasa was to Brahminism. He was the first to collect and reduce to writing the teachings of his predecessors. These he incorporated with his own doctrines. He is, therefore, among Buddhists, the sole authority for all historical data prior to his time, and it is only from his teachings that they may be gathered. That these data are involved in absurdity as great as that which mystifies the Hindu literature of the same period, does not admit of doubt. But the fabulous period ceased with the era of Sakhya Sing Budh, or perhaps with the century immediately preceding the time (B. C. 588) when this last incarnation flourished. It is this Budh whose doctrines are received as the rule of conduct, who is still recognized as the present Budh by his worshippers in Ceylon, Burmah, China and elsewhere, and the records of whose life and ministry are so minute and credible that they may fairly claim a place in authentic history. He is said to have belonged to the Khettri (Kshetriya) or warrior caste, and was the son of Sudhodana, the king of Mugudh or South Behar. He was born in the town of Kopilavosta, a town whose geographical position is now unknown; but the principal transactions of his life are connected with the countries lying between Mathura near Agra, and Assam. Conflicting opinions have been expressed respecting the places mentioned in Sakhya's history; the attempts to identify them with existing towns and divisions of country have resulted in the most contradictory theories. But however various and irreconcilable the opinions may be, it scarcely seems to have occurred to students of Sakhya's history and writings to look in a province so far east as Assam for the means of identifying any of the places mentioned in the legends of those early times. And since no mention had been made of architectural remains of the Buddhist order in this quarter, and many such had been discovered in the North-Western Provinces of India, it was only natural that this latter portion of the continent should monopolize all antiquarian researches. These researches have even been extended as far as Afghanistan and Persia. It is curious to observe, by the way, how often the men who are accepted as guides in these interesting inquiries, are charged with having made 'exaggerated estimates of distances,' with having been 'misinformed,' and even with having frequently erred in their enunciations regarding the points of the compass, whenever their statements have not

coincided with certain pre-determined theories. But as we are not disposed to enter on any speculative discussion on this subject, we shall content ourselves with putting together a few materials that may be useful to the antiquarian, and not uninteresting to the general reader.

One of the most important places mentioned in Buddhist legends, and celebrated as having on several occasions been the residence of Sakhya Muni and the scene of his preaching, is Vasali, or Vesali; a country which we have in a former paper assumed to be identical with Assam. It is important to notice that this name, sometimes pronounced *Withali*, is to this day given to Assam by the Burmese and the Shyan tribes. The government of the country, too, about the period when Sakhya Sing flourished, was, judging from local annals, of the same anomalous description as that attributed to Vesali at this time. It consisted of the joint rule of several chiefs who, in Sanscrit phraseology, were known as the *Lich-chi-wi*, or in the modern language of Assam, as the *Báro Bhuiya*.

The Assamese annals give an account of a prince named Susunanko or Susunago, a lineal descendant of Bhogodutt, the current traditions respecting whom correspond so precisely with the story given in the Mahawanso of a Vesali prince of the same name, that we cannot do better than notice them here.

"Who is this statesman, named Susunango? By whom was he brought up? He was the son of a certain Lich-chi-wi Raja of Vesali. He was born of a courtesan (*nogorasobhini*, literally, a 'beauty of the town,') and brought up by an officer of state." So much for the testimony of the Mahawanso.

Now, the Assamese annals state that upon a certain occasion the Lich-chi-wi Rajas consulted together and resolved that it would be prejudicial to the prosperity of their capital, if they did not keep up the office of chief of the courtezans. They accordingly appointed to this office a woman of high birth who was received into the palace of one of the Rajas, and in course of time gave birth to a son. Placing the infant in a basket carefully covered up, she committed it to the care of a female slave who, early one morning, left the basket on the spot where all the offal of the town was usually deposited. The moment it was put down, a certain Naga Raja (king of the serpents) encircled it in its folds, sheltering the infant beneath its hood. Passers by, noticing the snake, cried out, 'Su! Su! to frighten it away, and it disappeared. As soon as it had wriggled off, one of them approached the basket and on uncovering it, discovered a male child on whom were

traced clear indications of future greatness. Great joy was evinced by all the spectators, and a certain chief sharing in the feeling, took charge of the infant and conveyed it to his own house. When the time came to give a name to the foundling, it was called Susunago, in allusion to the cries of 'Su! Su!' and the Naga, or snake, that had defended it. As the child grew to man's estate, his superior abilities raised him to great eminence among the people; and when, afterwards, they got dissatisfied with their rulers, they made him king with the title of Susunago Raja.

He was succeeded by his son Kala Songko under whose auspices, according to the Pali annals, there was held the second religious convocation of Buddhist priests. This was about a century after Sakhya's death. According to the Mahawanso, the capital of this prince was Pupha-pura. Whether this is identical with the city of Purapur or Pura, the modern Tezapore in Central Assam, we have no means of determining; but the probabilities are in favour of their being one and the same city.

The Chinese traveller, Hiuan Tshang, who visited India between A. D. 629 and 642, speaks of Vesali (Fei-she-li) as "a country 5,000 li in circumference, with a fertile soil, producing fruits, flowers, and grass. It produces many An-mou-lo and Meou-che fruits. The country is rich, the temperature pleasant, and subject to few vicissitudes. The manners of the people are gentle, and the people themselves content with their happy circumstances. As to their creed, it is a medley of the false and true. More than a hundred Kia-lan (monasteries) are in ruins. There remain but three or five, in which there are but few religious disciples: these have about ten chapels, live mingled with the heretics, and appear in fact scarcely different from them. The town of Fei-she-li is at present fallen to ruin. The ancient walls are 60 to 70 li in circumference, and the fort (Koung-ehhing, *town of the palace*) 4 or 5. It is no longer inhabited."

Whether from the expression 'town of Vesali' we are to infer that there was a town of that name, or that it was merely intended to signify the principal town in the country of Vesali, we are unable to ascertain. But it is a question of no importance. From a passage in 'The Pilgrimage of Fa-Hian,' a Chinese pilgrim who travelled in India about the commencement of the fifth century, we learn that "when Foe (Budh) was on the eve of entering Nirban, he with his disciples issued from the town of Vesali by the western gate, and turning round to the right, and



“ casting his eyes upon the town, he prophesied to his disciples “ saying, ‘ It is here that the last of my acts will take “ place.’ ” But Sakhya Muni is said to have died near the town of Kusinara, Kusinogor, or Kusawati; and if we take into account the events which, according to the Pali annals, transpired in the brief interval between Sakhya’s leaving the town and his death, the presumption is that ‘ the town of Vesali ’ is identical with the city of Kusawati.

Sakhya who was four score years old when he died, was to the last in full possession of his mental faculties. The sickness which terminated his career overtook him at the village of Belugamako, near Vesali. He then decided on hastening to Kusawati, the city in which he was destined to realize the *Nirban*. Having reached a grove of *Sal* trees belonging to the Malla (Khettri) princes, on the further bank of the Hiranawattiya river, near the city of Kusawati, he desired his chief disciple, Anando, to prepare a bed for him between two *Sal* trees. Here, in the last watch of that same night, ‘ Budh realized his Nirban.’

We have already shown in a former paper, that the etymology of the word *Kusawati* presents no difficulty in the way of the identification of the ancient city of that name with the modern town of Gowhatty. We may just add that ‘ the death of Sakhya as generally stated in the Thibetan books, happened ‘ in Assam, near the city of Kusha (Sachan) in Kamroop, under ‘ a pair of *Sal* trees.’ \* The numerous pilgrims from Thibet and Bootan who come down annually into Assam to worship at the ancient shrines of their faith, corroborate the statement just quoted from M. de Csoma; for, they not only hold that Sakhya died at Sachan, but they universally identify this Sachan, or Sachok, with Gowhatty. Moreover, Mr. Brian Hodgson, onewhile British resident at the Court of Nepal, to whom the learned world is indebted for bringing to light the books of the Nepalese Budhists, books of which those of the Budhists of Thibet, Mongolia and China are only translations,— tells us that according to his ‘ Nepalese authorities; Sakhya died in Assam.’ And furthermore, the Pali annals to which reference has been made, affirm that Sakhya Budh died on the further bank of the Hirannawattiya river. Fa-Hian also says: ‘ It is to the north of this town (Kusha) betwixt two trees on the bank of the river Hilian,’ that the Illustrious of the age, his face turned to the north, entered *Nirban*. The Pali

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\* Notices on the Life of Sakhya from the Thibetan authorities. By M. Csoma de Kőrös,

and Chinese transcriptions of the name of this river are acknowledged to be etymologically the same as the Sanscrit word *Hiranyo*, 'golden;' and it is worthy of note that the *Hiranyo* is the name by which the Berhampooter, the river which washes Gowhatty, has long been known.

The conclusion, then, to which we come, as well from the fact that Bhogodott, the king of Kamroop, took the field in the great war of the Maha Bharut in aid of Durjodhon who represented the Buddhistic faith, as from the circumstance of the Buddhist princes of Gour tracing their descent from the king of Assam, and the identification of Kusawati with Gowhatty, is that the religion of ancient Assam was Buddhism. If further attestation of this fact is necessary, we have it in the ruins of the sacred edifices with which the province once abounded.

It has been remarked that there appear to have been neither temples nor images of deities in India during the age of its great Epics. We should, on the contrary, regard it as more likely that architecture and sculpture should develop under the influence of Buddhism than under that of the widespread separation into sects which we know succeeded the Epic form of religion in India. This division into sects necessarily impaired the vital energy of Brahminism; nor was it possible that so unnatural a condition of society should be characterized by progress in the cultivation of the arts. Accordingly, it does not surprise us to find that the construction and bas-reliefs of most of the celebrated temples of India prove them to have been Buddhistic; and the same may be affirmed of the temples of Assam. Of the age of these latter we, indeed, have no certain knowledge; but the scale on which they have been built and the devices they exhibit betoken a time of considerable religious enthusiasm. To whatever cause or causes their destruction may be attributed, certain it is that most of them are now, and have for generations been, in utter ruin. In some instances, their stones have been used in the construction of Hindu temples, and have been placed in their new position without any regard to their original design; whilst in others, fragments of carved figures and ornamental friezes intended, evidently, to occupy conspicuous places in the ancient edifices, have been laid down as paving stones, or have helped to build the rude steps that conduct to the modern Brahminical shrines. But wherever found, there is sufficient mutual resemblance in these stones to enable us to form some idea of their original design. They at all events teach that the temples of which they once formed a part, belonged essentially to one and the same style of architecture, although

some of them were plain and simple, and others elaborately decorated.

There is one little temple that still stands in a state of almost perfect preservation. Being in a secluded spot it must have escaped the observation of the ruthless bigots who aimed to destroy every trace of a religion they despised. And we are glad it did, for we are by this means enabled to form a correct idea of the architecture and arrangement of these olden fanes. We refer to the unique little temple of Singeshwor, so called from *Behwor*, God, and *Sakhya Sing*, the last Budhic incarnation. It stands in one of the southern divisions of the modern district of Kamroop, known as the Choigaong Dwar, and is about thirty miles in a direct line south-west from Gowhatti. It is entire, with the exception of a few stones forming the apex of the pyramidal roof, which have fallen over. One of these stones is in the shape of an urn, about two feet high and four feet in circumference in the widest part, with a circular hole, four inches in diameter, cut vertically through it. Urn-shaped stones of this description are found near most of the ruined temples, and they probably formed, as in this instance, the highest point of the buildings. As it is still the practice in Buddhist countries to plant an umbrella on the summit of sacred edifices, it is by no means an unreasonable conjecture that the vertical hole in the topmost stone was meant to support this Indian emblem of royalty. The simplicity of the architectural design makes it highly probable that the little temple of Singeshwor belongs to one of the earliest of its type. The body of the building is in the form of a cube, measuring six feet each way. The walls are about three feet thick, and are built up of large square blocks of fine-grained granite laid in horizontal courses in the form of the *isodomon* or regular masonry of the Greeks, and having the external and internal surfaces worked to an even plane. They rise from a stone-paved platform two feet above the level of the ground, which projects two feet from the walls. The fillet has a projection of eight inches, and the plinth extends to fourteen inches beyond it. A similar fillet or plat-band projects eight inches beyond the top of the wall, from which springs the roof rising conically.

As seen from within, the roof rests on eight slabs, each six inches thick, disposed in the form of an octagon, and supported by the walls. Above these are placed six courses of slabs forming so many concentric rings, each six inches thick, and projecting four inches beyond the one below it, towards their common centre. Overtopping these, lies a large flat slab, on which is carved in high relief an inverted eight-petaled *Podmo* or

Lotus flower, two and a half feet in diameter. Owing to the great thickness of the walls, the area of the cella or room is only three feet two inches square. The entrance to it is by a single doorway facing the west, and is only four feet high and two wide, with a block rising nine inches above the floor for a threshold. On the stone which rests on the top of the doorway across the entrance, is a small figure of Gonesh, the door-keeper of the gods, carved in relief; and on the doorposts on either side is carved the figure of a man standing. The height of the figures is twelve inches. These are the only sculptured ornaments about the building. A small carved podium or basement stone, about a foot and a half high, and unconnected with the building, stands within the cella. This stone on which, probably, the idol was elevated—if the temple ever had one,—is in the form of a parallelogram with a smooth flat surface gently inclining to the right, on which side it is prolonged in the shape of a spout designed to carry off the water used for washing the stone after the removal of the daily offerings.

This temple like all the others that have escaped destruction, has been appropriated by the Hindus, and a Brahmin officiates in it as priest. The object of worship it now holds is a stone figure, about two feet high, cut in relief on a larger block than the usual podium just described, the rough and unfinished sides of which show that it was not originally intended for the position it occupies. It has, in all probability, been extracted from the wall of some other temple. Immediately in front of the temple and connected with it, is a square open porch or propylæum, having a stone pavement raised two feet above the ground and covering an area of eight feet square. The roof which resembles that of the temple but is only a little lower, is supported by four octagonal pillars, the shafts measuring three feet four inches in height, and resting on a projecting base of the same shape, seven inches high. The capitals are formed of two pieces each. The abacus is cross-shaped, each limb being supported by a volute springing from a circular slab which forms a fillet resting on the shaft; while the architrave has bracket-shaped projections resting on the outward limbs of the cross-shaped capital which help to support the slabs forming the base of the pyramidal roof.

Parallel with this building and about three rods to the south of it, stands another stone temple of somewhat larger outward dimensions, but in a very dilapidated condition. It consists of three compartments. The vestibule which is on the west side of the building is a room six feet square, enclosed by walls six feet high, and having an entrance door four feet

by two. The ante-room adjoining is of the same width, but only four feet across. The outer walls of this room are provided with a few longitudinal apertures for the admission of light. The passage leading into it is only three feet high and two feet wide. Opposite to it is a still smaller passage leading to the adytum which is only two and a half feet square. The wall, however, is three feet in thickness, and on the outside the room has the appearance of an octagon with a diameter of eight and a half feet. The roof over the vestibule and anti-room resembles that of the smaller temple; but the adytum though covered in, like the rest, with a flat slab ornamented with the flower of the Lotus, has above it a tapering pyramidal roof, the front or western projection of which is ornamented with curious emblematic devices.

The temple of Kamikhya, or Kameswhori, now one of the most celebrated Hindu shrines in Assam, was once a Buddhist temple, although, as now, it was probably in the early time, dedicated to the worship of the *yonî*. The *Jogini Tontro*, a standard authority in Assam inasmuch as its contents are supposed to have been communicated by Siva to his consort Parboti, tells us that though king Norok was an Osur (infidel), he was so esteemed by the gods that they made him guardian of the temple of Kamikhya. It is not unlikely that the temple was originally erected by Norok, though this is only a conjecture; at any rate we may safely conclude that it existed in his days. It is situated within the boundary of the ancient city of Gowhaty, about two miles to the west of the modern town, on the summit of a hill known as the Nil-aehol, which rises abruptly from the banks of the Berhampooter to a height of 800 feet. It is believed to have been destroyed by the Mahomedans in the reign of Gyas-uddeen, king of Kamroop, but restored by Nil-Naryun, a Koch king who flourished in the 16th century. If we accept the hypothesis that Assam is the Vesali of the Buddhists, then there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that the temple of Kamikhya was the 'Kuttâgara edifice situated close to the town of Vesali, where Sakhya Sing delivered his last solemn charge to the priesthood'; and near which, according to his own statement, he had on more than one occasion been tempted by Maro or Kam who, according to Thibetan authorities, was 'the Queen of the Kamroop world.' Ptolemy also mentions that Marinus had heard of Cattigara, which he places not far from the confines of the country of the Sinae.

The object of worship in this temple, as we have already said, is the *yonî*, represented by a *Tri-con-akar Jontro*, or

triangular stone, and known in Buddhist mythology as *Prajna Devi*, the universal mother. The subjoined extract from Mr. Hodgson's quotations from the original Sanskrit authorities on Buddhism, will best explain the character and meaning of this worship :

*Adi Budh.*

' When in the beginning all was perfect void (Maha Sunyato) and the five elements were not, then *Adi Budh*, the stainless, was revealed in the form of flame, or light. He is the self-existent great Budh, the *Adi-Nath*, the *Moheśwor*. He is the cause of all existences in the three worlds; the cause of their well-being also. I make salutation to *Adi-Budh* who is one and sole in the universe; whose name is *Upay*, who became manifest in the great Sunyato as the letter A. He is the creator of all the Budhas; the chief of the Budhi-satwas are cherished by him. He is the creator of *Prajna* and of the world. *Aliter*. He made the world by the existence of *Prajna*; himself unmade.

*Adi Prajna, or Dharma.*

' I salute that *Prajna Poromita* who by reason of her omniscience caused the tranquillity-seeking *Sraboks*\* to obtain absorption; of whom wise men have said that the external and internal diversities belonging to all animate nature are produced by her who is the mother of Budh, of that Budh to whose service all the *Sraboks* and *Budhi-satwas* dedicate themselves. I make salutation to the *Prajna Devi*, who is the *Prajna Poromita*, the *Prajna-rupa*, the *Nir-rupa* and the universal mother. The wise make no distinction between thee and Budh. Every Budh assembling his disciples instructs them how from unity thou becomest multi-formed, and many-named. The Budhas, *Pratyeka Budhas* and *Sraboks* have all devoutly served thee, By thee alone is absorption obtained.

' When all was *Sunyāta*, *Prajna Devi* was revealed out of *Akash* (space) with the letter U. Salutation to *Prajna Devi* from whom (*Kam-rupini*) in the form of desire (*Dharmadya Songoto*) the production of the world was excellently obtained. That *yonī* from which the world was made manifest is the *Tri-kon-akar Jontro*. In the midst of the *Jontro*, or *Tri-kon* (triangle) is a *bindu* (point, or cypher); from that *bindu* *Adi Prajna* revealed herself by her own will. From one side of the triangle *Adi Prajna* produced Budh, and from another

\* One of the ascetical orders of Buddhists:

'side Dharma, and from the third side Sangha. That Adi 'Prajna is the mother of that Budh who issued from the first 'side; and Dharma who issued from the second side is the wife 'of the Budha of the first side, and the mother of the other 'Budhas.

### *Adi Songha.*

'That Amitabha, by virtue of his *Samta-jnyan*, created the 'Budhi-satwa named Padma-pani, and committed to his hands 'the lotus, the type of creative power. From between his '(Padma-pani's) shoulders sprang *Brahma*; from his forehead '*Maha-dev*, from his two eyes, the sun and moon; from his 'mouth, the air; from his teeth, Saraswati; from his belly, 'Varuna; from his knees Lakshmi; from his feet, the earth; 'from his navel, water; from the roots of his hair the *Indras*, 'and other *Devatas*.

'From the union of the essences of Upaya (Adi Budha) and 'of Prajna (Adi Dharma) proceeded the world, which is *Sangha* 'represented by the letter M.'

The 'Amitabha,' as Mr. Hodgson informs us, is the fourth *Dhyani*, or celestial Budh: and Padma-pani is his *Aeon* and executive minister. Padma-pani is the *præsens Divus*, and creator of the existing system of worlds. Hence his place as third member of the Triad. He is figured as a graceful youth, erect, and bearing in either hand a lotus and a jewel. This explains the meaning of the celebrated *Shadakshari Mantra* or six-lettered invocation of him,—AUM! *Mane padme hom!*—of which so many corrupt versions and more corrupt interpretations have appeared from Chinese, Thibetan, Mongolese and other sources. The *Mantra* is one of three addressed to the several members of the Triad, and as translated by Mr. Hodgson, signifies, 'I salute him of the lotus and jewel.' The *præsens Divus* is everything with the many; hence the notoriety of this *Mantra* whilst the others are hardly heard of, and have remained unknown to travellers.

Thus the worship of the Prajua Devi belongs as much to Buddhism as to Brahminism, and in the temple of Kamikhya we have another memorial of Budhistic times.

The Hajou temple which is also of considerable repute, is built on a hill of that name. This hill is 300 feet high, and stands on the northern bank of the stream which was once the main channel of the Berhampooter. It is to the north-west of the ancient city, and eight or ten miles from the great western gate. This is the temple which the Mahomedan General Bhuktyar Khilijy attempted to seize when he found the stone-bridge across the river dismantled and was obliged to

march along the bank in search of a ford. The temple is visited not only by pilgrims of the Brahminic faith, but also by Buddhists from Nepal and Thibet, who come here with their annual offerings. The shrine is also not unfrequently visited by devout pilgrims from China and Mongolia, who are content, with this view, to undertake perilous journeys through the trackless forests and snows of the Himalayas. The idol which is the object of all this veneration is a representation of Budh in his usual contemplative posture. It is of black stone, and may measure some six feet in height, and is elevated on a basement stone two feet high, which stands in the centre of the temple. The idol is known to the common people as *Maha Muni*, or the great sage.

The temple is a massive stone structure with a pyramidal roof; but it would appear from the disarrangement of many of the mouldings and friezes, and the evident misplacement of several of the stones that the upper portion has been re-constructed out of the old material. The base to about six feet in height is decidedly ancient, and is the best proportioned and most handsome portion of the building. On the outside, the edifice is octagonal, its greatest diameter being thirty feet; but the inner room is a square, fourteen feet each way, thus leaving eight feet for the thickness of the walls. The entrance to this inner room is by a door-way ten feet high, and five wide, formed by four blocks of granite at right angles to each other. The upper horizontal block has a lotus carved on it in high relief. This is the only ornament inside. The door opens to the west, and projecting from it is a vestibule ten feet square, built of stone, with an ornamental window on each side (if such it may be called), for the admission of light. Each window consists of a block of stone four feet square, with holes cut through it in the shape of lotus flowers. Beyond this vestibule is a large vaulted room measuring 40 feet by 20, built of brick and supported on massive pillars. It forms no part of the original building, and it is very probable that it replaced a dismantled stone edifice which the workmen of Noro Naryun's time had not the skill to restore. This king found the temple entirely deserted, and almost lost in jungle; the smaller buildings about it had fallen into ruin and the great temple itself had been partially overthrown. This he restored and endowed with lands, pykes, and dancing girls, and appointed beneficed priests to minister to the idol. The outer face of the temple is adorned with a row of elephants carved in bold relief with their faces outwards, and occupying the position of the caryatides of Grecian architecture. The figures are two



feet in height and seventy-four in number round the temple, besides the eight that stand on either side of the vestibule.

To the north-east of the modern town, but within the ancient precincts of Gowhatti, are to be seen the remains of another Buddhist temple possessing special interest from the fact that the lower portion of the walls enclosing the adytum still stands entire. The stones in the inner face of the apartment consist of plane blocks laid in regular horizontal courses; but those on the outer surface are elaborately carved with sundry figures and devices. Like the stones used in the construction of the other temples, these, too, appear to have been kept in their places by means of iron pins. The space between the inner and outer lines of stones has been filled with loose stones and fragments of all shapes and sizes, laid together without mortar in as close order as the skill of the workmen and the character of the material would allow.

But we must bring our description of these temples to a close. 'Then,' says the Lolita Vistara, 'the principal champions of Kusha thus said to the champions that crowded together from all parts: hear, ye intelligent citizens! The wives and the maids of the champions shall make canopies of cloth over the corpse of Chomdondas (Sakhya Muni): the wives and lads of the champions shall carry the bier of Chomdondas; and we showing respect, reverence, honour and worship to him, with fragrant substances, garlands, incense, sweet scented powders and music, so we shall enter at the western gate of the city, and after having perambulated the whole space within, we shall go out by the eastern gate of the city; and after having passed over the Yig-dan (Hiranyo) river, we shall stay by the Choityo—called the Choityo that has a head ornament tied on by the champions—and there we will burn the corpse.' The situation of these temples relatively to the town of Kusha which, for reasons already given, we are disposed to conclude is Gowhatti; their site on the further bank of the Hiranyo, the name by which the Berhampooter is still known in Assam; the fact that one of them is to the present day consecrated to the worship of Maha Muni, and the veneration in which it is held by all Budhists,—furnish the highest presumptive evidence that one of these sacred edifices was 'the Choityo, adorned with the head ornament' near which stood the grove of *Acacia*, beneath whose shade Sakhya Muni 'went to his last sleeping bed,' and near which also the rites of cremation were performed.

From particulars furnished in Buddhist writings we glean that several cheityos, or sacred edifices, were erected in various

places in Vesali, either to commemorate special events connected with the life of Budh, or as depositories of his relics. When the kings of the adjacent countries heard of the death of Budh, demands were immediately made by them for a share of these relics, which being peremptorily refused, the city was besieged by their troops, and the 'champions of Kusha' were reduced to the necessity of arming their wives and children, and exercising them in the use of the bow, that they might defend themselves against so overpowering a force. Before the commencement of actual hostilities, however, a Brahmin interposed between the contending parties, and at his suggestion the relics were divided into eight parts and distributed amongst them. Some portion, at all events, of these sacred relics were put, as we are informed, 'into an urn of gold and deposited in the middle of the city 'of Kusha.' On the southern bank of the Berhampooter which now runs through the ancient city dividing it into nearly equal parts, and on a spot which, if not precisely in the centre of the old city, must undoubtedly have been very near it, there still are extensive remains of what must have been one of the most important temples of the country. Here in all probability, 'the champions of Kusha erected a Choityo over 'the relics of Budh.' Most of the stones which lay here have, of late years, been removed for the construction of bridges and other public works, whilst great numbers still lie buried beneath the soil. Immediately on the bank of the river, and not much above high-water mark, there is a colossal figure of Budh in the usual sitting posture, which is worshipped by the Hindus under the name of Budheshwor, or the god Budh. It is cut in the solid rock, and is furnished with four arms. The extra arms are by no means an uncommon addition in the Budhic figures to be met with in Bhootan and Nepal, where, as Mr. Hodgson remarks, 'these images are to be met with of 'all sizes and shapes, very many of them endowed with a 'multiplicity of members sufficient to satisfy the teeming fancy 'of any Brahmin.'

Thus, the alliance of Bhogodott with Durjadhon, the champion of the Budhists in the great war of the Maha Bharut; the fact that the Budhist princes of Gour traced their descent from the kings of Assam; the very traditions of the country; the identity of Gowhatty with the ancient town of ~~Kamagati~~ Kamagati, and the consequent connection of Assam with the history of the Budhic annals; and lastly, the ancient temples we have described, all of which are of Budhic origin,—point indisputably to Budhism as the early religion of the country..

Hindu annals give the period of the successful invasion of Assam by Debeshwor, king of Mithila, as the time when the Brahminical faith was introduced. This would be about A. D. 78. It is not improbable, however, that Buddhism began to be undermined immediately on the overthrow of the Bhogodott dynasty, by the proselytizing zeal of the new Hindu dynasty. Bhogodott's dynasty disappeared synchronously with the conquests of Vickramaditya; and although the old faith lingered long in the capital of Assam and its immediate neighbourhood, it may be said to have virtually succumbed to Hinduism from the moment of the downfall of the great Budhist kings. It may be surprising to those who have been accustomed to regard Hinduism as essentially non-aggressive to hear that in Assam at least, its career has been a proselytizing one; but this, nevertheless, is the fact. It is daily recruiting its strength from among the surrounding hill-tribes, and even where the creed as such is not acknowledged, its leavening influence is felt. It has so impregnated the general mind that it is impossible to understand the social institutions of the country without it.

The Hindus are divided into three great bodies of worshippers,—the Voishnobs, the Soibos, and the Saktos. Of these, the Voishnobs are by far the most numerous in Assam; the worshippers of Sib, and the Saktis bearing but a small proportion to them. However, this was not always so. Time was when the worship of Sib reached even to the eastern section of the valley; but it has now to a great extent given place to that of Vishnu. Judging from the numerous shrines dedicated to Sib, a superficial observer may be tempted to infer that the Soibs are still the most popular sect; but these temples are, generally speaking, regarded with little veneration. Most of the images of the Linga are the remnants of an older form of worship, and were held in reverence by the Budhists as emblematic of fertility and productiveness. It was not till the days of the Koch kings of Kamroop that the worship of Sib in its present form became popular. The Brahmins, introduced under their royal patronage, neglected no opportunity of extending the worship of their tutelar god; the old overthrown temples of the Budhists were restored wherever restoration was practicable, and many new temples rose into existence, alike dedicated to the patron deity. Owing to the Tontrika Purans, which about this period had their origin in the western parts of Assam, Kamroop acquired a new importance in the eyes of the Hindu world, and came to be regarded as the favourite resort of the god Sib, and the scene of most of his exploits. And subsequently, when the prestige of the Koch kings was on the wane, and a new power appeared in the

north-east, which bid fair to exercise dominion over the whole country, the Brahmins, true to their principles, hastened to ingratiate themselves with it. The Ahom rulers were admitted to the rank of pure Hindus, and under their royal patronage more temples sprang up, and the worship of Sib spread to the eastern extremity of the valley. Still, it does not appear to have ever acquired great popularity, and, as already intimated, it was not long before it was entirely supplanted by the Vishnuvite doctrine.

The Dooga-pooja was wholly unknown in Assam till the Bengalees introduced it, subsequently to the British conquest of the province. But it has never been popular with the multitude; and even the great festival of the Dusserah, also in honour of Doorga, is marked by no particular observances except at the temple of Kamikhya. The worship of this temple, according to Hindu legends, originated in the following way: The father of Parboti on one occasion convened a large assembly of the gods for the purpose of offering a solemn sacrifice with a view to obtain male offspring, he having already been blessed with one hundred and one daughters. His son-in-law, Sib, who had before this incurred his displeasure, was not invited to the convention. Parboti who was not disposed to brook this affront, went to the place of assembly for the express purpose of resenting it. Finding that she herself shared in the odium incurred by her husband, and enraged at the contemptuous manner in which she was treated by the assembled gods, she flung herself into the sacred fire, and spoiled the sacrifice. Sib on being told of the catastrophe, hastened to the spot, and after revenging himself on his father-in-law by cutting off his head, placed the dead body of his wife on his shoulders, and went seven times round the earth bemoaning his misfortune. The velocity with which he made his circuits, caused his burden to drop to pieces. These pieces were scattered all over the world, and the places where they fell became sacred. One portion fell on the Nila-chol, where it is the object of worship of numerous votaries from all parts of India. Another is said to have fallen somewhere in Nepal. The frontal bone is said to have fallen at the further end of the Sadiya district, on a spot on which the copper-temple of the eastern Kamikhya afterwards stood. The ruins of this temple were visited by Colonel Hannay in 1848, and from his description which was published in the Asiatic Society's Journal, there can be little doubt that it was originally a Buddhist structure, the Brahminical legend associated with its origin belonging, in fact, to the long subsequent Bramhinical period. In the palmy days of the Bramhinic priesthood in Assam, the animal

sacrifices offered at this shrine exceeded in number those of any other temple. Even human victims were not wanting. These were taken from a particular section of the community who with their families were assigned to the temple by royal mandate, and were compelled to reside in its neighbourhood. Nor is this the only temple in Assam where such barbarous sacrifices used to be offered.

The temple of Kamikhya on the Nila-chol is now with the Sakto sect the most important in the province, and it is here that by far the greater number of animal sacrifices are offered. About a hundred and fifty goats and a due proportion of buffaloes are here slain every year, the latter animals being reserved for the most part, for the Sarodiya Pooja, or autumnal worship of Doorga.

The Voishnobs constitute three-fourths of the Hindu population of the valley. They are so called from Vishnu, who is generally worshipped under the name of Krishna. They derive most of the peculiarities of their creed from Songkor and Madhob, the first propagators of the Vishnu doctrines in Assam. Songkor is said to have been born in the year 1385 of the era of Salivahana, corresponding with A.D. 1463, near a tank known as the *Ali-pukri*, in the neighbourhood of the *Bordwar-Sthan*, Zillah Nowgong. According to the *Lila-choritro*, a work professing to be a history of the founders of the sect, Songkor's father, Kusum, was one of the twelve chieftains, or Baro Bhuiyas, who held sway in the country north of the Berhampooter. He was a Kulita by caste, but the education of his son was entrusted to a learned Brahmin. No marvels are related of Songkor's childhood, although he is said to have shown a wonderful aptitude for learning. He married early, and on the death of his wife he distributed his property amongst his relatives, and went on pilgrimage to Juggernath's shrine in Orissa. From here he sought other places of pilgrimage, and returned to his native country after an absence of twelve years. Finding the Government in a very disorganized state, he was importuned by his friends to resume his hereditary position, and aid in restoring order; but this he declined to do, urging that he had only come home to meditate on all that he had heard and seen. The seclusion in which he lived and his intense meditations won for him the favour of Juggernath. This god appeared in a dream to one Jogodisa Misro, a Brahmin of Benares, who was at the time employed as a reader of the Shri Bhagavot at the Juggernath temple in Orissa, and directed him to read the sacred Puran in the hearing of Songkor, and to instruct him in its doctrines. The

Brahmin accordingly undertook the journey to Assam, and for a whole year Songkor enjoyed the benefit of his teaching.

It was about this time that Songkor's intimacy with Madhob began. Madhob was a Sakto, a worshipper of the female deities. One day he gave directions to his brother-in-law to procure a goat for sacrifice. This came to the knowledge of Songkor who advised the brother-in-law not to comply with Madhob's directions. Madhob, displeased at what appeared to him an unwarrantable insult, sought an interview with Songkor, when a violent altercation ensued. Songkor however, quoting from the Shri Bhagavot explained to him how all adoration ought to be paid to Vishnu, Supreme. 'For,' said he, 'if you pour water on the roots of the tree, the leaves and branches are refreshed and strengthened; but the water if applied to the leaves and branches only, and not to the roots, will be of no avail.' Madhob was so much struck with the aptness of this illustration, that he at once prostrated himself as a disciple before Songkor. From that hour he devoted himself to the study of the Bhagavot and the Gita, and in time became Songkor's most efficient co-adjutor in the work of proselytism. The success of the new teachers excited the jealousy of the Brahmins, and to silence their revilings Songkor challenged them to a public controversy. In the presence of the eager assembly that met, he declared that he would condemn the Brahmins out of their own mouths. He accordingly asked them whether a sinner and an outcast might repeat the name of Krishna without having made atonement, and previous to his re-admission into caste. They replied that the name of Krishna was of such efficacy that to repeat it was not only permitted but enjoined; that the repeating of the name alone was sufficient for atonement; and that in the present iron age, this was all that was necessary for a man's salvation. All present declared that this was the substance of the doctrines taught by Songkor, and taking up the cry of 'Hori! Hori!' which he had taught them, they completely silenced the Brahmins.

After this, Songkor travelled about the country teaching his doctrines and establishing *sthans*, or *chotros* as they are usually called. *Sthan* means a *place*, or *station*, and is by way of preeminence applied to the places of worship of the sect. *Chotro*, or *Sotro* as the Assamese commonly pronounce it, properly means an *umbrella*, and was applied by the Buddhists to their temples, from the circumstance that these edifices were commonly surmounted by an umbrella, the emblem of royalty. The Voishnobs who supplanted the Buddhists in Assam have retained the name, and in most instances too, the very

sites held sacred by the Buddhists. One of the most important chotros established by Songkor is that known as the Bordwar Sthan, near his native village. The head priest of the establishment, a Kulita, is said to be descended from him. In the autumn of his life, Songkor again visited Orissa, and it was on this occasion that he had an interview with Choitonyo. He died soon after his return to Assam, and was succeeded in the leadership of the sect by his colleague, Madhob. After Madhob's death, the sect got broken up into two or three minor divisions. The most noted of the schismatics were Damudhor a Brahmin, Gopal, and Horideb. Those who adhere to the doctrines as taught by Songkor and Madhob are usually known as *Mohā-purushyas*, that is, the disciples of the 'great men;' and the heads of their religious establishments are called Odhikars, or Rulers. Captain Dalton, to whose interesting 'Notes on the Mahāpurushyas' published in the Asiatic Society's Journal, we are indebted for our information respecting the leaders of the Voishnobs, furnishes the following summary of the belief and practice of the Mahāpurushyas. He says:—

"They (Songkor and Madhob) instructed their disciples to acknowledge the existence of only one God, Vishnu the Supreme, and prohibited their engaging in the worship of any other deity. They do not ignore the existence of the rival or minor gods of the Hindu Pantheon, but consider that in adoring Vishnu they obtain the favour of them all. They were instructed to acknowledge all the Avatars of Vishnu, but were to regard his appearance as Krishna as the manifestation of most importance to mortals, and to seek salvation by the repetition of his name and contemplation of his attributes. Amongst his other titles he was to be acknowledged as Radha Vallabha, or lord of Radha, but Radha was to be regarded as inseparably connected with this incarnation of the god, not as a distinct object of worship. In regard to a future state, the doctrines, if I am correctly informed of them, are simple enough. Elevation to Vaikantha, the heaven of Vishnu, as the reward of the virtuous; an eternity of 'Narak,' hell, as the lot of the wicked.

"Those amongst them who are 'Grihis,' laymen, were permitted to worship the images of Vishnu and Krishna in the form of the Sālagram, but all other idol worship was interdicted, and though images of Krishna, Rama, &c., are set up in some of the places of worship belonging to the Mahāpurushyas, no adoration is paid to them except by Brāhmanas. To the Sālagram and image of Krishna, offerings of uncooked food are, however, made, by the Pujāri, a Brahman,

“ in the name and in behalf of the community. The ‘ Udasins’  
 “ are absolutely interdicted all image worship, even of the  
 “ Sálagram, and the reason assigned for this distinction between  
 “ them and the laity is that, images or symbols of the deity  
 “ on which to concentrate the ideas are required by men whose  
 “ minds are distracted by family cares and by indulgence in  
 “ worldly enjoyments, but not by those who, if they act up to  
 “ their vocation, spend the greater portion of their time in  
 “ holy meditation.”

The restraints of caste are not so severe among the Mahapurshyas as among other Hindus. This is owing in part to the tendency of Songkor's preaching, and in part, to the propagation among them of the doctrines of Choitonyo, which were introduced into the province by certain Brahmins of Bengal. The Choitonyo school is represented by numerous Chotros and a considerable number of disciples. There are also some few followers of Nityanond, their most important Chotro being that of the Kolabaria Gossain. The Muttock Gossain, or the chief priest of the Moamanias, who came into note in the civil wars that distracted the country about the close of the Ahom suzerainty, is the only teacher of the Shri Samproday school. He is a disciple of Ramanond, and a member of the sect distinguished by the name of Chotur Bhuj. Of all the sects of Voishnobs, the Mahapurushyas seem to be practically the most free from the superstitious prejudices of caste. “ Hindus of all “ castes,” observes Captain Dalton, “ are admitted into the “ fraternity, and once admitted are, (with the exception of eating “ cooked food from the hands of a brother whose blood is not as “ pure as one's own), associated with on equal terms by all the “ brethren, and there is nothing more remarkable about this sect “ than the firmness with which this bond of fraternity is maintained, supporting each other through evil report and good “ report, bravely and generously.”

Before closing this brief notice of the Hinduism of Assam, we ought to say a few words about the *Gram-debtas* or *Genii loci*, which, with the masses of the people, are the most popular objects of worship. The worship is based on a superstitious belief in the interpositions of aerial beings, or spirits. The places consecrated to it are *Sthans*. Almost every old village has a *Sthan* somewhere in the neighbourhood, situated in a lovely grove or under a large tree. The only indication of it is a lamp of clay fixed on a platform of the same material. Sometimes it is surmounted by a shed, but this is not usual. As long as men are ordinarily prosperous and no calamity threatens them, they are content with the worship common to the sect to which



they belong; but in seasons of trouble the Gram-debtas are resorted to. When the calamity is general, such as a drought, or a pestilence, or murrain amongst the cattle, the entire population of the village will repair to the *Sthan* and seek by prayer and offerings to obtain release from suffering. The Brahmins and the better informed among the people profess to consider the worship offered to these Genii unorthodox, and it is supposed to owe its chief support to the women, whose superstitious fears are said to be greater than those of the men. We suspect, however, that the women are in this instance burdened with an imputation that by no means belongs specially to them. Certain it is that all Assamese regard high trees and sequestered groves as the haunts of spirits whom it behoves them to propitiate with offerings of leaves and dried branches. It is not unusual to see a heap of these votive offerings accumulated on the way-side underneath some tree of magnificent proportions; and every passer-by is expected to contribute to it.

To the account we have now given of the Hindus of Assam much might be added respecting the different classes of Brahmins to be found there, and the efforts they make to proselytize the tribes of the hills; but we must bring our paper to a close. It will be perceived, however, from what has already been said, that the people of the valley, though Hindus, are not on the whole so hopelessly bound in the chains of caste as are their brethren in Bengal. The reason is that the Brahmins have never gained that utter ascendancy over their understanding and consciences that they exercise in other parts of India. The leaven of Buddhism has never been altogether expelled; and among the higher orders of Assamese, there still lingers something of the old independence of thought, and of the purer influences which it has been the mission of Brahminism to crush out. Brahminism has not had an easy conquest in the country; and in the comparative freedom from 'gods many and lords many' contended for by Songkor and the Mahapurushyas, as well as the laxity that prevails in the matter of caste, we have the remnants of the by-gone freedom of a system which with all its errors is, without doubt, morally superior to the practical Hinduism that prevails around us.

It is in lower Assam more especially, that the sensual element in Hinduism finds scope. It is greatly fostered by the worship of the *Karikhya* temple, and however the use of opium may have originated among the people, there can be little doubt that the habit is encouraged by the unholy excitements of this worship. It is notorious that opium, like other narcotics, is in the first instance a stimulant; and in the case of all beginners among

the Assamese, it serves greatly to intensify the excitement of the vile orgies of Kamikhya. Begun under these auspices, the use of the drug gradually grows into a habit, and brings with it its own retribution in the form of early physical decay and decrease of population. The inordinate consumption of opium and the absence of all external inducement to exertion, acting and reacting on one another, have reduced Assam, naturally one of the richest and most productive provinces of our empire, to the condition of a jungle. The indigenous opium has of late years been interdicted by law, and so far the Government has acted wisely. But such action is only negative. It is to commercial enterprises diligently fostered by the Government and increasing the value of land and the expense of living, that we must look for the influence that is to quicken the lethargy of the people, and force them into the competition of the labour-market.

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## THE OPERATION OF THE LAISSER-FAIRE PRINCIPLE IN TIMES OF SCARCITY.

ART. IV.—*Circular of the Board of Revenue No. 12. December, 1865.*

THE Circular quoted at the head of this article is an authoritative exposition of the principles on which the Government "considers itself at liberty to afford assistance in times of "scarcity," and these principles may be fairly described as simply the doctrines of the *laisser-faire* school pushed to an extreme, beyond which not even *doctrinaires*, if *doctrinaires* were kings, could be supposed desirous of carrying them. Beyond spending money on Public Works, nothing whatever is to be done,—this is the sum and substance of the whole.

These principles have now been brought to the rough test of practice, and it has been abundantly shewn by the events of the last 18 months,—by the unanimous verdict of public opinion,—nay, even by the result of the appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober,—by the confessions of the *doctrinaires* themselves, "wise after the event,"—that the sphere of Government action in times of scarcity cannot possibly be circumscribed by the narrow limits proposed. We have been reminded by one authority that the, "first duty of a Government is the preservation of the lives of its subjects," or, as they say at school, *salus populi suprema lex*. Another gives it as the result of his experience that, in a time like that we have just seen, "all considerations must give way to those of humanity." The *Revue des Deux Mondes* professes its astonishment at the impartial hearing accorded to Sir C. Beadon's explanation of the reasons of Political Economy, which guided him in remaining so long inactive. The judgment of the *Times* is that "no more fearful warning against the danger of entrusting perilous affairs to the hands of *doctrinaires* is afforded by the history of our own times, nor could the grossest ignorance of economical principles have wrought such ruin as this fanatical and presumptuous adherence to them." As Mr. Senior observes usually happens in these cases, people in general, reason-

ing rather with their hearts than their heads, have applied the *argumentum ad absurdum* to the whole *laissez-faire* doctrine, and finding that it has led to so much mischief in practice, do not care to examine into the reasons by which it may be supported. *Solvitur ambulando*,—"whatever may be said for it in theory, "it will not do in practice,"—is the general conclusion.

One cannot help feeling that this is not a satisfactory settlement of the question. In the first place it proves too much. It sweeps the whole non-interference doctrine away at a blow, the sound portions of it (and every one must admit that much of it is sound) together with the unsound, and leaves us with no other guide than short-sighted considerations of humanity,—without any fixed rule of action,—*nullius addictos jurare in verba magistri*,—a consummation most devoutly to be deprecated. In the next place it is a humiliating confession of weakness. It is to admit that the theory does not square with the facts, and yet that the flaw in the theory cannot be detected. In effect common sense says to the *doctrinaire*, "Plato or Ricardo, " (as the case may be) thou reasonest well, so well that I "cannot pick a hole in thy reasoning, though thy conclusions "are certainly wrong." Shades of Aldrich and Burgersdicius, what a confession! Is it not written in the books of Whately and Mill that when the conclusion is wrong, there must needs be either some error in the premises, or some false assumption of facts, some tangible flaw either in the form or in the matter of the reasoning, on which the conclusion is based?

It is often said that Political Economy is a pure science, not an applied science. "The business of a Political Economist," says Senior, "is neither to recommend nor to dissuade, but to state general principles which it is fatal to neglect, but neither advisable nor perhaps practicable to use "as the sole or even the principal guides in the actual conduct "of affairs." If this limited view of the science be correct; if the conclusions are not meant to be acted upon without continual reference to other considerations, then of course the science cannot be blamed, because people have chosen in spite of warning to shape their conduct exclusively by its principles. In this case it is not the principles that are wrong, but those who misapply them. But as generally understood, Political Economy assumes to be an applied science. The most popular expounders of the science, Adam Smith and J. S. Mill, invariably associate its principles with their applications and lay down maxims for practical guidance,— "maxims not deduced from economical premises alone, but based "on other and often far larger considerations than pure Political "Economy affords." If these maxims prove a snare, it must

follow that they are based on erroneous grounds, and in the particular instance of the *laissez-faire* maxim, it would appear, that the error had been committed of establishing a general conclusion from an incomplete investigation, taking no note of such obvious considerations as those of humanity and of the general welfare. And as it cannot shelter itself from criticism on the ground that it is not an applied science, so too the excuse that the science is only "in its infancy,"—an excuse somewhat akin to the favourite Police Court plea "It is only a little one,"—is altogether inadmissible. Infant or not, it arrogates to itself the airs of manhood and assumes to give counsel to legislators and Government.

As before observed, the extreme *laissez-faire* principle enunciated in the Circular has led to most mischievous results in practice; further, it cannot be contended that Political Economists when they laid down this principle did not mean it to be followed in practice, and it therefore behoves us to enquire by what reasoning a conclusion so objectionable is supported, and whether there are not such flaws in this reasoning, as indicate in some measure the extent to which the conclusion must be modified, before it can be relied on as a safe guide in practice.

The principle or conclusion or maxim, whatever it be called, of the *laissez-faire* school which we are now concerned with is this; "that the unlimited unrestrained freedom of the corn trade is the only effectual preventative of the miseries of a famine, and that the intervention of Government either to restrain the license or to supplement the deficiencies of the trade is wrong in principle, and most mischievous in result." And the best way of examining the correctness of this maxim will be to follow the course of reasoning adopted by Political Economists, when they argue in support of it, *viz.*, the course of passing in review the various measures of interference proposed in famine times by unlearned common sense and humanity, and to enquire whether all these measures really do deserve the condemnation which Political Economy bestows on them.

I.—One of the witnesses examined before the Famine Commission stated that he considered the Commissioner of Cuttack "stony-hearted" because he had refused to fix the selling price of grain, and it may be said that it is the general opinion of the natives that Government ought to fix a price on these occasions. Now what are the grounds on which Political Economy condemns this proposal?

Adam Smith states them thus:—"When the Government in order to remedy the inconvenience of a dearth, orders all the dealers to sell their corn at what it supposes a reasonable price

"it either hinders them from bringing it to market, which may sometimes produce a famine even in the beginning of the season; or if they bring it thither, it enables the people and thereby encourages them to consume it so fast as must necessarily produce a famine before the end of the season."

These grounds seem to be quite valid. The experience of the recent famine alone abundantly proved that the mere rumour of an intention on the part of the local authorities to fix a price was enough to make the *modees* shut their shops, and to divert supplies of grain from the district.

And it certainly tends to encourage the people to consume more largely than the supply will warrant. As Mr. Buchanan observes, "if the supply falls in one year one-twelfth below the average of an ordinary crop, it would, if consumption were to go on at the ordinary rate, be consumed in eleven months, leaving the last month wholly unprovided for. This is only prevented by a rise of price which measures the consumption by the deficiency of the crop." It is thus that the interest of the dealer leads him to carry out a most useful end which was no part of his intention. So take Adam Smith's illustration, "when he foresees that provisions are likely to run short, he treats his customers, as a prudent master of a vessel is sometimes obliged to treat his crew and puts them on short allowance. Though from excess of caution he should sometimes do this without any real necessity, yet all the inconveniences which they can thereby suffer are inconsiderable in comparison of the danger, misery and ruin to which they might be exposed by less provident conduct." Each dealer knows by long experience the average amount of his own customers' periodical wants, and as no other person can have the same knowledge or the same interest, it is absolutely essential that this most important operation of placing the needful check on consumption in times of scarcity should be left to him.

Persons of common sense will always admit that if the supply of the year be deficient, it is physically impossible that every one should consume as much as he did before, and therefore that it is quite necessary that in years of scarcity there should be a certain rise of price. But looking at the question with the light of nature they stoutly assert that prices always rise higher than is necessary on these occasions. They admit the necessity of prices being raised in the ratio of the deficiency in the supply, but they will not admit that there can be any possible necessity for prices being raised 100 and even 200 per cent, when the crop is only one-twelfth or one-sixth

short. The answer given by Political Economy is that a rise of price merely in proportion to the deficiency would not check consumption to the extent requisite. Rather than resign the necessities of life, or stint their consumption of them, people will pay double and treble. As Adam Smith says, the "desire of food is limited in every man by the "narrow capacity of the human stomach," but in proportion to the narrow limits of the desire is its extreme intensity. Hence in times of scarcity it is always seen that prices rise to an extent out of all proportion to the deficiency in the crop. In Tooke's "History of Prices," it is said that the price of corn in England has risen from 100 to 200 per cent. *and upwards*, when the utmost computed deficiency of the crops has not been more than between one-sixth and one-third below an average.

In further corroboration of his argument against fixing a price, Adam Smith urges that *as it is perfectly impossible for the dealers to combine*, their interests in times of scarcity always coincide with those of their customers, inasmuch as if they raise the price too high, they themselves are likely to suffer the most by this excess of avarice, not only from the indignation which it excites against them, but also "from the quantity of grain which it "necessarily leaves upon their hands in the end of the season, "which, if the next season proves favorable, they must always "sell for a much lower price than they might otherwise have "had." If it were possible for the dealers to combine of course this argument would not apply. In the earliest recorded instance of a famine, that in Egypt, the entire stock of grain was monopolised by the Hebrew Minister, and we are told that the price rose to an extent which was certainly out of all proportion to the necessity of the case, as a portion of it remained on his hands for exportation to his brethren in Canaan. And it is very doubtful whether the large dealers in some outlying districts in this country may not sometimes be able to do business in the same way. Towns may be pointed to in which the whole grain trade is entirely in the hands of one or two *Mahajuns*, even famine prices are of no avail to tempt outsiders to engage in the trade, and one is therefore hardly justified in assuming that combination is an impossibility in India at least, and if the possibility of combination be admitted, it must be admitted also, that it may possibly be the interest of the dealers to maintain prices at an unnecessarily high rate, even at the risk of a quantity of grain being left on their hands.

But although this last argument against fixing a price is not perhaps tenable, yet every one must admit that the two former arguments are perfectly sound, and therefore that it is

plainly a mistake to fix a price from considerations of humanity or any thing else. The measure is one which must defeat its own object and aggravate the evil. But at the same time it is clearly wrong for Governors to go out of the way to proclaim to the dealers that they will be protected in raising their prices as they please, as Sir C. Beadon did at Pooree. Such a declaration is only justifiable, if it is absolutely certain that it can never be the dealers' interest to raise prices beyond the point which is necessary, and this (as has been shown) is a matter far from certain. The fear of grain-riots is a most wholesome check on the dealers, and, though of course they must be put down by the strong hand, yet a word of caution to the dealers not to provoke them, like Lord Napier's in Ganjam, can never come amiss.

II.—Another favourite proposal in times of famine,—how many times did we not hear it in the last?—is that Government should prohibit the exportation of grain to foreign countries. This too Political Economy condemns, but with a degree of hesitation which alone is enough to raise a suspicion of the correctness of the judgment. It is always taken for granted that prohibitions of exportation have been proved to be foolish and wrong, but any one who takes the trouble to examine the proofs advanced will, we venture to say, be extremely surprised at their weakness. Mill's argument is as follows:—"Suppose that in ordinary circumstances the trade in food were perfectly free, so that the price in one country could not habitually exceed that in any other by more than the cost of carriage, together with a moderate profit to the importer. A general scarcity ensues, affecting all countries but in unequal degrees. If the price rose in one country more than in others, it would be a proof that in that country the scarcity was severest, and that by permitting food to go freely thither from any other country, it would be spared from a less urgent necessity to relieve a greater. When the interests therefore of all countries are considered, free exportation is desirable. To the exporting country considered separately, it may at least on the particular occasion be an inconvenience; but taking into account that the country which is now the giver will in some future season be the receiver, I cannot but think that even to the apprehension of food-rioters it might be made apparent that in such cases they should do to others what they would wish done to themselves."

Now it is plain that the validity of this conclusion depends entirely on the truth of the hypothetical premiss. If trade be free, the argument runs, and if the price of grain in the



two countries be habitually nearly on a level, then exportation can only take place when the scarcity in one is severer than the scarcity in the other, and it is expedient to allow it because the exporting country will in its turn obtain a similar relief at the time when its own need is greatest. Its virtue will be its own reward. If the hypothesis be untrue, so also is the conclusion. And a moment's consideration is sufficient to show that, as regards India at any rate, the hypothesis is clearly untrue. For to what countries is rice exported? A portion goes to England where the average price of a quarter, or 6 maunds of corn is 50 shillings, and where in the last ten years the price has been as high as 74 shillings. If we take two Rupees to be the average price of a maund of rice in this country, or say twelve Rupees for 6 maunds or one English quarter, we see at once that prices, so far from being "habitually on a level" in the two countries, habitually differ as 2 to 1. The English average is about double the Indian average price. Hence Indian rice may be exported to England in times of scarcity here, when there is no scarcity whatever in England, and as the English average price is equal to the Indian famine price, it is absolutely certain that India even at the time of her greatest need can never be supplied with grain from England. Then again a great quantity of rice is exported to Mauritius and the Straits, and partly on account of difference of prices, but mainly on account of the production of rice in these countries being very limited and insufficient even for their own consumption, India can never expect to draw supplies from them. They are like the daughters of the horse leech. It is all receiving and no refunds with them,—*vestigia nulla retrorsum*. There remain our native neighbours, Siam, China, and the rest. In their case probably prices are about on a level with Indian prices, but the trade is not free. Unfortunately for India, Political-Economy is not much studied in those quarters. On the first symptoms of a scarcity His Majesty of Burmah and his compeers stop exportation, and India cannot therefore count with certainty on relief in that direction. The upshot is that Mill's argument will not apply to this country. Our virtue will most certainly not be its own reward; and most certainly it is not expedient to starve ourselves to feed other countries, some of which lack the ability and others the will to requite our self-devotion.

Adam Smith admits that it may sometimes be necessary for a small country to prohibit exportation, but thinks that a large country must needs have such expansive resources within its own limits, that its supply can never be sensibly affected by any

amount of exportation which is likely to take place. "In an extensive corn-country, between all the parts of which there is a free commerce and communication, the scarcity occasioned by the most unfavourable seasons can never be so great as to produce a famine. \* \* \* \* Even in rice countries the drought is scarce ever so universal as to occasion a famine." And in illustration of this, a passage in Gibbon is cited by McCulloch. He says;—"Those famines which so frequently affected the infant republic were seldom or never experienced in the extensive empire of Rome. The accidental scarcity of any single province was at once relieved by the plenty of its more fortunate neighbour." Adam Smith sums up his argument thus:—"The unlimited freedom of exportation would be much less dangerous in great States in which the growth being much greater, the supply could seldom be much affected by any quantity of corn that was likely to be exported. In a Swiss Canton or in some of the little States of Italy it may sometimes be necessary to restrain the exportation of corn. In such great States as France or England it scarce ever can."

If indeed exportation caused only such a trifling reduction of the supply as is here supposed, we are free to admit that it would not be worth while to prohibit it. But what are the facts? The returns of the external commerce of Bengal for the official year 1864-5, abstracted in "Indian Annals," show that the value of the rice exported from the five Bengal ports alone in that year was no less than 4 crores 90 lacs of Rupees or nearly £ 5,000,000. The actual quantity is not given, but supposing the price to have been Rs. 2 a maund, the quantity exported must have been about 24,500,000, twenty-four and a half millions of maunds. On the same computation the amount exported in the previous year 1863-4, was 12,000,000 twelve millions of maunds. In the return for 1866-7 the amount exported in 1865-6 is given at 7,500,000, seven and a half millions, at an average price of nearly Rs. 3—8 a maund. In 1866-7 the amount was 4,500,000 four and a half millions of maunds, when the price was about Rs. 4—8 a maund. Again in the Burmah trade return for 1864-5, it is said that in Pegu the exportation of rice was unprecedented, owing to two causes, a scarcity in the eastern provinces of China, and a short crop in Siam on account of which the Government of that country prohibited the export of grain. "Rice at Rangoon rose full 100 per cent. in advance of the usual prices. In Arracan the shipment of rice in the year 1863-4 had been so heavy that not only had the crop of that year been sent away, but also *all the spare grain which was in store.* When the demand from

“the Straits and China came, the supply fell short of the requirements. Many ships had to leave Akyab without obtaining a cargo. The result was an unusual rise in the price of grain.”

In the face of these facts it is simply fatuous to contend that the grain supply of a large grain-producing country cannot be sensibly affected by exportation in times of scarcity. How can it be seriously contended that this vast drain of food, during the very height of the famine did not materially diminish the supply and aggravate the calamity? To say nothing of the *exhaustion* of the stocks of previous years, which is reported to have taken place in British Burmah, in the year 1866-7, when people were perishing by thousands, the enormous amount of 4,500,000 maunds was carried away from Bengal alone, a quantity according to Colebrooke's estimate sufficient for the entire annual maintenance of nearly half a million of people. The utmost amount of rice that could be collected by the charity of the entire Presidency and the most strenuous exertions of the Government was a mere drop in the ocean, compared to the vast amount suffered to be drained away by the unchecked license of trade.

The fact is that exportation of food to the enormous extent which it has now reached in Bengal, must even in ordinary seasons be more or less of an evil to the poorer classes. It must affect the supply and raise the price even in years of plenty. The argument for allowing free exportation of grain is that it enables the consumer to get the article imported in return for it cheaper than he otherwise would do. But suppose he does not use the imported article? What compensation to the coolie are cheap yarn and piece-goods for a rise in the price of food? As remarked by some sagacious traveller, the coolie is a most naked person and to offer him well-woven cloths at the cost of a rise in the price of rice is to give him a stone when he asks for bread. Professor Fawcett observes, “it is quite possible that the ‘labouring classes of a particular country may suffer very severely, if the exports consist of articles more generally consumed than those which are imported.’” If excessive exportation causes this inconvenience to the poorer classes even in ordinary seasons, surely the injury it works in times of famine must be extreme indeed.

There is no use in blinking the fact. The interests of the traders may be and in reality very often are opposed to those of the poorer classes—the main body of the people. This opposition of interest which leads them to export an amount of grain which is excessive even in ordinary seasons,—this same opposition of interests which recently cropped out in the truly shop-

keeper proposal to raise the salt tax in order to save commercial pockets,—a tax of which Adam Smith writes, that when it has grown up beyond a certain height, it is “a curse equal to the “barrenness of the soil and the inclemency of the heavens,”—this same opposition of interests comes to its utmost pitch in times of famine, and in such times at any rate Government ought to recognise its existence and to restrain it from doing a serious injury to the mass of the people.

The question of free exportation of grain in times of scarcity is not a question affecting only the interests of some particular class. It affects the interests of the main body of the people. We do not advocate restrictions on trade in the interest of any local industry, but in the interest of all. It may be, that the interest of particular classes such as the muslin-weavers of Dacca, the cloth-weavers of Jehanabad, the salt-manufacturers of Cuttack and Chittagong, and the saltpetre-manufacturers of Behar were rightly sacrificed to the genius of free trade. But in the case under review, the restriction is demanded in the interests of the great majority of the people.

It is said that the *onus* of making out a case for Government intervention always rests on those who advocate it. We accept the challenge and ask whether the case is not made out? Even on the principles of the *laissez-faire* school, Government is held to be justified in interfering with the conduct of private persons, when that conduct is plainly injurious to the interests of the community at large, and that this enormous drain of food during a famine was not thus injurious, no candid economist will assert.

Statesmen are often commended for being “in advance of the “age.” In this instance we think it would be better if they were behind it. One of the statutes of Charles II prohibited the exportation of wheat when the price exceeded 40 shillings the quarter, and a similar regulation would be extremely useful in this country. The arguments against such a prohibition, as regards this country at any rate, will not hold water, and the Government which should confer this boon on the country, could well afford to despise the appeal to illogical “principles” raised only by interested sciolists.

The present low export duty of 3 annas a maund is no check whatever on exportation. Like Job’s prescription of potshreds for boils, it simply aggravates the enemy without diminishing his ravages. But it is, *pace* Sir S. Northcote, a step in the right direction.

III.—Of the proposal that Government should import grain from other countries in times of famine, Mill observes as follows:—

“ Direct measures at the cost of the State to procure food from a distance are only expedient when from peculiar reasons the thing is not likely to be done by private speculation. For any other case they are a great mistake. Private speculators will not in such cases venture to compete with the Government, and though a Government can do more than any one merchant, it cannot do nearly so much as all merchants.”

This was precisely the rule which governed the action of the English Government in the second Irish famine in 1846. In his account of that famine in the *Edinburgh Review*, Sir Charles Trevelyan says:—“ Neither the wholesale dealers in towns nor the retail dealers in the rural districts would lay in their usual stock of food, still less would they make the extraordinary provision required to meet the coming emergency, while they had before them the prospect of the Government throwing into the market supplies of food of unknown extent, which might make their outlay so much loss to them. The Government could not therefore calculate on finding the private trade proceeding as usual, and on being able to add more or less at discretion to the resources which that trade afforded. \* \* \* \* If this state of things had been suffered to continue, the general expectation of Government again interfering would inevitably have created a necessity for that interference on a scale which it would have been quite beyond the power of Government to support. Under these circumstances it was announced \* \* \* that the interference of Government would be confined to those western districts of Ireland, in which no trade in grain for local consumption existed, and that even in those districts the Government depôts would not be opened for the sale of food, while it could be obtained from private dealers at reasonable prices.”

No exception can be taken to the rule of action here laid down, provided the exceptional case be always remembered. If a brisk trade in corn exists, and grain is forthcoming in the local markets, though it may be at a high price, it is obvious that it would be a suicidal policy for Government from motives of humanity to attempt to undersell the dealers, as the result would only be to drive them from the field, and leave the Government alone in its glory with more calls on its bowels of compassion than could possibly be met.

In India however cases of scarcity mostly fall not under the rule but under the exception. In Behar there is a considerable import grain-trade, but in Bengal it is mostly an export trade, and when there is no import trade already in existence, recent

experience has shewn that even famine prices are not a sufficient attraction to create one, at least to any thing like the extent required. Colebrooke observes, that "except in cities, the great bulk of the people is everywhere subsisted from the produce of their own immediate neighbourhood." If that produce runs short, there is in the outlying districts no existing import trade to supply the deficiency, and very little prospect of such a trade springing up. Hence the enormous difference of prices occasionally seen in adjacent districts. Colebrooke states an instance of rice being four times dearer in one *Zillah* than in the adjoining one. In his report on the famine of 1860, Colonel Baird Smith writes:—"So miserable are the means of intercommunication in many of those districts,"—and he might have added, so weak is the spirit of competition,—"that while in one Bazaar famine prices of  $1\frac{1}{4}d.$  per pound might be ruling in another not thirty miles off the price would be under  $\frac{1}{2}d.$ , yet no flow from the full to the exhausted market took place." The difference between Cuttack and Calcutta prices in the recent famine was equally great. Capital flows with such difficulty from one province to another and even from district to district, that one is almost compelled to regard each district as a separate country.

Considering these great differences of prices in districts so near together,—phenomena so contrary to those which Political Economy would lead us to expect,—we are almost tempted to the conclusion that, just as in Astronomy the attraction of solar gravitation decreases as the square of the distance, so too the force of competition must decrease in some hitherto undiscovered ratio to the distance from great centres of commerce, and that we can no more presume on its operation at great distances from those centres, than we can presume that solar gravitation exercises any sensible influence on the eccentric course of a comet, when removed to some indefinitely distant region of the universe, far beyond the limits of the solar system.

The great error committed in the recent famine was in presuming on "concealed stores" in the hands of the dealers,—presuming that high prices would attract importers,—presuming in fact on the existence of a trade, when there was none and no likelihood of its springing up. As Sir C. Beadon admits, sufficient advertence was not given to the isolated and inaccessible situation of Orissa. The mistake arose, as the Governor-General put it, from "*want of perception*." The remedy is as patent as the evil. At present Collectors have no machinery whatever for ascertaining the statistics of their districts. Scarce a week passes but they are called on to report as to th

crops, the rain-fall, prices, the out-turn of particular staples, population, timber, in fact *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. The employment of the Police to collect statistics is very properly discouraged,—the village accounts are abolished,—Collectors themselves are tied to the Sudder station by *mashcobars* and rent appeals, so that unless they can gather a few stray hints from Zemindars, they are reduced to the alternative of relying on the fertile imagination of the *Nazir*, or, German fashion, of evolving the statistics required out of the depths of their own internal consciousness. It is simply a case of making bricks without straw. Reorganise the *Putwarries*,—Require them to send accounts of all the crops in their villages, of the quantities of grain offered at the *hats* and the prices,—Require the Excise Officers to keep account of exports to other districts,—Relegate rent suits to the Civil Courts, transferring execution of all decrees to the Collector,—Make the Collector the sole executive of the district;—and the result would be that Government would have correct and abundant information of the real state of things\* to go upon, instead of the “systematic misinformation,”—the laborious folly, of the present guess-work returns.

Mrs. Malaprop happily described Cerberus as “three gentlemen in one.” Cerberus was considered a most remarkable specimen of animated nature in his own day, but he could not hold a candle to the present Magistrate—Collector—Registrar—Municipal Chairman—Jail Superintendent—Police Super-Superintendent—Judge of Rent Suits—Defendant in Government Suits—Superintendent of Roads—Post-Master—Guardian—Commissariat—Surveyor—Accountant—Reporter in ordinary. This phenomenon is a standing instance not of three but about a dozen gentlemen in one. Collectors must of course always discharge many and multifarious executive duties, but there is no reason why they need be rent suit judges as well. When the old summary procedure of *Huftums* and *Punjums* was abolished in favour of the regular procedure, the whole ground and reason of making Collectors rent judges was altogether swept away. With all this mass of multifarious duties, judicial as well as executive, on their shoulders, how is it possible that they now can do otherwise than “see with their ears,” (as the natives say),—how is it possible that the statistics gathered by this distorted vision can be anything but a delusion and a snare?

IV.—It is a very general opinion among natives of reflection, that the very great increase in the production of cotton and the other richer staples, which has recently taken place, has injured this country by decreasing the area formerly allotted to the production of food, and they therefore think that Government ought

in some measure to restrain the cultivation of these richer crops. This is an opinion so opposed to ordinary English notions, that not one man in a hundred perhaps thinks it worth attention. Like the green grasshoppers and the scented beetles, the minds of even uncommercial readers are apt to take their colour from the intensely commercial journals which in this country form their daily mental *pabulum*. Insensibly imbued with the views of a nation of shop-keepers, we are too apt to look only to the interests of traders in these matters, and to take for granted that the country needs must be advancing in prosperity, so long as its "resources are being developed," and the trade returns show a higher total of exports and imports year after year.

The opinion above quoted is not confined to natives of this country. When Dr. Forbes pressed the encouragement of cotton cultivation on the Pasha of Egypt, he replied;—"Prices alone will prove a sufficient stimulus without any effort on my part, but God forbid that I should ever see the abandonment of the ordinary succession of crops for the production of cotton to the exclusion of those products on which we subsist." And it would seem that the Pasha's fears have proved well founded. Mr. Stanley, the Consul at Alexandria, as quoted in the *Friend of India*, states that in consequence of the great increase in cotton cultivation, Egypt, which had ever been a large exporter of grain, had to seek food from other countries. Grain became excessively dear. In some places in the interior famine ensued. Wages and the price of land were quadrupled. An excessive luxury sprang up, and that not of a nature to benefit the commercial world without, being displayed chiefly in a demand for slave girls, costly pipes, and other such appliances.

It appears to be perfectly clear from this, that the great advance of cotton cultivation in Egypt has trenched unduly on the area reserved for corn, and has thus proved mischievous to that country. But the case of Egypt is hardly parallel to that of India. The tract of culturable soil in the valley of the Nile is comparatively small, and from the arid sandy nature of the adjacent desert cannot be much, if at all, extended. Whatever land therefore in Egypt is laid down in cotton is so much lost to corn. But here in India there are vast tracts of culturable land yet lying waste,—"the margin of cultivation" may be indefinitely extended for years to come,—and as a matter of fact many of the new staples, such as the tea of Assam and the Hills and the coffee of the Wynaad, are cultivated on land hitherto waste. The cotton, indigo and opium of Tirhoot and Behar certainly occupy lands which might otherwise be devoted to the winter crop of pulses and the autumn crop of Indian



corn, but on the rice lands they do not trench at all, and probably the same holds good of the Central and North-West Provinces. On the whole then it does not appear that there is any valid ground for the belief that the area of grain-producing lands has been injuriously trenched upon by richer staples.

No doubt, as stated in the Circular, the high prices now obtained by cultivators for their richer products, (in those cases at least in which the best part of the price does not stick to the fingers of the *Mahajun* who advanced for the crop,) must prove in great measure a compensation for the increased cost of living, due to the depreciation of money which has resulted from the recent vast flow of silver into the country in consequence of increased exportation and the execution of great Public Works. But the question whether the condition of the poorer classes has been improved by the "development of the resources of the country,"—whether the labourers with their present high wages can command the same amount of the necessities and conveniences of life, which their grand-fathers were able to purchase with the slender pittance given 60 years ago,—is one that is open to very great doubt. Colebrooke, writing about the beginning of this century, states the price of cleared rice to have been only 12 annas a maund, and sometimes only 8 annas, while the price of pulses was rather lower. If wages have risen since that time, in proportion to the subsequent increase in the price of grain, it is quite as much as can be said. Then again if we look to the consumption of salt, we find from the last Salt Report that the consumption in 1864-5 was between 8 and 9 million maunds. Colebrooke states that the actual sales in 1793 amounted to 3,500,000 maunds and he estimates the consumption in Bengal and Behar alone at 4 millions of maunds. Hence it appears that notwithstanding the addition of the provinces of Orissa and Assam, since the time of which Colebrooke writes, and notwithstanding the increase in population which may be supposed to have taken place in the last 60 years of peace, the consumption of salt in the Lower Provinces has done little more than double itself since Colebrooke's time. So that it is very doubtful if the labourer can now afford to indulge himself much more freely in salt, that he could at the commencement of this century.

V.—The panacea for the evils of famine prescribed by the Circular is expenditure on Public Works and of this it may be said that if the labourers are paid in money, the remedy is of no use at all. The only effect is to force the price of food up still higher until the poorest competitors have no longer the means of

competing. Expenditure on Public Works can only be of service when the labour is paid for in grain, and in grain imported from elsewhere, not subtracted from the local markets.

In conclusion we will quote once more an oft-quoted passage of Adam Smith :—" The laws concerning corn may everywhere be compared to the laws concerning religion. The people feel themselves so much interested in what relates either to their subsistence in this life, or to their happiness in a life to come, that Government must yield to their prejudices, and in order to preserve the public tranquillity establish that system which they approve of;" and *a fortiori* should the popular "prejudice" be yielded to, when, as in the question of exportation of grain, there are strong grounds for believing it to be not a prejudice but the truth.

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## ART. V.—SIR CECIL BEADON'S ADMINISTRATION OF BENGAL.—(Continued.)

**I**N the former section of this article we dealt only with the one most prominent portion of Sir Cecil Beadon's administration,—his conduct in regard to the Orissa famine. Since that was written, the account of the debate on the subject in Parliament and the articles in the leading English papers have been received in this country, and though these verify the assertion then made that the public would see how much others also were to blame in the matter, they have in no respect modified our opinion as to Sir Cecil's own responsibility. Our opinion still is, as it was then, that the Lieutenant-Governor laboured under two all-important misconceptions, first as to the quantity of grain in the province, and secondly as to the capacity of the local trade to supply the deficiency; that these misconceptions were shared by the Government of India, (though not, as we understand, by the Viceroy personally, who on this matter was over-riden by his Council,) and that the facts which would have prevented or removed these misconceptions were not brought to Sir Cecil's knowledge till May 1866. That the Government of India was responsible equally with the Government of Bengal we do not assert, but their responsibility differed only in degree and not at all in kind. Their manner of dealing with the question, and their treatment of the subordinate Government have been vigorously and acutely examined in an article published in the *Fortnightly Review* and republished here in the *Englishman*, and we need not pursue the subject further in this place. For the rest we may refer any readers, who have still an interest in the matter, to two articles in the *Saturday Review* in which a minute historical analysis of the proceedings of Government in respect to the famine is given, and in which the writer comes to the conclusion that the main burthen of responsibility rested with the Board of Revenue, and that, had all the other elements in the problem remained the same, the famine would have been understood and mitigated, had it not been for the position taken up by them.

It was unfortunate perhaps for Sir Cecil Beadon that previous to the commencement of the famine he had lost much of his

popularity, and been brought into a position of antagonism with a portion of the Press on the subject of the Bhootan war. For the circumstances which led to the war he was no doubt responsible, inasmuch as he advised the despatch of the mission, the outrageous treatment of which rendered war unavoidable. The circumstances which led to the despatch of the mission, the difficulties it encountered and the insults offered to it by what is called the Government of Bhootan, have already been narrated in the pages of this *Review* (August 1864) and we need not again go over the same ground. Suffice it to say that action of some kind was rendered necessary by a series of outrages of unparalleled audacity, such as no barbarous tribe ever before offered to a strong Government, and assuredly such as no strong Government ever before submitted to so long, or so quietly. Whether, after years of masterly inactivity, a mission to Poonakha was the best course of action, or whether retaliatory incursions and the immediate annexation of the Doars would have been wiser, may be doubted. The main reason however which led Sir Cecil Beadon to prefer the former course, was a not ill-grounded belief that the outrages of which we had to complain were the work of frontier officials, unauthorised by the central Government of Bhootan, whom it was supposed our complaints never reached. Events have shown that the central Government was practically a myth, that it was in fact nothing but organised anarchy, and that if the Mission was unable to take with it an adequate escort, it would have been better not to have despatched it at all. But this does not touch the question of Sir Cecil's policy in originally advising the despatch of the Mission, with the details of which moreover he had nothing to do. His policy was directed by a desire to vindicate the rights and honor of the Government, and at the same time by a desire to be strictly just in his dealings with a weaker neighbour. For the conduct of the war and the disaster of Dewangari, Sir Cecil was in nowise responsible. He was an adviser whose advice was by no means always followed, but he was made to bear the burden of the blame for the failure of measures which, if adopted in accordance with his advice, were adopted under conditions which he never would have advised and over which he had no kind of control.

It is however certain that this war, and the consequent attack upon Sir Cecil by a portion of the Press tended considerably to diminish his popularity, and it is probable that the bitterness, virulence, and patent injustice of some of these attacks may have had their natural effect in making him less ready to listen to advice from the same quarter and inclined to treat newspaper comments

with undue contempt. It is certain that at the commencement of his career he was ready, we may almost say eager, to accept such counsel, and that at the latter part of his career his attitude towards the Press was one of hostility, if not defiance. Nor was this peculiar to Sir Cecil. We have seen the same process, only modified by their personal character, take place in the attitude of his two predecessors, and it may now be observed going on in regard to a higher personage still. Some such relation between the Government and the Press seems unavoidable at least in the present state of affairs in Bengal. In England if one portion of the Press does its utmost to show the acts of Government in the worst possible light, there is always another portion, of almost equal calibre and talent, to show that the conduct of Government has been transcendently wise and good. Here there is no such balance. The Press in Bengal is essentially and from the nature of things the organ of the opposition, and plays the part which is assigned to H. M.'s. Opposition in the Government of England; and the reason of this is not far to seek. The antagonism between official and non-official, (an antagonism which the present writer would be the last to exaggerate or bring into prominence) is so, far as it goes, that of two opposite tendencies of human nature—the desire to control and the desire not to be controlled—the love of power and the love of independence—and it is likely therefore to be permanent. The tendency of a close official class under a bureaucratic Government is of necessity towards the vices of an official aristocracy, towards narrowness of mind, caste-pride, contempt for outsiders, impatience of criticism and control, and belief in its own infallibility. The tendency of the non-official class of a conquering race in a conquered country is what it has always shown itself to be, most notably perhaps in Spanish America, and to a certain extent in all Colonies of whatever country,—the identical tendency which induces big boys at a school to fag and bully little boys,—a tendency towards aggression, violence, and hatred of official control. Of course these tendencies will be modified and controlled in exact proportion to the enlightenment and refinement of the class itself, and also in proportion to the external checks which can be brought to bear on it: and practically both of these tendencies are in Bengal held under a tolerably close control, so that while public opinion and vigilant criticism has reduced the bureaucratic spirit of civilians to a minimum, one may on the other hand take such a wide and multifarious class as the tea-planters of Assam, and assent to the assertion recently made

in Council that their dealings with their coolies are characterised generally neither by cruelty nor unfairness, and that whatever failings are brought to light by a long detailed report such as that of Dr. Meredith, the Protector of Labourers in Northern Assam, are the failings of ignorance and not of evil intention. Nevertheless, however much we may have advanced, and however well disposed the two classes may be towards each other, the antagonistic tendencies remain; check and counter-check are still necessary, and we should be sorry to trust to either party altogether without the control exercised over it by the other.

It follows from this permanent antagonism of tendencies and interests, however modified and softened in actual practice, that the Press must make itself the exponent either of one set of interests and feelings or of the other. A paper cannot successfully serve two masters, and as officials are neither sufficiently numerous, nor sufficiently homogeneous in interests and opinions to support an organ of their own, the newspapers of this Presidency gravitate as a natural consequence towards the support of the non-official ideas and interests, and in times of excitement this support culminates in violent attacks on the principal representatives of the other party. The best way, in fact the only way in which a despotic Government like that of India, that allows unlimited freedom of the Press, can meet this tendency is by establishing an organ of its own,—a *Moniteur* which, if its accurate information would not enable it to pay commercially, would at least afford Government an opportunity of giving their views to the world in a readable form, and of getting a fair hearing for their side of the question. The “dignified silence” of Government would then become as it ought to be a tradition, and a very absurd tradition, of the past. It was, we believe, once proposed to establish such a paper, but the Supreme Government objected to its being established by the local Government and did not care to undertake it themselves. Failing this, the next best way of meeting hostile criticism is for Government to place all official correspondence, with the single exception perhaps of that relating to personal squabbles, at the disposal of the Press, and so to ensure to it the opportunity, even where they doubt its desire, of giving to the public a correct version of all public transactions, and of the arguments on which all important measures are based. This is, no doubt, done to a certain extent at present, and we believe it was Sir Cecil Beadon's desire to develop the practice to a very much greater extent, but the complaint of the Press still is that

information is afforded to them in dribblets, and that what is given is both insufficient and too late.

The criticism which has been brought to bear on Sir Cecil Beadon's policy in connection with the tea interest in Assam, is a striking instance of that "law of gravitation" which we have above applied to the Press of Bengal. We have already adverted to his tour through the Assam district in his first year's tenure of power, and to the hopes to which that tour gave rise. Throughout his career as Lieutenant Governor, Assam and the development of the tea interests received his closest attention and most active and hopeful encouragement.

His interpretation of the waste land rules, which was the most liberal that they would allow, his perilous relaxation of the rule requiring survey as a necessary preliminary to a grant of waste land, his substitution at a later period of cultivation leases by which any applicant could get a grant for 30 years, with an unimpeachable title to renewal at current rates, and without the annoyance and injustice to pioneers, which the preliminary auction required by the waste land rules entailed, and his still more recent order allowing payments made on account of one or more lots, to be transferred to credit of another lot at the option of the holder, so as to save what was of value to him, and to allow him to return on the hands of Government what he could not profitably cultivate, all show how thoroughly in earnest Sir Cecil was in endeavouring to smooth the way to Tea planters in Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet, to the utmost of his ability.

We are now told that his neglect of Assam and his injudicious legislation combined, have caused the ruin of this great and promising industry. In support of this statement it is pointed out that shortly after the first Labor Transport Law of 1863 was passed, the expense of importing laborers from Bengal rose, till it reached the prohibitory height of about 80 Rs. per man, (Rs. 60 without passage money,) and this statement is we believe correct. But the argument involves the old fallacy of *post ergo propterea*. The fact is that shortly after the passing of that Act, tea speculation took the form of a mania, and the competition for laborers became so intense and extravagant, that the contractors obtained whatever price they liked to ask for imported coolies. It was competition, not legislation, that raised the price of coolies,—and the proof of this is to be seen in the fact that now the competition having slackened, while the law remains precisely the same, the cost has come down to about half what it was in the years of frenzy 1864-65.

The best vindication that can be offered of Sir Cecil's policy in regard to these Labor Transport Laws is to give a brief history of the successive legislation on the subject, and of the grounds which led him to deem such legislation necessary.

The origin of these laws is thus described in the Administration Report of the Bengal Government for 1861-62. "The system under which the Tea-plantations of Assam and Cachar are supplied with laborers from Bengal has attracted

Emigration of Coolies "the serious attention of Government  
to Assam and Cachar. "during the year. It was reported that

"in almost every shipment of laborers  
"from Calcutta a fearful amount of mortality occurred from  
"cholera and other diseases during the journey. In one case  
"the mortality was said to have reached even to 50 per cent.  
"From enquiries which were made, there seemed to be too much  
"reason to believe that this fearful mortality was attributable  
"chiefly to great want of foresight and care in the despatch of  
"laborers, especially in the river steamers. A committee of  
"gentlemen of much experience in the working of the Emigra-  
"tion Department was accordingly appointed to report upon the  
"arrangements in force for importing laborers into Assam. The  
"opinion at which they arrived after careful enquiry was, that  
"Coolies were shipped in large batches without any arrangement  
"to secure order and cleanliness; that uncooked food was issued  
"without cooks to prepare it; that the medical charge of the  
"Coolies in many cases was left to ignorant *Chupprassees*, who  
"were entrusted with small supplies of medicine, with the uses  
"of which they were of course as ignorant as the men to whom  
"they administered it: in other cases unqualified medical  
"officers were sent in charge; laborers were embarked in some  
"instances almost in a dying state; over-crowded flats were  
"lashed to steamers day and night, and the Coolies on board  
"were thus deprived of their only chance of free ventilation.  
"The committee found that there was no uniformity of system  
"in the despatch and recruitment of Coolies; laborers, in  
"most cases, were provided by native contractors at so much  
"per head; practically the supply of laborers was, they found,  
"an ordinary commercial transaction between a native contrac-  
"tor and the Planter, "all parties considering their duty and  
"responsibility discharged when the living are landed and the  
"cost of the 'dead adjusted.' There appeared to be no specific  
"engagement on starting between employer and laborer,—a  
"state of things which opens road to an immense amount  
"of false statement and exaggeration on the part of the native  
"recruiters. They found an entire absence of any efficient



“ medical inspection of Coolies before shipment, and even when the men were inspected by the Planter’s agents, feeble and sickly persons were, it was believed, substituted for the healthy men accepted and passed,—persons at the point of death having been known to be sent on board. There was no inspection of the boats employed. The depôt of a native contractor is thus described by the committee. We found little trace of any habitation, but a square of ground was pointed out to us, in the neighbourhood of Fenwick’s Bazar, as Thakoor Lalla’s depôt; and a hut, a few feet square, only now in course of completion, was said to be the sole accommodation. This square resembled rather the half-dried bed of a small tank, greatly defiled by the surrounding people, than anything else that we can compare it with. A spot more repulsive to sight and smell we could not imagine; and having assured ourselves beyond all doubt that the contractor’s laborers did really congregate here, we felt no surprise at the stories which we heard of the numbers that yearly fall victims to disease in his hands. We found no person in this place who would acknowledge any connection with Thakoor Lalla, nor any sort of preparation for the reception of human beings, except the hut above-mentioned; and we were forced to conclude that the proprietor, having heard of our intended visit, had removed all that belonged to his depôt from fear of more damaging disclosures.”

The consequence of this was that a draft Act was drawn up in communication with a gentleman who ably represented the planting interests (Mr. C. B. Stewart,) and finally Act III B. C. of 1863 became law. The Act provided for laborers proceeding to the Tea-districts being brought at several stages under the observation of officers of Government, for contractors and recruiters being licensed and controlled by a Superintendent of Labor Transport, for the inspection and control of depôts, for the terms of the laborer’s engagement being distinctly explained to him and his name registered before a Magistrate, for the contract being attested and registered by the Superintendent, for the licensing and victualling of steamers and boats carrying parties of laborers, for the landing of laborers under the supervision of local officers, and for their reception on landing.

This law took the Coolies to the district which was to be his destination, and left him there. It was soon found that modifications would be required, and more especially it was found necessary to provide protection for the planter against breaches of contract and desertion by his imported laborers. The law,

as it then stood, made imprisonment terminate the contract, and the result was that desertion was practised with impunity. On the other hand it was asserted that laborers were frequently inveigled into contracts by fraudulent representations on the part of recruiters, and that, owing to the vague nature of the schedule of task-work attached to the contracts, they really earned less in the tea-districts than they could have earned at their own homes. The absence of any attempt to keep a register of Coolies at many gardens was also brought to notice, for where there was an enormous proportion of Coolies in some gardens unaccounted for, it became impossible to tell how far this was the result of mortality, and how far of desertion.

Some individual instances of great brutality on the part of Planters in Cachar had about that time been brought to the notice of the Government and the public, and this was no doubt one of the grounds on which the appointment of Protectors of Laborers was decided on.

These considerations led to the passing of Act VI B. C. of 1865, which secured to the labourer a minimum rate of wages, provided for the appointment of Protectors, and for the periodical inspection by them of Tea-estates and for the submission of their inspection reports to Government. On the other hand it rendered a breach of contract punishable criminally, and provided at the same time for the completion of the contract. It also imposed on Planters the necessity of keeping up registers, and of providing proper hospital accommodation for their Coolies. This law has been found not to work so smoothly as was anticipated. The power of inspection given to the Protector of Laborers will be harmless, useful, or mischievous, according to the qualities of the person who exercises it. In one case there can be no doubt that this power has been eminently useful, and in another eminently mischievous. An official enquiry on this point however was ordered, and the result has now been made public. We may however observe, in passing, that it was characteristic of Sir Cecil to refuse to sacrifice the official complained of without an enquiry, though he must have felt how much odium he was incurring through him, and though his own unfortunate letter of ten years back rose up in judgment against him to show that he had been deceived in making the appointment. Apart from this particular instance however, the only way in which Act VI of 1865 appears to have worked really badly is in regard to the minimum rate of wages. No one will say that Rs. 5 a month is too high a minimum to be given to a Coolie in Assam, but the law appears to have been interpreted as

necessitating the payment of this amount to the Coolie, whether he worked or whether he idled. The intention of the law no doubt was that the schedule of taskwork should be so framed that no Coolie should get less for 30 days' full task than Rs. 5. But this interference in the rate of wages is in principle objectionable, and with the best intentions is sure to produce more harm than good. That the Government had no choice when they had once undertaken to regulate the relations between the labourer and his hirer, may be true. To commence legislating for the benefit of either is sure to be followed by further legislation for the benefit of the other party—till checks and counter-checks innumerable grow up, each party gets exasperated with the other, and both with the Government, and all heartily wish paternal legislation at the antipodes! When Mr. Peterson, speaking in the Bengal Council on the newest of all Labor Transport Bills (we have only had three in four years) said that there had been already a good deal too much of "this legislation in leading strings," he said what was perfectly true and what the new Bill seems dimly and faintly to recognise. The criticism of one of the Calcutta journals on this Bill was that the best thing its apologist could find to say for it was, that it provided for a large proportion of laborers being exempted from its provisions. The criticism was not unjust. It is the very best feature in the Bill, as it loosens the leading strings to a great extent, and opens the way for a further loosening hereafter, but the same criticism might be applied to other things. It is perhaps the truest thing one can say of doctors, that happy are those who have had nothing to do with them, but this only shows that doctors, though an evil, are a necessary evil.

Coolie legislation has, we admit, been an evil from the beginning, but with such a state of things, as that described in the passage above quoted, existing in contractors' dépôts and on the voyage, and with Dr. Meredith's report before us, showing even now an average mortality on the plantations under his supervision of about 20 per cent. with a maximum of between 50 and 60 per cent., who shall say that legislation has not been infinitely the lesser of the two alternative evils, in fact an evil as necessary as doctors to the human race?

The bill introduced under Sir Cecil's directions into the Bengal Legislative Council in February of the present year, would, if passed into law, have brought about several important changes. In our opinion the most beneficial of these changes was the one which allowed parties of not more than 20 to proceed to the tea-districts without being brought in any way under

the Labor Transport Laws—thus enabling Tea-Planters to recruit by means of old garden Sirdars, and placing the men on their arrival at the plantation exactly in the position of local laborers. The bill provided certain other changes such as the abolition of the minimum rate of wages, which, as we have before explained, was founded on erroneous principles, and was then further muddled in practice; the alleviation of the terms on which a contract laborer could purchase his discharge; the permission to the laborer to take his weekly holiday on the market day, which was all important to him, instead of on the Sunday, which was nothing to him,—a change by the way which was denounced by the *Friend of India* as the “abolition of the Sabbath by the Bengal Government!” The bill also provided certain minor restrictions on the power of the protector and changed his title to inspector of laborers, and all these changes, so far as they went, were indisputable and obvious improvements. There was, however, one change proposed, against which Sir Cecil protested in vain, but which was introduced into the bill at the direction of the Governor-General in Council. This change was no less than a total reversal of the previous action of Government, and a return to the old state of the law, under which the imprisonment of a laborer for desertion *ipso facto* terminated his contract and rendered him a free man. The period of this imprisonment was fixed at three months. In introducing the bill it was explained on behalf of the Government of Bengal that, in reply to all the objections to be urged against this clause, there were only two to be urged for it—one, the helplessness of the coolie, which would be obviated if the officers of Government did their duty, and the other, the *sic volo, sic jubeo* of the Viceroy, an argument which was quite unanswerable. Sir Cecil quitted office while the bill was going through Committee, and the Council under the present Lieutenant-Governor ultimately rejected the clause, but proposed what seems a most fair substitute, that if the coolie accused of desertion could show to the Magistrate good and reasonable cause, such as fear of ill-treatment or sickness, he should not be deemed guilty—thus preventing the punishment of any deserters but perverse and wilful malingerers. For the sake, however, of these, and of these alone, his Excellency vetoed the bill, and declaring it to be his policy to make the planter so treat his coolie as to prevent any desertion, rejected for the sake of this hopeless phantasm all the solid advantages which the bill offered to both parties. We call the aim of the Viceroy a hopeless phantasm for, these reasons.

A planter imports (say at the expense of Rs. 40 a head) a batch of 50 coolies. They earn with him on an average Rs. 5-8 to Rs. 6 a month. Local labourers earn more—say from Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 a month. Now putting apart such motives as home-sickness, unhealthy quarters, dislike of his master, desire of change, or mere caprice, all of which are powerful inducements to a labourer to desert, if these men choose to desert and go through their three months' imprisonment,—a punishment which entails no disgrace, and ensures moderate comfort to them,—then all these who had contracted to serve for three years are free—they are local laborers,—they can go to fresh service, where they will receive after their three months of comparative idleness in jail a *bonus* of Rs. 10 or Rs. 12,—higher wages than they were getting before—and this moreover on a monthly instead of on a protracted term of service. Is it reasonable to suppose that any treatment which a planter, who has paid Rs. 40 per head for the importation of these men, can possibly afford to offer them, will suffice to counterbalance the temptations on the other side? The idea seems to us palpably absurd, and the proposal nothing less than a huge premium on desertion. Happily this is not the law at present, but it is in order to make this the law, in order to secure this most preposterous result, that the real and solid advantages which the present bill offers are rejected, though at the same time even this aim is not secured, because the new bill being vetoed, the old law remains in force, and thus the deserting coolie at the end of his three months' imprisonment is left with his contract undetermined, precisely in the condition in which he was before. This may be statesmanship, but it reminds us strongly of the statesmanship of that sagacious animal who relinquished the bone which he held in his mouth, in a futile attempt to grasp its shadow in the water.

On the subject of this Labor Transport legislation, we need only add, that Sir Cecil applied in February last to the Government of India to have a Commission appointed to enquire into the causes of the decline of the tea industry and also into the whole working of the Labor Transport Acts. The Commission, which was for the time refused, is now, we understand, to be appointed, and to commence its labors with the cold weather. Should the decision of the Commission be that the time has come when the safeguards of these Labor Transport Laws can be safely dispensed with, we shall be surprised, but most agreeably surprised—for no one would rejoice more than ourselves to get rid of all such exceptional legislation from the statute-book,—but we do not doubt for an instant that the result of the Commission will be to

make it clear that in the first instance this legislation was not only beneficial but absolutely necessary. There is however a further measure which may not possibly result from this Commission,—the separation of Assam from Bengal, and the erection of a distinct administration for the N. E. Frontier Provinces. One of Sir Cecil's last public utterances, before leaving the country, was that Bengal had not an administration adequate to its wants, and though the care and attention which he gave to Assam were far greater than it had ever received before, and though during the five years of his tenure of office, its administration was greatly improved and its officers put on something like an equal footing with those of other parts of India, yet he would be the first to confess, in fact he has freely admitted that the province is woefully backward, that its administration at such a distance from the Head Quarters of the Bengal Government is essentially lacking in vigour, and that the sums expended on it for roads and public have hitherto been cruelly insufficient for its wants.

It is however a very common and frequent error in criticising Indian administration, to forget how essentially poor a country India is. A poor country cannot be administered as efficiently as a rich one, and people mentally contrasting Indian police with Irish constabulary, the laxity of Indian control with the close supervision over executive officers in France—the miserable standard of judicial tribunals in India with the ability and efficiency of English Courts of justice, the efficiency of irrigation works in North Italy with the futile endeavours hitherto made to establish any thing like an adequate system in India, overlook not only the difference of material in the subordinate officers employed, but also the still more important question of expense, and that an administration to be efficient must be costly. India cannot have a better administration than she can afford to pay for, and applying these remarks to Assam, it may well be doubted whether a country, which up to a few years ago was of no great importance to us, which during 50 years of foreign oppression had been nearly desolated, which had a sparse and indolent population, with enormous tracts of land lying uncultivated, which was surrounded moreover by alien tribes uncivilised and practically unsubjugated,—it may well, we say, be doubted whether such a country, contributing as it did then a most paltry amount to the imperial treasury, had any right to expect more than it received,—whether in fact the money spent on it in Courts of Justice, in roads, and in general administration was not in fair proportion to its importance, though not at all in proportion to

its wants. Of course with the development of tea cultivation this state of things changed rapidly. Assam increased in importance with the increase of its new industry, but the increase was exceedingly rapid, and it was scarcely possible that the efficiency of its administration should increase with like rapidity. It must be admitted that it has not so increased, but at the same time we most confidently assert that Sir Cecil did all that was in his power to increase the standard of its efficiency—he was never weary of urging the claims of the province on the Government of India, and endeavouring to place both the judicial administration and that of the Department of Public Works on a better footing. He had the interests of Assam most warmly at heart and from his first tour there immediately after taking office, up to almost the last act of his administration, which was to urge on the Government of India the grant of a guarantee for a railway to Assam, he never lost an opportunity of doing what he could to advance the interests and status of the province. Rome, however, was not built in a day, and until Assam has a separate administration of its own, and the vigour of immediate earnest supervision is infused into it, the province will not be properly governed, nor will it receive adequate attention and be allowed an adequate expenditure.

If further proof were wanting of Sir Cecil's care for the great European interests of Bengal no less than of his desire to do justice to all parties, it would be found in his treatment of the crisis, through which the system of ryottee indigo in Tirhoot passed at the beginning of 1867. Though the question only came seriously to a head in one concern, yet the reports of the local officers, the general anxiety among planters, the number of petitions forwarded on the subject, and the agitation of the native Press, showed that the crisis was a dangerous one, and would require to be carefully watched. There were two questions involved, the one general, the other special. The former was that of price. It will, we suppose, be generally admitted that the ordinary price then given for a beegah of indigo (*viz.*, Rs. 7-8 from which Rs. 3 had to be deducted on account of rent) barely covered the expenses of cultivation, and was certainly not directly remunerative to the ryot, in cases where it would have been possible for him to grow any other kind of crop in its place. It is urged and with good reason, that on the other hand the ryot holds his lands generally at a lower rent under a planter, than he would under a native Zemindar, that he is less fleeced by native amlah, that in regard to the time when the indigo crop

is on the ground, and to its place in a general rotation of crops, he benefits on the whole by the cultivation, and that these contingent advantages more than compensate for the loss. This may very well be true, yet to an uneducated ryot the contingent advantages will be much less palpable than the direct loss. It will be seen that the question is somewhat complicated, but being one purely of price, one between capital and labour, employer and employed, no action which Government could take would be otherwise than injurious, and that the point at issue must be left to an amicable settlement between the parties, and that to prevent, if possible, an explosion and to give time and facilities for such an adjustment, was the sole course which Government could safely enter on. The other question concerned only one factory, which held a farm in the Durbungah estate under the management of the Court of Wards, and certain special oppressions, more especially the sub-letting of the farm to factory servants, were complained of. These were for the most part left to the ordinary action of the Courts, for while it was clear to the Lieutenant-Governor that any action on the first point would be wrong in principle and mischievous in practice, it was clear also that the Court of Wards could easily do somewhat to remedy the special evil of underletting farms to factory servants, and prevent the special oppression complained of in that particular factory. At the same time there was the danger that any public or decided action on the latter point, would raise a flame in regard to the former, the end of which it was impossible to foresee, save that it could not be otherwise than disastrous. What Sir Cecil did in this crisis was to withdraw an unwise proclamation that the Assistant Magistrate had issued, to leave any alleged breaches of the law to the ordinary action of the Courts, to watch the state of affairs narrowly, and to encourage an amicable settlement in every way in his power. In adopting this tone, he resisted considerable pressure from various quarters to take a more decided course of action, and if ever the correspondence on this subject is published, it will be seen that he acted throughout with remarkable judgment and the strictest impartiality, and while providing against the recurrence of such difficulties as had risen up, in regard to the Durbungah estates, his course of action tilted over the difficulty for the time being, at all events, and allowed an opportunity for the question of price to be settled by mutual agreement, instead of forcing it to a head, and having a repetition of the Bengal troubles to deal with.

There has been a tendency to attack Sir Cecil on this subject which has not been justified by the circumstances of the case.



He has been blamed for his interference and has been blamed for his non-interference, he has been blamed by anticipation for what was likely to happen, while the result of his judicious management has been that what was likely to happen did not happen. If the Press had had fuller information, it is probable that Sir Cecil's conduct in this matter would have met with warm praise; but unfortunately, as we have said before, it appears to be nobody's business to give the Press information on such matters, and Government must take the consequence of being blamed for partial information and an imperfect acquaintance with facts. We have said that we accept it as the function of the Press of this country to argue against and criticise Government measures, and show what there is to be said on the other side; in these remarks we do not include the one paper that never argues, but only instructs the Government, and like the gods, dwells in its serene heights "above the thunder with undying bliss, in knowledge of its own supremacy." Our remarks apply only to the human element of Indian journalism, and of this we say that, while it is necessarily an exponent of the views of the opposition rather than of those of Government, yet just in proportion to those views being well-informed and based on a sound knowledge of facts,—a knowledge which very often Government alone can impart,—will the influence of the Press be useful or the reverse, and for these reasons, as much as for the sake of Sir Cecil's own reputation, we should have been glad if he had made public at the time all the correspondence official and demi-official connected with the crisis through which Tirhoot indigo passed, and for a time at all events passed safely, under his judicious action and still more judicious abstinence from action. Another advantage which we should anticipate from free communication of correspondence to the Press, would be a diminution of the demands upon Government to interfere in and control matters which no Government can control successfully. Where the real question at issue is purely commercial as it is in regard to tea and in regard to indigo, the action of Government may hasten, but cannot seriously retard, any danger that may be threatening, and the more the tone is given to public opinion, to look to Government only for its legitimate duties, and the less it is attempted after the oriental fashion to make it an earthly Providence, regulating every thing, interfering with every thing, responsible for every thing, the better will its administrative duties be conducted, and the happier in the long run will it be both for the governors and the governed.

We have already brought this article to a greater length than we intended. We have been unable to do more than touch on some of the most important points in Sir Cecil's administration. We had wished, more especially in reference to Sir Cecil's policy in regard to waste lands, to show how entirely the languishing state of the Tea-interest is due to the mistakes made at first; to over-speculation, bad management and insufficient capital. We had wished to show how Sir Cecil's whole policy tended to enable Planters to get land at a fair rate, and cultivate it without losing time by waiting for preliminary formalities; how every survey party, as soon as it could be made available from its work in Bengal, was despatched to the Tea-districts, and how two of his latest actions, *viz.*, the order allowing grantees to concentrate all their payments on any one grant they might wish to preserve, while returning the others to Government, and the recommendation for a railway to Assam, were made in the direct interests of the Tea-planters. We have however been able to do this only very cursorily, and have left ourselves little space to refer to other subjects of importance.

We should notice, though it can be but briefly, the abolition of the Government salt manufacture, by which the Government "definitely abandoned a system which, from its first establishment by Lord Clive in the shape of a pure monopoly, has lasted with various modifications almost a century, and whereby the aim which the Parliamentary Committee of 1836 distinctly pointed out as the final object of the principle they laid down in determining the system under which Government salt was to be priced, *viz.*, the ultimate displacement of the Government manufacture by imported salt, has after twenty-seven years been fully attained." We should notice also that Sir Cecil succeeded in fixing within tolerably definite limits the amount of opium to be manufactured and sold in each year, a quantity which had been hitherto continually fluctuating.

But perhaps the one subject with which Sir Cecil Beadon has throughout his career most warmly identified himself is the extension of education. His belief was that to place a good system of English education within reach of the upper and middle classes, and through them gradually to extend the desire, and with the desire the supply, of good lower class education, was the wisest and safest method of securing the welfare of the country, and on this belief he has consistently acted, and it is now in a fair way to succeed triumphantly. As an indication of this, we may take the fact that on the 30th April 1862, when Sir Cecil first took office, there were 319 schools in

Bengal receiving grants-in-aid. In the report for 1865-66 these had increased to 1,200 of which 150 were girls' schools. Then for the improvement of vernacular village education, a scheme originally started by Sir J. P. Grant, but considerably altered and enlarged by Sir Cecil Beadon, was introduced in the first year of his tenure of office and is thus described :—

“ The villages, where *Patshalas* are already in existence, are invited to send for a year's training in a Normal School, either their present Gooroo, or some other person whom they will undertake to receive as their future school-master. Their nominee, if accepted by the Inspector, is sent to a Normal School, with a stipend of Rupees 5 per mensem, and a written agreement is entered into on the one hand with the heads of the village, that they will receive him back as their Gooroo, when he has completed his course of training and received a certificate of qualification, and on the other hand with the nominee himself, that he will return to the village which selected him, and there enter upon and discharge the duty of village school-master to the best of his ability, on condition of being secured a monthly income of not less than Rupees 5 in the shape of stipend or reward, so long as he continues to deserve it. Each of the three training schools at present established receives seventy-five stipendiary students.” From the report on education for 1865-66, it appears that the number of Normal Schools for masters and mistresses under Government management had increased to twenty-seven with a total of over 1,300 school-masters in training. Three of these schools were for mistresses. It is needless to enumerate the other improvements in education that have taken place. Sir Cecil's endeavour to get the educational service put for the first time on a decent footing, both in regard to pay and position, was only partially successful, but it has certainly been a great improvement and is likely to beget still greater ones. We cannot do more than mention his establishment of law professorships at the colleges, the establishment of a College at Patna and a Collegiate School at Gowhatty, his reconstitution of the School of Arts by which, under the able management of its present Principal, it has been converted from a shop, where much of the work turned out might properly have come under Lord Campbell's Act, and which was useless and demoralising to the students and expensive to the Government, into an institution of which, for its usefulness in supplying the existing wants of the public, and for its capacity for developing better taste and higher aspirations in native decoration, the Government may well be proud. To any one who takes an interest in this subject we recommend

Mr. H. H. Locke's report published in the appendix to the last annual report of the Educational Department. We have no hesitation in saying that in matters educational, Sir Cecil has done far more for Bengal than either of his predecessors, and his work in this line will live and bear fruit in a way which, if he could live to see it, might make up for much of failure in other directions.

We must not omit to notice the improvements introduced by Sir Cecil in the judicial service. His suggestions for a total re-organisation of the subordinate service, abolishing the present nomenclature of *Sudder Ameens* and *Moonsiffs*, and making three classes of subordinate Judges, on a scale of pay adequate for the remuneration of their important duties and sufficient to attract men of respectable families and education, could not unfortunately be carried out in its integrity owing to want of funds. It was however the means of raising the pay and position of *Moonsiffs* to a fairer level than existed previously and has since been followed by further reforms in the same direction. The establishment of additional Small Cause Courts, the extended introduction of the jury system (about which however we admit there is ample room for difference of opinion), and more than any of these, the two great reforms which he instituted; first by his determined raid against incompetent Judges, which, while it improved the tone of the service generally, no doubt obtained for the author of the measure a good deal of very natural and unavoidable odium, and secondly his substitution of the Judge as recorder of evidence in criminal cases in lieu of his *amlah*, by making English take the place of the vernacular record, and thereby reducing to a minimum the power and interference of the *amlah*; these, and more specially, in our opinion, the last of these reforms, entitle Sir Cecil to a higher meed of praise than has generally been granted to him, and are by no means the least among the many active improvements which the last 8 or 9 years have seen in our system of judicial administration.

It is something also that Sir Cecil has given to Bengal a system of municipalities; a scheme of little use perhaps at present, but which is the germ, that, properly developed, may grow into a wise and successful method of local self-government, the only method in our belief by which progress and independence can in any country be successfully fostered. His establishment too of a system of weekly reports on the native Press, by which, for the first time, not only the Governors but also the English Press and the English public are placed in a position to understand what the natives think and say of them,

is an immense gain and is based on the soundest appreciation of the value of the native Press. If dissatisfaction or even disloyalty is at work, it is infinitely better to let them have their say, and even to publish their say to all whom it may concern, than to try to suppress feelings which having vent are harmless, but which by suppression may become not only doubly bitter but on occasion also mischievous.

There are many other points in Sir Cecil's career which we had wished to touch upon, and many of those on which we have touched we had wished to elucidate more fully. But time and space forbid: we can only add that, though fully aware how much more might have been done in vindicating Sir Cecil from many of the reproaches cast on him, enough has in our opinion been said to show that Sir Cecil's administration has on the whole not been unworthy of the respect and gratitude, both of his countrymen and of the people over whom he ruled, and we feel that for one most grievous and fatal error of judgment, a career of 30 years of industry, usefulness, and ability, guided and guided successfully by a noble and philanthropic desire to promote the best interests of the country, should not be lost sight of and forgotten. We are told that there will never again be a Civilian Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. However this may be, we feel assured that Bengal will be administered by many Governors or Lieutenant-Governors, before it is ruled over by one worthier than Sir Cecil Beadon.

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ART. VI.—*Idylls from the Sanskrit.* By Ralph T. H. Griffith, M.A., Principal of the Sanskrit College, Benares. London. 1866.

IT is always pleasant to see a man faithful to his early love, and it is as rare as it is pleasant to witness such attachment maintained in the face of little apparent encouragement. The author of these specimens of Sanskrit poetry is not unknown. In his "Birth of the War God," published some thirteen years ago, he established a reputation for taste and scholarship; and we are glad to find that so long an interval has not only not diminished but ripened his powers in this direction, and that he has come forward again to give us the cream of his labours in the same field during a long residence in India. But we congratulate him especially, that he has not shrunk before the discouraging certainty that his work, for many reasons, can never become popular. If a wide popularity were to be the test of the worth of a book, the merits of these translations must be pronounced slight, for if ever a book had a hard battle to fight, it is this volume of *Idylls*. Every thing seems against it. At first sight the rich cloth binding, the bevelled edges and thick toned paper seem to place it in a class of books from which men instinctively shrink: we mean the endless "Garlands from the Poets," "Books of Gems," and the like—a growth due to the restlessness of book-makers and the exuberance of modern literature, and which is indeed rather a branch of fashionable upholstery than of literature. It is a fair flower in this garden of drawing-room volumes, "frail as the clouds, and in their colouring as gorgeous as the heavens." But as the rough working man shrinks from contact with the broadcloth which seems to stamp its wearer as of a class with which he can have little sympathy, so does the literary working man shrink from books in such gorgeous apparel as this.

Then it is a translation, and no translation is, as a rule, very popular. Even those which have made the most noise at their publication, such as Lord Derby's "Homer," are soon forgotten. They never can hold more than a secondary place in literature, and it is only a very wise man who can see the beauty of being second. At all events the charm of any translation is chiefly for those who know the original work well, and are able to

compare the two : to whom therefore there is a keen pleasure in seeing gracefully and faithfully rendered, passages which they have themselves, with much toil and difficulty, forced to yield their secrets. But a translation which aspires to take the place of its original,—which is written, as these obviously are, chiefly for those who are and are likely to remain unacquainted even with the language of the original, must have merits of its own of a very rare order, if it is to acquire any fame. Lastly it is from the Sanscrit, and it is only a very small class of English readers, (excluding oriental scholars, for whom it is specially not intended) who pretend to the faintest interest either in Sanskrit literature, or in the fragmentary history of the age from which it dates. The majority of readers have no association with the names of Rama and Sita or even of Vishnu and Siva, beyond perhaps some many-handed idol brought home by an Indian uncle, and regarded with scanty veneration in its new home. Others there are who confess to some far off interest in the subject, but who, unable to enter heartily into it, do not care for such a mere taste of it as may be gathered from a work like this. The subject is a sea, an ocean ; a man is awe-struck at the sight of it. It is a black water that he cannot hope to navigate alone, and if ambition tempts him and he seeks a pilot, the pilot's pictures of the sea are often more terrific than the reality. Take such a book as Professor Wilson's "Religion, of the Hindus," for instance. The first glance is enough to drive a casual reader to despair. To take a passage at hazard, in the introduction we read, "The Saura sect was continued " under the auspices of Divānkara Brahmachari, and the Śākta " under those of the Sannyasi Tripurakumāra : the Ganapatya " were allowed to remain under the presidency of Girijaputra, " and from such persons as had not adopted either of the preceding systems, Batukanath, the Professor of the Kapalika or " Bhairava worship, was permitted to attract followers : all these " teachers were converts and disciples of Sankara, and returned " to his superintending guidance, when they had effected the " object of their missions." In all humility we ask what interest can any human being find in such a study? With profound veneration for the learned author, we submit that all that is human, vital, seems to be eliminated : all that is lifeless carcase, dissected and analysed.

We hope to shew, in the course of the following pages, that among other valuable results of a work like that now before us, it offers to the enquirer an opportunity of a pleasure trip as it were, into this sea, so vast, so mysterious, and on that account so fascinating. This is just one of those cases which

illustrate the falseness of the proverb that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. We hope not only to rescue this work from the catalogue of ornamental "selections," but to shew that, like the beautiful Golden Treasury Series, it has a very high value of its own, and moreover that it is from the hand of a man conspicuously qualified for the task.

Urged no doubt at first by pure love of the work, the translator's object is nevertheless a high one. Everything points to the conclusion that he has laboured less for the student and the oriental scholar than for the general English public, ignorant of the Sanskrit language, and without personal experience of oriental life. The translations are many of them professedly "free" and "condensed," so as to convey rather the spirit than the literal rendering of the poem. They are throughout thrown into rhyme—a more than questionable step if they were intended for the critical student—a step which must always fatally hamper a translator, but adopted with obviously sound judgment in the present instance. For, as we learn incidentally from a note, the aim is to offer to the public in an English dress some of the most characteristic beauties of eastern classic literature. It is to transcribe these for the benefit of men who have neither time nor opportunity to study them in their original form, who would indeed as soon think of studying the arrow-headed inscriptions of Babylon, yet who are grateful enough for the light thrown on an obscure subject, and gladly follow so well qualified a guide. The object of the translator is further, as we take it, to assert the dignity of the race to whom he has devoted his life: indirectly to remind a larger and less discerning class of the English public of the deep veneration due to the people we are called upon to govern and educate—a veneration springing from the same source as that we feel for modern Greece and modern Italy, namely from the remembrance of early greatness. Mr. Griffith views the modern Hindu as Mr. Gladstone does the modern Greek. He would remind us that we have here something more than mild and pitiable races, whose literature is but a feeble imitation of our own, and who may thank Heaven for the civilization hurried upon them by railways and telegraphs—a civilization which must wear to them the same air of insolent self assertion which that of America does to the old world of Europe, and which is only made the more repulsive by the consciousness that it must prevail. He would recall the truth, too little remembered, that our civilization and our literature are things of to-day when compared with the Homeric antiquity of those of our Eastern subjects.



Apart, therefore, from their merits, by no means slight, as efforts of scholarship, these translations are valuable in so far as we may from them gain some insight into the modes of thought and the every-day life of a world, which dates back beyond the most ancient history. We are full of wonder as we read the books of Moses, and trace his vivid pictures of patriarchal life; as we hear the very words of Abraham, the laughter of Sarah, and the sighs of Rebecca uttered four thousand years ago; but in Sanskrit poetry we have pictures more vivid still of an age little less modern than that of Moses. It has been well pointed out by an able writer, that poetry is in this way the truest and most living history: that it is just from incidental touches in a national poetry of this kind—touches of which the poets were themselves hardly conscious, but casually revealing phases of thought and life,—that we are enabled to call up before us the life of the men and women for whom the poems were written and sung, and to picture to ourselves the scenes among which they lived: that we are able to detect the luxuriant forms and rich colouring of what Victor Hugo has called the foliage of great events. Such poems are a rich tapestry-work, where every kind of figure is fantastically interwoven, retaining its brilliant colours undimmed by time, and requiring only a careful hand to trace the meaning of each picture. We discern the never-changing features of humanity, and how they were acted upon by conditions of life so different to our own. We see the same classes of rich and poor, good and bad, moving through life as we see them at this day, with the same passions as ourselves, and influenced by all the same littlenesses that still, as then, make up life. Here are our fellow men, actuated by the same fears and doubts as to the future, the same faith in God, the same hopes of heaven. We see the working of the same eternal laws of right and wrong, and in the wonderful civilization of the period from which these poems date, a code of ethics almost as perfect as that of Christianity: for if the mythologies of India are of all the most fanciful and preposterous, the perfection of the Hindu moral system must startle many a Christian when first made acquainted with it, by the marvellous unity of its main precepts with those of our own faith.

Here therefore, as we apprehend, lies the great interest of Sanskrit poetry, that it offers an unconscious reflection of the outward life and the tone of thought of the men for whom the poets wrote. To many there seems to be an attraction in the tracing to their sources elaborate myths and the worship of many divinities, but to ourselves this has always rather destroyed than added to the pleasure derived from the study

of early history. We care not to know that Agni was the fire, and Indra nothing but the vault of heaven; we prefer the pure mythical form with all its attractions. A deep interest, however, must always attach to an investigation of the feelings and life of men in an early age of the world's history, and here, we think, is the chief value of the work we are discussing: that it sets forth, in a form rendered attractive by the graces of a refined scholarship, a copy of the original reflection of that life; and serves to whet the appetite of the lover not only of poetry, but of history, and invite him to a deeper draught from the pure well from which it is drawn. We may gather hence some notion of the light in which questions of religion and philosophy, of Government and of social life were regarded. We are enabled to watch these pre-historic men in their daily intercourse, in their houses, in their travels, in their wars: to trace the relative position accorded to the sexes, and the value attached to morality. We see them as subjects under kings and an elaborate and marvellously perfect code of laws—we see them as painters and sculptors—we may detect their very dress. And more clearly than all, we discover the true spirit of poetry in an appreciation of natural scenery as delicate and sensitive as that of Wordsworth, and in these translations often clothed in language as musical as that of Shelley.

And here we have a word to say of the translator himself. It has been said that no man can pass the best years of his life in India without becoming at heart either a Hindu or a Mahomedan. We do not for a moment mean to say that Mr. Griffith has done either: but undoubtedly he is a rare instance of a thorough English scholar who from a concurrence of circumstances has, more than most of his countrymen, become naturalized in his adopted country. He is one of very few who, being thoroughly acclimatized, and having few ties binding them to England, have ceased to live that divided life which cramps the energies of so many in this country; and thus he has been enabled to throw himself into the spirit of Hindu life and Hindu literature. One of the most patient and earnest, and yet most modest of oriental scholars, a man of very refined taste, he has brought to his researches the culture of an Oxford man, the delicate sensibility of an elegant scholar, and an admirable power of "fitting aptest words to things." Placed too in a position peculiarly adapted to the bent of his mind, in the holiest of Hindu cities, it is no wonder that its traditions and its faith have laid hold upon a mind at once pliant and critical, and that our translator has become fascinated by the beauties and imbued with the spirit of the Hindu lore, in which it is

his delight to revel, to borrow a simile frequent in these pages, "like the wild bee in the lotus flowers." Men in such a position of intimate connection with both the native and the English population exert an influence for good or evil whose extent cannot be exaggerated; and if endued with the devoted spirit here displayed, must form a link between the eastern and western minds which cannot but be of the last importance. They are as it were the hyphen which connects the two halves of the significant name Indo-European.

Of the primary merits of these Idylls, as translations, we do not profess to speak. There are few, however, we imagine, competent to sit in judgment on Mr. Griffith's attainments as a Sanskrit scholar. We approach his work from the point of view of the general English reader, for whom it is specially intended, and we think that a fair criticism will shew that, apart from the incidental, historical value to which we have alluded, it does attain in many instances the high position to which it aspires: that the poems are not only readable as translations, but have much of the attraction of original and scholarly compositions. To read one of them is to live again in our early golden dreams of the fascination of all that is oriental, stripped of the shabbiness which after years teach us to associate with that idea. There is

A scent of eastern sandalwood,  
A gleam of gold.

Both the subjects themselves and their whole treatment, the religious colouring, the relation of the sexes, the Homeric weeping of heroes, finally the peculiar imagery borrowed from external nature, so foreign to western thought, so piquant from its very strangeness, and yet at once recognized as so truly characteristic, all combine to throw a great charm over these graceful Idylls. They are, in their way, like the well-known sketches by "George Eliot" of phases of life seldom seen or studied, yet the accuracy and truthfulness of which everybody intuitively recognizes. How sincerely the translator has identified himself with his subject—how completely he sees with the eyes and feels with the hearts of his characters is seen in many ways, and notably in his reverent adaptation to the Hindu theology of names and titles so hallowed by custom and association as "the Saviour," "the Scriptures," "Holy Writ" and the like.

But it is time we should allow him to speak for himself. We will ask the reader to follow us rapidly through the four pieces which form the body of the work, and will then endea-

vour to put together into one or two defined pictures, some of the rich materials here presented to us piecemeal.

Each of the Idylls is a fragment, more or less perfect in itself, from one or other of the great Sanskrit epics. The majority are taken from the *Raghuvansa*, the work of Kalidasa, who has hitherto been Mr. Griffith's favorite; though we rejoice that he promises us a complete translation of the *Ramayana*, the most venerable of all, from which is taken the exquisite Idyll of "Sita" in this volume. The first and fourth pieces, entitled "Aja" and "Dilipa" are the most thoroughly characteristic and Hindu in style and subject, while the remaining two, "Sita" and "Savitri," appealing more to universal sympathies, are, we think, the most attractive, and the most feelingly handled.

The first of the four contains the tale of how the Prince Aja, son and heir of Raghu, wins, loses and finds again in heaven his beautiful bride and queen. As the curtain rises, Aja lies asleep, "dreaming into his wedding morn," and a chorus of minstrels calls upon him to awake and take his place in the ranks of the suitors from among whom a royal maiden is coming to choose a husband. The scenes which follow, how at sight of Aja his rivals lose all heart—how he is chosen by the fair princess, way-laid by the disappointed suitors, and after a bloody battle returns in triumph with his bride,

•

The dust of battle hanging on her hair,

and takes the burden of State affairs from off his father's shoulders—how his queen proves to have been in truth an angel, banished for a time to earth, and after bearing him a son, is recalled, to his infinite despair—and how he never ceases to pine for her till he rejoins her in Paradise is told in language and imagery both tasteful and characteristic.

The first scene in which the suitors are seated each on his throne, decked in all he hopes to prove most attractive to the maiden's eye, recalls with strange vividness a spectacle connected with very foreign associations. We apologize to Mr. Griffith for the profanity of the comparison, but it is irresistible. It is the "cotillon" of a modern ball-room, in that figure where the lady sits, mirror in hand, while suitors are led up one by one, the face of each beaming with its most alluring smile, or clouded as he sinks to the ranks of the rejected. Of course the charm of the modern dance consists in this oriental feature of the choice resting with the lady. But the princess advances, and each suitor has his stratagem to attract her eye. There is a touch of genuine nature in the maidenly grace with which she passes from one to another. Her wreath slips from

her forehead, and as she turns to set it right, she passes on to a second suitor. In the description of this warrior occurs a striking simile, powerfully rendered :

In battle with his foes the conqueror threw  
On their wives' breasts a necklace, strange and new,  
When the big tear-drops on their bosoms hung,  
A row of pearls most lovely, but unstrung.

But another and another is passed by : no appeal to valour or beauty or wealth, no pictures of palace gardens arrest the maiden, for

woman's fancy man nor God can tell—

till her eye meets that of Aja, beaming with hope and fear. Then at last her heart is taken captive. Born of ancestors whom the very winds of heaven obeyed, conspicuous for beauty, for valour and goodness, to wed him will be to marry the gold and the gem. Trembling with love and modesty, she throws her wreath of flowers over the neck of her chosen, and

So sweet those flowers upon his shoulders hung,  
He thought the princess in her love had flung  
Her twining arms around him.

Nothing can be prettier than this.

The bridal procession follows, the marriage and the reluctant homage of the disappointed, and there is a very life-like picture of the eagerness of the ladies to see Aja, racing to the windows for a view of the procession, their negligé attire adding to their charms. One has her long hair floating down her back, another has one eye or one foot dyed, and another her dress half-open. The prize however is not safe yet, and the wedding tour is enlivened by a fierce battle. The jealous rivals waylay the prince. Elephants, chariots and mailed warriors mingle in confusion, and the horrid details are drawn with Homeric minuteness :

A prowling wolf that severed arm has spied  
And swift with hunger to the feast has hied ;  
A golden bracelet round the arm is hung,  
Against the clasp he wounds his foaming tongue :  
Turns with an angry howl of pain away,  
And to those vultures leaves the mangled prey.

But Aja, like Arthur at Mount Badon, is armed with a magic weapon, and his enemies are paralysed before him. His happy reign is then described, first as Regent, while his father, like all the good, withdraws to end his days in communion with God. And here occurs a series of couplets which space will not allow us to quote, intensely Hindu in character,

describing the harmonious yet opposite lives of the hermit father and his royal son : till death, long prayed for, releases the aged Raghu. Quickly upon this follows a blow from which Aja never recovers. The scene changes and we are for a moment translated to the Hindu Olympus. Narad, the heavenly minstrel, flying to the Court of Siva, lets fall from his lyre a chaplet of celestial flowers, which lights upon the lady's breast. This is her signal, like the tokens in the Pilgrim's Progress, and she yields her life in obedience to a long foretold decree. The tenderness of the lover's lamentation is very beautiful : how pathetic is his complaint,

Signs of thy charms will meet me : thou hast taught  
Koils thy voice of music : swans have caught  
That step that love made languid : startled roes  
Have learnt thy winning glance : the creeper throws  
Her amorous arms, when shaken by the breeze,  
As thou didst, dearest—

No counsel of sages can reach the heart of the bereaved. For eight years he mourns his love—his only joy to recall some grace of hers, his only care to educate her child : till, released at last, he meets his love again in the new beauty of immortality.

To "Sita," the second and shortest of the four, we award the palm both for pathos and execution. Less full of what is purely oriental, it is the one least open to criticism. To quote from it would be to spoil it : but it should be read first by anybody who wishes for a specimen at once of scholarly taste and of a most touching love-poem. Breathing as it does the purest devotion of a woman's love, it might have been entitled the "Triumph of Love"; as "Savitri," the poem which follows, might be called the "Triumph of Prayer." The romantic stories of Rama, the incarnate god, and his loving wife Sita, are a favorite theme with all Hindus, and no more beautiful theme for poet or painter can be imagined. Rama has been sentenced by his father Dasaratha, king of Oudh, to exile for a term of years ; and this Idyll consists of a dialogue between him and his devoted Sita, who vows that she will follow him to exile, death or hell : while the husband, to try her, paints the horrors of the jungle, and declares it her duty to leave him to face them alone. True to nature, the poet makes the wife prevail, but not till she has braved even the threat that her husband's love may cool when hardship has robbed her of her beauty. Her purely feminine pleading might have served Shakspeare as the groundwork of the scene between Arthur and Hubert in King John. Rama has no answer, and conscious of triumph she bursts

forth again, passing from entreaty to taunts; bidding the lover remember his vows, and the soldier the cowardice of deserting the post he has sworn to defend; and ends with a vow to drink poison before his eyes if he rejects her prayer. Her passionate appeal prevails, and with floods of tears, and vows of eternal love Rama promises never to part from her.

This little poem is one that appeals to every heart with as tender a force now as when it was first sung three thousand years ago: and to none does it appeal more powerfully than to many who have chosen the voluntary exile of an Indian life, who for its sake may have had to part from wife and child, or to see one or other sink under the hardships due to their devotion to him. Modern life is generally thought to be hopelessly prosaic: modern manners and modern costume seem—spite of the sensation novels—incompatible with romance. But prose and poetry, like the tragic and the comic, lie ever close together, and there is many a man whose life seems prosaic enough to himself, who takes a passage by the unromantic “P. & O.,” leaving wife or child under a mother-in-law’s somewhat prosaic guardianship, who as he reads will feel a very tender chord of his heart touched, and will enter more fully than he may care to confess into the pathos of this ancient love-song.

The story of “Savitri” is an illustration of a familiar phenomenon in spiritual life. It finds its most striking parallel in Hebrew story, but has an echo also in the religious mind of every age of history, and might have been prefaced by the words of St. James, “the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.” It describes the wrestling of the human spirit in prayer with God. It matters not to us that the God is one of a vast pantheon. In every system of polytheism there are traces of a consciousness that all are but persons of one godhead, and the object of prayer is after all the same eternal spirit in whom we all believe. The phenomenon therefore is the same, and while thoroughly Hindu in character, it recalls some of the most striking of Hebrew traditions. It is the triumph of the will of a good man even over the decrees of fate. “Tell me thy name,”—“I will not let thee go except thou bless me”—this is the burden of the wrestler’s cry here as in Genesis. The importunate return too, that will not be denied, recalls other familiar scenes. “Oh let not the Lord be angry,” “she seems to say, “and I will speak but this once;” and like her sister of Tyre centuries after, she retorts with invincible faith to each repelling answer of the God.

There are features in the characters and their position in this poem which also bring back memories of Sophocles. Savitri, the heroine, is, like Antigone, the beautiful daughter of an old, blind and exiled king, and, like Antigone, she displays a character marked by the most heroic courage and the most devoted love. She goes forth, like the bride of Aja, to choose for herself a husband, and the story turns upon the ill-fortune of her choice. At the name of Satyavan, the prophet Narad, seated in converse with her father, foretells grief and woe, for Satyavan is destined to an early death. The father bids her choose again, but

——the maid's love is given once for all.  
Whether his days be many or be few,  
My heart has chosen and my love is true.

A model of gentleness and goodness, she is proud in her husband's love, and follows him, like Sita, to the forest, on the day of his death.

Then follows the pith of the story. The prince is struck down in a fit, and while she holds him in her arms, a fearful shape appears, Yama the god of death, a noose in his hand to bind the sleeper's soul and bear it away. He announces that her husband's hour is come, and binding the soul with his cord, bears it away, as we see souls depicted in mediæval sculptures. The body is left lifeless on the ground, and Savitri follows the god, as a dumb animal does a man who carries away her young, pleading as she goes her own pure life and hatred of sin. Again and again she is repelled: again and again she returns, at each plea so charming the god by her wisdom and faith, that he yields boon after boon: to her father, restoration of sight and throne: for herself, to bear to her lord a long line of successors: till finally, vanquished by her importunity, he offers any boon she asks. And so she wins back her own Satyavan to life. Then follows an exquisite picture, worthy to find a great artist's canvass, of the gentle wife leading the once strong man, carrying on her head his basket of wild fruits, and his hatchet hanging at her dainty waist: while he bends on her a look of helpless love and gratitude. Thus the prayer of the good has prevailed. The king is brought back, like David by his people. Subjects, friends and wealth return to him as to Job; his brave son-in-law shares his throne, and the gentle Savitri is blessed with many sons to hand down her story and her father's fame.

In the Idyll of "Dilipa" we have a very natural and picturesque treatment of the Hindu veneration of the cow. Dilipa is a kind of Hindu Solomon, uniting the consummate



statesman with the saint. He is king of all the earth, which is happy under his rule: and he is rich in every blessing life can give, except one. He is childless. Regarding this as the chastisement of Heaven, he prays to "God, the great Creator," and with his queen and a slender following, goes to consult an old prophet, Vasishtha. To him he lays bare his grief, and, like Galahad, is not ashamed to avow his own virtue,

Pure is my soul through sacrifice and prayer,

and to demand the reason of this visitation. The prophet reveals the cause: it is on account of a slight once offered to Surabhi, the holy cow, "giver of all good things": and he points out a mode of expiation. This is to pay all honour for a time to Nandini, Surabhi's daughter: and for this service he promises the somewhat doubtful blessing that "among fathers none shall equal" the king.

Then comes the humiliation and temptation of Dilipa. He humbles himself to be the slave of the holy beast: feeds her and fondles her, and follows her to the forest—the queen too attending for a time, and decking the cow with flowers. The beauty and dignity of humility are here admirably drawn. In all his lowliness, Dilipa is a king still, and even the wild things of the forest, birds and beasts and flowers, recognize his royalty. At night he still watches by the cow, as by some helpless child, placing lamp and food beside her, and only sleeping when she sleeps. Thus pass "thrice seven long days," when the day of temptation arrives. In a cave of the Himalaya, the holy beast is seized by a lion. Quick to avenge her, the king takes an arrow, and

—his bright nails shed

O'er its white feathers gleams of rosy red.

But his hand is stayed; the monster's mouth opens, and he declares himself the servant of Siva, placed there to guard a sacred tree and devour all who venture near. He claims Nandini as his lawful prey, and like the lying Hebrew prophet, tells the king that he too is a servant of the most high God, and that therefore he need feel no shame in yielding his charge to the irresistible power of the Almighty. Dilipa however stands this test, and bowing to the might of Siva, only prays that his own life may be sacrificed as a ransom for the cow. The lion, a very Satan, replies by an appeal to his noblest feelings:

—while thy death, oh king!

To this one cow a longer life will bring,

Blest by thy reign a thousand homes would be,

For all thy people look to only thee.

But even this does not shake his firm resolve to save his charge or die in her stead. He bows his head to receive the lion's spring, but instead of the monster's claws

there came a rain of flowers  
Poured down upon him by the Heavenly powers.

And instead of his roar, a sweet voice from the cow herself, bidding him rise and choose for his reward the desire of his heart.

The longed for son is promised: king and queen return, to the joy of their people, who look with reverence on the king, pale and worn with penance, like the moon returning faint and feeble to the sky. The birth of the infant is then described, accompanied by all the wonders that attend a heaven-born child: and if anything could point strongly to the suspicion of interpolations from the gospel history, it is this description :

High in the heavens five brilliant planets shone,  
Blessing the child they looked so kindly on.

There was a glory round the infant's head,  
That poured strange lustre o'er his mother's bed.

While in the skies the gods the rapture share,  
And the glad music sounds in concert there.

The poem closes with a sketch of the child's training, till he shares and then succeeds to his father's throne.

Such in substance are the four principal Idylls. Let us now take the volume as a whole, and try to trace in outline some of the figures here mingled together in such brilliant and picturesque confusion. Let us follow some of the indications offered, without design, and on that account the more striking, of the life and the thoughts of this primeval civilization, existing in such wonderful completeness in the far east, while as yet the west was in comparative night, and there was almost no intercourse between the two. And here obviously, supreme importance attaches to accuracy in fixing the dates of the poems upon which we draw for our material. Unfortunately this is at once the most important and the weakest point of our position. To assign precise dates to the Ramayana and Mahabharata is impossible; and even the approximate dates hitherto agreed upon are now called in question. On the one hand we have the judgment of the majority of oriental scholars, assigning as the probable date of these poems, the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries before Christ, and pronouncing them epics worthy to

rank side by side with the Iliad and Odyssey: on the other are ranged certain modern sceptics, who, as we take it, having a point to prove, and unwilling to allow to the forefathers of the degenerate races of modern India, the credit of a divine morality, would degrade to a level below mediocrity these works hitherto honored as almost inspired, by insisting that all in them that is beautiful and divine, alike in incident and sentiment, is due to interpolations as late as the eighth century of our era, and to the inweaving with Hindu legend the simple story and sublime teaching of Christ. As if priestly interpolators could at will assume the inspiration of poets! Incident and sentiment might possibly be plagiarized, but if these poems are entitled to the place hitherto unanimously assigned them, then they have achieved it by the power of no poetic inspiration, but by the narrowest spirit of religious sectarianism! And when did such poetry ever spring from such a source? But it is not for us to enter upon so wide a field of discussion: for our purpose there is certainty enough. There can be no doubt that the Vedas, the ultimate source of the whole Hindu religion, date as far back as the thirteenth century B. C. It is indisputable that the Institutes of Manu, the Hindu law-giver, were written before the invasion of Alexander, that is, the fourth century before Christ: and there can be as little question that the whole life depicted in these poems is the life of an age earlier still, an age compared with which the Homeric age is modern. Remembering this we shall find matter enough for wonder, even in such a cursory glance as we are here able to take of so profound and inexhaustible a subject.

Let us glance then first at the state of religion and morality as indicated in these translations. If the morality of the Mahomedan is undoubtedly but a reflection of the bright light of Christianity, no such explanation is possible of the origin of the Hindu moral code, marvellously perfect as it is, any more than of the pure morality which breathes through such a poem as the book of Job. There is in fact, we believe, but one explanation, namely that the same eternal Spirit which now works in Christianity has inspired from the beginning all who have been willing to receive him: and there are many indications that these "Christians before Christ" recognized the truth that forms were transient, but the great laws of morality eternal. "The Almighty will not ask" said the founder of the Sikh sect of Hindus, "to what tribe or persuasion a man belongs; he will only ask what he has done." Take the conception of God illustrated in this volume—for

spite of many names and many forms, we maintain that at heart Hindus, Greeks and Romans alike, believed in and worshipped the one great God. As here depicted, he is a spirit who dwells in the high and holy place, with him also that is of an humble and contrite spirit: in the "Address to Vishnu" we have it almost in the words of the Jewish prophet:

Though far away, thou dwellest in each heart.

And again,

Oh light, that dwellest in the humble breast.

He is one though wearing many forms, incomprehensible, omniscient, the maker of all things, and to all who trust in him he is "the way" to everlasting life. He is "full of compassion," able to save in distress the people he has made, and "for the world's good" his mighty deeds were done. To contemplate him is to become pure; to "serve him truly" has unspeakable rewards. But what kind of god is here? This is no Jupiter, no dreadful thunderer, inspiring only awe and fear, but a father and a friend, with love and sympathy for all his creatures, hating nothing that he has made. Here we trace the sense of man's individual responsibility to God and personal communion with him, the sense of sin too, and of holiness,—conceptions which the Greeks never knew. This god is also a jealous god, and in this feature we recognize the well-known Greek feeling, so natural to man, of excessive happiness exciting envy in the heart of God. In the "Flying Car" we have described a saint whose consummate happiness on earth

Filled Indra's jealous breast with doubt and fear.

So Sita in her exile blames Nemesis as the cause of her ill-fate:

Thou leftest Fortune, by thy side who stood,  
To roam with Sita through the dreary wood:  
And the proud Queen has laboured to destroy,  
In jealous rage, her happier rival's joy.

Here is the moral of the story of Cræsus, that there may be a happiness on earth, which even the "seraphs of heaven covet". Again there is a parallel to the legend of Tithonus in that of the demon Ravan, who won from Brahma the boon that no god should slay him, but "forgot" to guard himself against the hand of man. The world-old belief in omens has its place also: Sita forebodes her exile.

Her right eye throbbed, ill-omened sign, to tell  
The endless loss of him she loved so well.

Then if we turn to the views implied regarding the ever unsolved mystery that shrouds the farther side of the grave, we are still more struck by the belief indicated. The translator in a note to his "War God" tells us that the highest heaven of the Hindu is absorption into God, the second a Mahomedan paradise. We venture to think that the paradise is more Christian than Mahomedan. But at all events it is startling enough to discover, what we cannot but believe, that these early Hindus were in possession of the intoxicating hope of immortality at a time when the worshippers of Jehovah, the chosen people, had no thought of such an inheritance. Nor was theirs any shadowy Greek Elysium, where pale phantoms flitted among beds of asphodel, envying the meanest of men on earth; but a Heaven where the lover met his earthly love again, no shadow of her former self but "more lovely far than ever." How different is the conception of Aja longing for death that he might rejoin his love in heaven, to the sentiment, familiar to all readers of Homer, expressed by the shade of Elpenor to Ulysses, that he would rather be the veriest slave on earth than king of all the dead! Sita's only comfort in her cruel exile is the thought that "the life that is to come" will restore her love to her for ever. And this is a heaven too that depends on the good or evil done here on earth:

——— in the world to come, our bliss  
Springs from our penance and good works in this.

What then, we go on to ask, are these good works? What was the ideal life of a good man? Truly if it were possible to believe that the Gospel had given a tinge to the Mahabharata we must have thought that we heard here the echo of the voice of Christ:

The best religion is to injure nought  
That lives on earth, in deed or word or thought:  
This is religion, and the good will shew  
Mercy and kindness to his bitter foe.

Self-sacrifice, the essential principle of Christianity, is the prominent feature here. Self-denial, obedience to parents, reading the Scriptures, attention to ordinances, all are inculcated. The heroes of old gathered wealth like the sun, to bestow it again on others. Dilipa was formed

‘To find his own in others’ happiness.

and it is obedience to parents, "the paramount of duties," which sends Rama an exile to the woods. There is tolerance too for many creeds; there are many ways leading to bliss, but all unite in

God,—a wider liberality this than that which holds accursed all who presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth ! Such is the high tone of the morality laid down in Manu's Institutes, and what have we in all this but something very near akin to the divine teaching of Christianity almost in the words of Christ ? Who cares whether it comes from the lips of a mythical Manu or of a divine Christ ? It is the same utterance of the same spirit, then as now recognized as unchangeable truth : and it is this pure and simple morality which we find colouring the whole of these beautiful samples of Sanskrit epic poetry. We do not hesitate to affirm that our Church might have drawn from Sanskrit literature her formulas of a man's duty to God and to his neighbour. And surely this does not render them less but rather more venerable. Like the precepts of Socrates, these are now stamped with the signature of Christ, but they were no more new to the world than God was, when Christ preached them, a truth which he himself continually proclaimed.

We pass on to the every-day social life of the men described in these pages. In the piece called "the Deserted City" we catch a glimpse of them in their homes. Before Pompeii was, the deserted city of Ayodhya was painted in immortal verse, in a lament like a lament for Capernaum, a city chosen once to be the home of a God, now empty and desolate as a forsaken nest. The towers are fallen and creepers cover the marble ruins. Arch and dome are there, and within the floors are of marble and the walls frescoed with life-like scenes. Ranged in marble halls are statues of marble, tinted like life, as were those of Greece. There are shady gardens with beds of gaudy flowers, and peacocks stalking among them. In the gardens and in the streets are women, not yet immured from the light of day, but making music with their ever-tinkling zones—their dyed feet staining the marble floors. Elsewhere we have a wedding, with banners overhead and flowers strewn under foot ; and the funeral pile and burning of the dead : and in Kalidasa we have the "Suttee", when Reti vows she will die on her husband's pyre, and find it softer than a bed of flowers. The gay bazaar is painted, the boats on the river, and the public gardens "filled with glad citizens." Girls are bathing in the river, laughing and throwing water over each other. Lovers are playing like kittens, then as now :

Then would I pluck a floweret from my tress  
And beat thee till I forced thee to confess :  
While in my play the falling leaves would cover  
The eyes, the bright eyes, of my captive lover.

and in the moonlight, maidens are walking together, telling each other the stories of their loves. We have "hermit maidens" too, whose life is passed in comforting the mourners, tending their flowers and feeding the birds. The sportsman is here, the mighty hunter with his trained elephants; and we have a vivid picture of war and all its horrors. There are cavalry and infantry and scythed chariots and war-elephants:—and the war-cry, scarcely heard above the din of battle. There are archers,

And every arrow bore inscribed a name  
To tell the wounded chief his foeman's fame.

The banners are inwoven with devices of animals, and in the sharp quoit-like rings we recognize weapons characteristic even at this day. The battle itself is described, and deeds of chivalry—the brave man sparing his fallen enemy and bidding him breathe and rest—and the horrors of the field when all is over and death holds high festival. The time of peace is pictured also no less clearly. As subjects under law we see men submissive to taxation, which is compared to the sun which drinks the lakes

But gives ten thousand-fold the wealth he takes.

'King Dilipa is the author of vast works of irrigation, and in his realm theft is only a name. He is the founder and cherisher of cities and villages, and is accessible to his humblest subjects. What can be more natural than the condescension with which, as he drives through the country with his queen, he questions the country people as to the names of their plants and trees? In the fashion of dress we recognize features still unchanged,—the painted eyes and feet—flowers in the hair—the arms weighed down with bracelets—necklaces of pearl—and gems on the fingers.

This brings us to remark upon the social position accorded to women in this primitive age of the eastern world; and we are bound to confess that, judged by a modern and Christian standard, here is the great blot upon Hindu morality; a blot, as we believe, dark enough, and of an influence wide and subtle enough, to account, when taken in connection with the after flood of Mahomedanism, for the present state of the Hindu mind, degraded and priest-ridden in spite of an inheritance from a far antiquity of the noblest system of morals. We see indeed women still free, not buried with a cruel Mahomedan jealousy; but we also see the insurmountable obstacle to all ennobling influences, in the open recognition by the highest authority of a system of concubinage. We have drawn the impossible picture of the husband with his one wife, his com-

panion and the sharer of all his fortunes, and at the same time with his harem in the back-ground. Of the faultless Dilipa it is said without thought of apology, in speaking of his queen,

And if his love was shared by girls besides,  
She and dear fortune were his only brides.

Yet in another place the same king and queen are declared,

True as the love-birds, in whose faithful breast  
Save of their partner not a thought can rest.

So again the devoted love of Aja and Rama for their wives is made compatible with the same debased view of the majority of the sex. Marriage is indeed a religious ceremony, honored by rites and sacrifices, and we have a marriage scene which in all its principal features, in all that is poetical, that is, all that is essentially human about it, might pass for a description of the wedding of a Christian princess, but how different a view is taken of the bond! What faithfulness can we call that which is thought compatible with the transient amours of many mistresses? In these poems there recurs continually the purely oriental trait of the choice in marriage resting with the woman, as in the stories of Aja and Savitri; but we should have thought it small recommendation of one of the rival suitors to tell the maiden of his moonlight rambles with "his loves."

Let us notice however the significant fact that there are traces of a nobler and more reverent view of woman's position; and that these are found in the older period of the Mahabharata; while the opposite and degrading view belongs chiefly if not entirely to the later poetry of Kalidasa. It is in his Raghuvansa that we have the voluptuous Sultan with his hundred fair ones "all his own"; while in the beautiful tale of Savitri, taken from the Mahabharata, we see strikingly recognized the dignity of woman. It is a woman who prevails with the God for her husband; and throughout the Idyll it is to the nobleness of the feminine character, and to the woman's love and devoted self-abandonment that the attention is called.

We have now finally, to consider that feature of these poems which is the most striking on account of its antiquity and at the same time the most genuine outcome of a poetic mind. This is the intense love and affectionate study of the beauty of the external world. We have to bear in mind the remarkable fact that in the great poets of classic Greece we find no trace of such a feeling: not that it had never dawned upon the Greek mind, for it stands out clearly in Homer, but that it seems to have faded away before a busier civilization. In



the poems before us it grows wild, and wanders over every page in unfettered luxuriance. It is the very air which an eastern poet breathes: he speaks, as it were, in flowers and birds; and the colours and forms of nature are stamped on every line he writes. Nature has revealed herself to him in her fairest form, and he loves her as her favoured worshipper.

We must content ourselves with one or two specimens of the beautiful imagery springing from this reverent love, and the only difficulty is to choose from such a genuine "*embarras des richesses*." The piece entitled "The Flying Car" is perhaps the richest of all in these graces. As Rama floats in the car through the air, with his queen by his side, he points out to her all the charms of the scenery. His rhapsody on the sea is worthy of Mr. Swinburne:

—No bridegroom ever gave  
Close kisses fast as his, whose eager wave  
Drinks up the river's lips, and foaming o'er  
Leaps in a storm of passion on the shore.

...                      ...                      ...  
See how the billows in their furious swell  
Have cast on trees of coral many a shell,  
That clings to branches with thy lips that vie,  
And there with amorous clasp would cling and die.

And from these beauties are drawn endless and characteristic similes. The lake half-hidden by trees is like the moon half-buried in clouds,—the moon, let us observe, being with the Hindus, as with the Germans, masculine—although the sun is not, as in Germany, feminine. The wild fig bursting through marble pavements, is the anguish that cleaves the strong man's heart. Fire is a god and the wind his charioteer. The mountain is a bull, and a cavern his mouth; and the cloud on his crest is the earth torn up on his horn in fury. The meeting of Ganges and Jumna is the union of sapphires and pearls, of lotus and lily. The mountain spur is girdled by the river as by a necklace of pearls. The crimson beads of dew are like the hero's simile. Nothing escapes the rich imagination here revealed. We hear the whisper of palm trees, the wind laden with odours of flowers, the echo on the mountain. We see the sensitive lotus closing its petals at night, the gleam of torchlight on palace walls, the peafowl in their "green and gold," the startled deer, the stately swan and the "gold-shot" drake. In the deserted city are some exquisitely beautiful paintings of nature, where the spider weaves his web, and the monkey plays in the abandoned palaces, and sloughs of snakes hang on the marble statues. "The Rains" and "Autumn" overflow with similar des-

criptions. But we have not space for further extracts : enough has been said to show something of the spirit of the poems and how much of what is often most interesting in history, that is of national life and sentiment, may be gathered from a source like this ; and enough has, we think, been quoted to illustrate the skill and taste with which the translator has done his work.

We cannot part from him however without offering a suggestion for a future edition of his work, and for the promised translation of the Ramayana. The arrangement he has adopted for the few notes which are essential to an English reader is, we think, faulty. It is very awkward to be compelled to refer again and again in the course of a piece to the end of the book, to search for an explanation which one may or may not find—for no reference is made, by number or otherwise, in the body of the piece. We would suggest that foot-notes, without in the least detracting from the appearance of the book, would be an immense relief to readers. Also if each poem were headed by a short argument of the plot, much difficulty would be done away, and many would be induced to dip into the book, whom unfamiliarity with oriental legend otherwise renders shy of approach.

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- ART. VII.—1. *On the Geological structure and relations of the southern portion of the Himalayan Range*, by H. Medlicot. *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*. Vol. III, part 2, 1864.
2. *Voyages dans l'Inde, par le Prince Alexis Soltykoff*. Deux tomes. Paris, 1850.
3. *Account of Koonawar in the Himalaya*, by Captain Gerard. 1841.
4. *Report of the Forests of the Punjab and the Western Himalaya*, by H. Cleghorn. 1864.
5. *Moorcroft's Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*. 1841.
6. *Indian Atlas*.
7. *The Capital of India, with some particulars of the Geography and Climate of the Country*, by G. Campbell, c. s. 1865.

IN entering on this article, which professes to give a mere outline of the chief features of interest in and about Simla for a visitor or tourist, nothing strikes one more than the wonderful progress of events which has brought English power from the precincts of the factory of Golgotha (Calcutta) last century to the frontiers of Chinese Tartary, not only of Tartary but also of Central Asia, so that the day is near when the Anglo-Saxon and the Russian are likely to meet at a common frontier, when the interchange of ideas and the spread of traffic, with other influences, will contribute to make the Russian and the English good friends, both co-operating in the great work of diffusing a Christian civilisation over the dark places of Asia. Already, through this agency, the cross is surmounting the crescent in Bokhara and Delhi, and with, we trust, that grand desideratum secured—a good understanding between the Russian and Anglo-Indian Governments,—the Tartar and Rajput will be led to see that the peace of Asia must be kept under the ægis of those two protecting powers.

On a recent residence in Simla, nothing surprised us more than that in a place frequented by visitors for a quarter of a century

there was no guide-book for the traveller, no note-book to direct his attention to points of interest. The following paper is designed partly to supply this need. Restrictions as to space have caused various matters to be left out, but we trust there is sufficient to quicken curiosity—in subjects of natural history,—the Hill men,—the Hindusthan and Tibet Road,—and the tour from Simla to Chini. On the geology of the Himalayas in the neighbourhood of Simla, much valuable information may be found in papers contributed by Herbert and Strachey to the “Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,” vols. 3, 4, 11, 25, and the “Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society,” vols. 7, 9, 10, 19; Medlicot’s “Report on the Geology of the Western Himalayas” is published in the transactions of the Indian Geological Survey. Cautley and Falconer’s works on the *Sivalik Hills*, and their fossil *fauna* have created a strong public interest, the Sivalik Hills being shewn by them to form the tertiary strata, of which the Subathu beds constitute the base. Three hundred specimens of fossils were found in the Sivalik range in the space of an hour.

The Himalayas rise from the dead level of the plains as from an ocean. The question is still unsolved as to the causes to which the deep winding valleys owe their existence—whether to an upheaving process—atmospheric denudation during a long series of ages—or fluvial erosion, as in the Sutlej valley. The *Chor* mountain is a case in point; twenty-five miles south-east of Simla, it rises to a height of 11,982 feet, and that near the plains, but it is a problem whether this mountain is owing to a process of elevation or denudation. *Subathu* is noted for its nummulitic strata. On the cliffs near *Kasaoli* are to be seen the well preserved impressions of land plants, leaves, seeds and stems of various species; the absence of gravel shows a peculiarly tranquil condition, while the abundant remains of land plants indicate that they probably grew in the immediate neighbourhood of islands, when the Bay of Bengal rolled up its waves to Kalka.

On the natural history of the Simla range there are various books. *Thompson’s Travels in the Western Himalaya* is an admirable guide to the Botany of the Himalaya, as are also *Royle’s Illustrations of the Botany of the Himalayas*, *Jamieson’s Report of the Botanical Gardens, North-West Provinces*, 1855, *Cleghorn’s Forest Report*, 1864, *Jacquement’s Voyage dans l’Inde*. Wild thyme is in great abundance along the roads and very welcome for its fragrance. Wild strawberries small in size are numerous in the season. The various species of oak, pines, the cedar of Lebanon, the rhododendrons, the honey-suckle, ferns, cowslips, pinks, gooseberries, pears, strawberries, cherries,

grapes, apricots, apples, and walnuts are deserving of notice. Two species of the Tea-plant were found in the Sungrin valley by Dr. Gerard in 1819. The hill-dogs are covered with black wool, which is sometimes valuable; they are large and very ferocious to strangers, and require to be tied up on their approach, but they are as useful to their owners as shepherd-dogs in keeping the flocks in order. Each dog has an iron collar round his neck, to secure him against the fangs of leopards. Black bears are numerous, but more injurious to fruit than to men. Eagles and kites are in abundance. Lizards are seen in plenty on the rocks; the butterflies are very beautiful, the flies a thorough torment.

The traveller will be struck as he goes along with the wanton havoc made in the *forests*. The Rajahs for a few rupees formerly gave permission to any one to cut down the finest trees, and in the effort to convey them to the Sutlej and float them down, not more than one tree in ten arrived in safety at its destination. The Government has purchased all the forests from the Rajah of Busahir, and a strict Forest-Conservancy Department is established, though rather late; the plains will feel the effects of former neglect in the diminished rainfall which will lessen the volume of the large rivers, and in the increased destructive power of the hill torrents, when there will be few forests to moderate their impetus. Trees to line the khuds give shade and protection to the traveller proceeding along precipitous roads. The evils of this *deboisement* have been shewn very clearly in France and Russia.

The northern side of the Himalayas may be generally recognized by the growth of trees, the southern face of the mountains being generally bare and barren; this may be owing to the snow accumulating in winter on the northern flanks, which melting in summer affords plenty of moisture, while in winter it protects the trees from the severe frosts. The dip of the strata being towards the south, the soil is easily washed off the slope on that side but from the disintegration of the northern exposed edges a rich debris of soil is formed.

The *Hindusthan and Tibet road* is a noble monument to the foresight and enlarged views of the Marquis of Dalhousie, who formed the plan of it in 1850 and determined to burst through the mighty barriers of the Himalaya in order to link Chinese Tartary, Tibet and High Asia, with the plains of India. Lord Dalhousie, with that sympathy for the common people which ever distinguished him, had his attention first directed to the subject by the system of *bigar* or forced labor which was extorted from the hill people by their chiefs, who, though delivered by

English power from the Goorkha tyranny, yet like the German princes after Napoleon's time, fleeced their own subjects, while the British authorities, though they protected the chief against foreign aggression, could not so easily protect the people against the chief. In addition to this, the demand for coolies in connection with the new sanatorium of Simla called for the services of thousands who, according to the bigar system, were forced away from their families and the labors of the field to serve often as beasts of burthen to the Europeans, and though, according to the Treaty of 1815, Government were entitled to their services gratuitously, yet they were generally paid, but the money too often was taken from them by the chief.

Lord Dalhousie's view in opening throughout the valley of the Sutlej a route into Kunawar, 200 miles long from Kalka to China, was to commence commercial intercourse with Central Asia and Western China. The trade is at present in the hands of Russia, consisting chiefly in wool, borax, sulphur, churas, tea, minerals, silk. The districts furnishing these articles have had hitherto to send by Leh on the Indus, but the Sutlej valley route is nearer the source of supply, as well as free from the difficulty of high passes. On this road depends, as Moorcroft wrote many years ago, the solution of the question whether the Tibetans shall be clothed with the broadcloth of Russia or of England, whether they shall be provided with domestic utensils of copper, iron and pewter, with implements of iron and steel, with hardware of every description, from Petersburg or from Birmingham.

To appreciate the easy level and safety of this road, we ought to read Gerard's tour, in 1817, along the old road, where the traveller had to walk on a scaffolding of shaking boards along the face of a perpendicular cliff, with no support but a post driven into the rock; in other parts the road was interrupted by fragments of a granite avalanche. On one occasion Gerard writes, "I went frequently up the face of a bare rock inclined " at an angle of 20 degrees, and without any cavity for the feet; " here the utmost caution was necessary, there being a frightful " precipice on the left, and I was often obliged to crawl upon my " hands and feet at a very slow pace."

The cost of conveyance to Government in the Hill States amounted to more than 10 lakhs of Rupees previous to 1852, while to private individuals the cost of carriage by coolies from the plains to Simla, 42 miles, averaged 3 rupees for one hundred-weight; it might have been conveyed by carriage 1,000 miles for the same price, had there been a good road.

Major Kennedy of the Engineers, Military Secretary to Sir C. Napier, was the first Superintendent. His principle was to

make the road a level as far as possible—this has been carried out at the maximum gradient of 3 feet in 100, a difficult point when we consider that the Himalayas conform to a system of river basins and dividing ridges which generally extend at right angles to the main chain; the ridges have numerous subordinate ramifications, yet between each chief artery there are four connected chains of mountains from the snowy range to the plains of India, forming the water-shed lines between the Sutlej, Jumna, Ganges and Tonse.

The road had been carried 5 miles beyond Schwan when the mutiny broke out. The work was not resumed by the Punjab Government until 1862, when the good principle was adopted of abolishing the system of forced labor; the Punjab pioneer regiment was employed, but coolies could with difficulty be procured until their pay was raised to 10 rupees per mensem. In 1863-4 operations were carried on with vigor; 1,600 coolies were recruited from Jullunder and Umballa; 1,000 mules were employed to carry grain and food for these coolies from the plains to godowns established along the road and 1,000 coolie loads of iron and powder were conveyed from Simla to the interior; native doctors and tents were provided for them; but the Punjabis could not stand the climate; many deserted to the Punjab railway and hill-men supplied their places. Major Briggs, the first Engineer on this road, had to go to England in 1852, ill from incessant exposure to the sun. The road was continued and is now being carried on 3 miles beyond Pangi, 210 miles from the plains at Kalka.

The rail from Delhi to Umballa is expected to be opened by the middle of next year, this will bring Kalka at the foot of the hills within 37 miles of railway communication. We have performed the journey in 4 hours for 4 rupees, by post office van, but were there a tram-road on the American plan, the journey might be made with ease in 2 hours, thus enabling the Calcutta ditcher to emerge from his vapor bath and reach Simla by an express train in 2 days. Sir J. Lawrence has accomplished the journey in 3 days, but by means of express trains and carriages.

The Sevalik hills are crossed several miles before coming to Kalka; we then reach an elevated plain composed of loose conglomerate and alluvium, the detritus of rocks; then the line enters a series of indurated sandstone. The new road leaves Kalka to the right and gradually ascends for 14 miles to a gorge in the range of hills extending from the Sutlej to the Jumna; it passes Kasaoli 6 miles on the left and a few miles from the Lawrence Asylum founded in 1847; it winds close under Dugshai, where it was intended to pass through a tunnel 1,900

feet long. Leaving that, it passes the fertile valley of Solon ; skirts the Krole mountain on its southern flank, then through the rich valley of Bhagwin it ascends four miles to Keeri-Ghat, then skirts the volcanic cliffs of Tara Devi,\* and so on to Simla, where there is a gradient of 4 in 100. As the Government in 1866 granted 5½ lakhs to widen and improve this part of the road, it is to be hoped that carriages may soon drive over it in 9 hours to Simla from Kalka. Major Kennedy had completed 46 miles of this 5 feet wide in September, 1850, employing 80,000 laborers, though, according to the Treaty of 1815, the 19 hill chiefs were required to furnish laborers and support them ; but they, like the Zemindars of Bengal, threw all obstacles in the way and did their utmost to make the work unpopular among their subjects. The result was the Government had to pay them out of public funds at the market rate of 2 annas a day. The Government has had to pay heavily for the protection it gave to these hill chiefs, who seemed never to understand that they ought to defray the cost.

From Kalka to Simla the distance is exactly 56 miles ; the route leads through Dhurumpore 15, thence to Solon 11½, thence to Keeri-Ghat 14½, and thence to Simla 15½,—a road most picturesque and varied in scenery, a level throughout, enabling a person to reach as quickly as by the old road, though the latter is only 4½ miles *viz.*, Kalka to Kasaoli 8½, thence to Kukurhat 10, to Subathu 9, Haripore 4, Syra 8, (or Subathu to Syra 12½,) Simla 9, but it is steep and therefore progress is slow.

The new road leads, by a route of 56 miles, level enough for a buggy, to Simla, the Indian Versailles. Simla derives its name from *Shyeamalay*, the blue house, referring to a house of blue slate erected by a fakir on Jako, the first nucleus of the settlement. Gerard passed through it in 1817, but it was an obscure village and had belonged to the Jun Rana whose territory is seven or eight miles from Simla ; it was taken from him in 1815, and given

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\* "This mountain is composed of coralline magnesian limestone of fantastic shape over-hanging the road, full of fissures and caverns. They are composed of several of the primary rocks fused into a conglomerate mass. It appears either to have cooled irregularly, or after cooling to have been the scene of fresh volcanic agency, as mass is detached from mass by extensive fissures, the edges of which are not of a sharp or broken appearance, as if caused by fracture from convulsion subsequent to their formation, but rounded, as if the masses had been rubbed against each other. The fissures are in many places lined with crystals of sulphur, iron and other minerals ; mounds of black scorix are also frequent ; here also a bright vermilion powder of considerable demand amongst the natives is found, and at another place quartz veins, impregnated with iron pyrites of a bright golden hue." *Brigg's Hindusthan and Tibet Road*, page 12.



to the Patiala Rajah on account of the assistance he rendered to England in the Nepaul War; and when it was required as a sanatorium, the Rajah gave it back. It is said that an English officer, moving his Gorkha troops from Subathu to Kotghur about 1816, in passing through Simla, then a dense jungle infested by wild animals, was struck with the cool temperature of the place and brought it to notice; but the first house was built there in 1819 by Lieutenant Ross, a thatched bungalow with its walls of spars, grass and mud. In 1822, Captain Kennedy, who was Political Agent at Subathu, built a substantial dwelling which still stands, called Kennedy House. Simla gradually increased until in 1841 there were more than 100 good houses, yielding a rent from 400 to 1,500 rupees annually. In 1825 Lord Amherst visited it, and was the first Governor-General who resided here. Lord Combermere who was Commander-in-Chief came up about the same time. Their example was followed by successive Governor-Generals; Lord W. Bentinck lived where the Simla Bank is now, Lords Auckland, Ellenborough and Hardinge in what is now the Bombay Hotel, Lord Dalhousie in Kennedy House, Lord Canning in Barnes' Court, and Lord Elgin in Peterhoff, Sir J. Lawrence's residence. In 1845 the prosperity of Simla was indicated by the founding of the *Simla Bank* which has a large capital. Simla now has a population in the season of about 14,000 natives and of about 1,000 Europeans, the latter occupying 300 houses, far too many for health or convenience in so limited a space, as the sewage contaminates both the water and air. Simla is overcrowded, and may be called a *chota* Calcutta with all its narrowness and exclusiveness, involving also expensive living, except at hotels. The coolies at Simla as well as the Bunyeas are chiefly Kangra men; the former come down merely for the season, and the latter being all of one class generally combine to keep up prices. Bengalis are here as clerks, but do not like the place in the rains; one of them thus graphically describes his sufferings;—"In these hills there is a specimen of vermin, the same as young lice with wings, they are called *peshus*. In the rainy season they are in abundance; there is no protecting our carnal body from the feasting of those infernal rascals. By their bites they drive a man half mad; even the cleanest beds are infested with these rascals."

A *Municipality* was first introduced into Simla in 1852. The annual funds averaging Rs. 10,000, obtained principally from the "ground rents" are devoted to roads, drains, forests, markets, bridges, railings, and establishment. Organised arrangements for the sanitation of Simla were only introduced last year. To

meet this expenditure, and the improvements in the main bazar, a 5 per cent. assessment on house property is levied, realizing some Rs. 13,000, and this is supplemented by an annual grant of Rs. 10,000 from Government. The improvements in the main bazar have already cost some Rs. 60,000, a timely and judicious expenditure, for had the bazar remained in its former condition, cholera would doubtless have found a permanent hot-bed in its purlieus. The Municipality is composed of a Chairman, four European and two native Commissioners, elected by the house proprietors, besides the *ex-officio* members; there are eight duffadars, or sanitary inspectors, each in charge of a district, whose duty it is to visit regularly the houses in their beat and report on their sanitary condition.

The *Church* at Simla was built in 1846 by Colonel Boileau. The success of the offertory in this Church has been great this season; with collections it has realised in the short space of six months 11,500 rupees for religious and charitable objects,—showing that persons going to Simla do not abnegate their duty to be liberal givers. The Chaplain has realised few fees from marriages this year, though there were 70 spinsters at Simla,—how different from Calcutta last century when a spinster on arrival had to sit up the first three nights to hold a levée, and it was thought hard lines, if she had not concluded a match before the close of the second night! Simla has a *Circulating Library*, established in 1854 under the management of a committee; the number of volumes is about 8,000. The income this season was 5,800 rupees, the greatest number of subscribers being 230 though in winter they number only 48; 7,533 works were issued during the season, of these 5,720 were novels, 730 historical, 406 voyages and travels, 47 theological, and 620 miscellaneous. This Library is free from all encumbrances. A Government *school* attended by 90 hill boys was established 20 years ago, and is the oldest school in the Punjab.\* The flourishing

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\* The English in India ought for their own comfort, even if no higher motive actuate them, to do something to remove the ignorance of the masses, as they have to suffer the effects of the dense ignorance of the hill coolies. Take one or two anecdotes illustrative of this. In 1864 a report was spread in Simla among the coolies, that a child which was in charge of an *ayah* having been lost through her carelessness, as a punishment she was to be torn in pieces by savage English dogs in Anandale; the roads leading to it were crowded with hill men flocking to see the supposed spectacle! No later than last year at another hill station, the ladies could not go to a ball until midnight, as the *Jampanis* had bolted; a report having been spread that the Governor-General was ill at Simla and for his restoration he required oil or *Momai* made from a Jampani's body which was to be obtained by the Jampani being hung from the branch of a tree, a fire being put under him so as to make the oil percolate.

school at Jotog under the Rev. S. Slater will be removed next year into Simla, a great convenience for the inhabitants. There are two old *burial grounds* in Simla which contain the remains of some honored men, but they are consigned to jungle and decay,—should this be so?

Among the earliest tourists to Simla was a Russian Prince Soltykoff, who came out to India in 1841 *via* Suez. He was the first Russian traveller who came to India, and was well received at Bombay by Sir J. Carnac; he proceeded by a sailing vessel to Ceylon, and subsequently visited Madras, Mysore, the Nilgheris, Bangalore, and Calcutta, which he styles the “gloomy capital of India, so like St. Petersburg, with the “exception of its heat and damp; where the life of the English “is such a constant combat with death;” afterwards he visited Benares, Lucknow, Delhi, Lahore, and Ludiana, where he was the guest of Sir G. Clarke, the Political Agent. He writes with admiration of the Sikhs in “all their primitive poetry.” Arriving at Simla in May, 1842, he rented a house of six rooms at the rate of 600 rupees for the season,—very different from the present exorbitant rates. The residents in what he calls the Indian Baden-Baden or Himalayan Carlsbad, amounted then to 50 English gentlemen, and 100 English ladies with their children; and Prince Soltyk off entered with zest into English society; there was at that period neither club nor hotel. He was much amused with the large monkies who used to come in troops of a hundred near his house, but soon worried to the highest degree with Simla, he went into the interior, where the hill men with their curious dances and European features attracted his attention; the women he heard were virtuous, he describes them as “little tempting and therefore little tempted.” He proceeded to Chini *via* the Borendar Pass; the journey was then a difficult one, no trace of a road, nothing but yawning precipices, along which he was carried in a *dandi* amid eternal snows where all was death and desolation. He was charmed with Kunawar and its “secluded valleys where we find ourselves isolated from the world, “where I walked under shady avenues of vines, reposing myself “on the fresh and fragrant herbage, reposing under gigantic “trees amid the murmurs of the limpid streams.” At Chini he was struck with the Chinese features of the people. At Rampur, he found he was only 14 marches from Kashmir, but without an English pass he ascertained he would be cut to pieces by the “ferocious Sikhs.” He performed much of the journey on foot, as the road was not passable for mules, and returned to Simla after a month, when Lord Ellenborough gave a fête to commemorate the deliverance of

the prisoners from the Afghans. He left in November for Delhi, Umballa, Ferozepur and so down the Indus to Europe.

He made a second voyage in 1845-6, visiting Hyderabad, the coast of Orissa, and then Calcutta, where he was well received by Sir H. Hardinge and was the guest of Sir H. Maddock; and thence he proceeded by *palki* to Allahabad, Agra, Rajputana, and Bombay. His book is well deserving of perusal; like other Russians, he sympathised with English social and political life more than almost any foreigners—he remarks on the English in India “holding oppression as a crime the most unpardonable,” on English women’s courage exceeding any thing which he can fancy. “I have heard of instances of English women having visited the sacred sources of the Ganges and Jumna.” But he notices a defect which is now much on the increase;—“The English being very much occupied with material interests, do not much enjoy what is peculiar to India: in general they despise all that which differs from the ideas received in their own country; near English habitations all that which recalls India is carefully avoided.”

Simla has increased very much of late owing to the location of the Government there during the unhealthy season of Calcutta; this involves an expenditure of three lakhs, but is more than compensated by the increased work which the Heads of Departments can get through in a good climate and the enormous saving in time and expense by having the administrative and legislative offices concentrated round the Viceroy. Business is not now in arrear as it used to be, when successive Governor-Generals new to the country were separated from their responsible advisers. Sir J. Lawrence has therefore rendered great service to the interests of India at large by breaking up the monopoly which Calcutta laid claim to of being *the* Presidency and the focus of public opinion,\* though we could never see what public opinion

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\* Judge Campbell’s pamphlet on the Capital of India has not received the attention it deserves. We quote the following strong arguments against Calcutta being the capital. “No Governor-General for at least a whole generation has spent more than a fraction of his term in Calcutta, except Lord Canning, who was compelled to do so by events and who died from Indian disease, abscess of the liver, as certainly as if he had remained a few weeks longer in Calcutta and died there. A more frightful combination of heat, stagnant moisture and dirt probably does not exist on the face of the earth. Look at the horrible contents of all the tanks and receptacles of the dreadful water which oozes out of the soil and combines with filth and slimy vegetation. The paleness of the European children, as contrasted with up-country children, is remarked by every passer by. The development of the Bengali mind

there was in Calcutta which, however valuable for the Bengal Government, could be any real guide to the *Imperial* Government. It is certainly not that of Bengalees and the handful of European merchants and tradesmen, who, naturally anxious to realise a fortune and retire from a hostile climate as speedily as possible, have neither time nor opportunity to attend to matters relating to other Presidencies.

Simla answers very well for a *transition* state as a seat of Government, but we believe for the following reasons it will not do as a permanent capital,—it is too isolated, too faraway from the influence of native opinion, *i. e.*, of the real natives of the country, the men who will by and bye take the lead, the Sikhs, the Mahrattas, the Rajputs, the Parsees, the Punjabis. During the last season there was not one native of influence and intelligence residing at Simla, and yet we had two English members of Council at the head of most important departments of Government, the financial and legislative, themselves new to the country, without any control of native opinion; surely the mutiny has not taught the lesson that it is safe to ignore native opinion. Simla does not comply with the following requisitions for a capital laid down by Judge Campbell in his able pamphlet, “The Capital of India”;—\* 1, A central position, geographically and politically, and easily accessible from the different parts of India; 2, Within easy reach of the sea, so as to have direct and rapid communication with Europe; 3, Climate temperate, not too damp or rainy; 4, A roomy site to afford space for some settlement; 5, Within reach of the influences of public opinion.

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taking for the most part a purely intellectual direction, the race is not of the same political importance as some other Indian races intellectually inferior, and is in no way a normal specimen of the natives of India, from which the Government can safely judge the tone of the remainder. There seems a want of practical aptitude about the Bengali intellect and character. Bombay is beyond all doubt destined to be the port of India. Instead of the present great route from Calcutta to the Upper Provinces, the grand route will be from Bombay through Central India to the Upper and Northern and even Eastern Provinces and the second important route will be from Bombay to the South. Bombay and not Calcutta must then be the main starting point and basis of military, commercial, industrial and social enterprise in the interior of India. Calcutta will then be only the prosperous capital of rich Bengal. Capital or no capital, the moment the railways from Bombay are open, the whole of our military arrangements (as of every thing else) must be inverted, the European troops for the supply of the whole of the interior of India arriving, and departing by Bombay, which is not only so much nearer to England, but will be also more and more convenient to all the great stations of the north, the centre and the interior of Peninsular India. The Calcutta route will only be used by a regiment proceeding to garrison Fort William.”

The view of English tradesmen in Simla suggests a question, on which much has been written both in England and India,—the field opened in the hills for European colonization,—a measure certainly desirable if practicable—but where are the waste lands? One has only to see the crevices and crags brought into cultivation by the hill men to be convinced that the beef-eating, beer-drinking European could not afford to compete with them; besides, what would he and his family do when snowed up for five months in the year? Dr. Cleghorn in his Forest Report remarks on the hill men's cultivation; "Agriculture is capable of little extension from the precipitous character of the hills, and the small proportion of all the available land; all the available ground is laid out in terraces, cultivation is carried on with great care; as soon as the snow melts, the planting commences, and the women are sent out with baskets of manure which has been collected in the lower parts of the house." Capitalists may thrive in certain parts of the hills but colonists cannot; though Simla has been a chosen spot for many years, yet it has no European baker or carpenter or blacksmith, nor could they eke out a living; while a first class native tailor costs only 15 rupees a month, and lives on one-third of that sum, a European has no chance. The chief store-shops of Simla are kept by natives, the only things of which the colonist can keep the monopoly, are European articles on which an enormous profit has to be drawn, otherwise how could he live at the rate of 1,000 rupees a month, when his neighbour, the Parsee, lives on 50 rupees a month. We have one class who would be colonists in this country,—the loafers, but the sooner they are deported the better; India needs European capitalists, if they would come; but not a class of low European adventurers, who generally become noted for their drunken profligate habits and bad treatment of the natives, bringing the European character and Christian name into greater contempt than it has ever been.

Much could be written on the social history of Simla, but we pass on to Chini as we are anxious to encourage all visitors to Simla to go to Chini not only for a tour, but also for health and a view of its sublime scenery. We would first give a few suggestions for the journey, the result of our experience and that of others. Never employ coolies, if you can help it; coolies simply cause delay in procuring them and worry from their lingering on the road; a pony for yourself is cheaper in the long run than coolies, while for your baggage mules are procurable at 8 annas a day's stage and 4 annas for return fare, should you remain at Chini. To bed at 9, up again at 4, then coffee and eggs, and on the march by 5, when the weather is cool and the road

shaded,—take a siesta at midday. Procure a folding-bed, metallic cups, saucers and tumblers, matches, and a night-lamp, Never ask a native for a description either of distances on the road or its state, you hardly ever get correct information.

The following is a list of the *Stages* on the road.

*Dák Bungalows between Simla and Kotghur.*

|   | <i>Name.</i>    | <i>Distance.</i>    | <i>Height above Sea.</i> |
|---|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Mahasy</i>   | 10 miles from Simla | ... 8,200 feet.          |
| 2 | <i>Phagu</i>    | 15 —                | ... 8,200 "              |
| 3 | <i>Theog</i>    | 7 „ Phagu           | ... 7,700 "              |
| 4 | <i>Mutteana</i> | 11 „ Theog          | ... 7,220 "              |
| 5 | <i>Narkanda</i> | 12 „ Mutteana       | ... 9,000 "              |
| 6 | <i>Kotghur</i>  | 9½ „ Narkanda       | ... 6,600 "              |

*Road Bungalows from Kotghur to Chini.*

|    |                |               |             |
|----|----------------|---------------|-------------|
| 7  | <i>Nirit</i>   | 11½ „ Kotghur | ... 8,012 " |
| 8  | <i>Rampur</i>  | 12 „ Nirit    | ... 8,360 " |
| 9  | <i>Gaura</i>   | 9 „ Rampur    | ... 6,023 " |
| 10 | <i>Serahan</i> | 13 „ Gaura    | ... 7,200 " |
| 11 | <i>Taranda</i> | 13 „ Serahan  | ... 7,080 " |
| 12 | <i>Paynda</i>  | 5 „ Taranda   | ... 7,000 " |
| 13 | <i>Nachar</i>  | 4 „ Paynda    | ... 6,920 " |
| 14 | <i>Chagaon</i> | 10 „ Nachar   | ... 7,220 " |
| 15 | <i>Urni</i>    | 5 „ Chagaon   | ... 8,500 " |
| 16 | <i>Rogi</i>    | 10 „ Urni     | ... 9,000 " |
| 17 | <i>Chini</i>   | 3 „ Rogi      | ... 9,069 " |
| 18 | <i>Pangi</i>   | 7 „ Chini     | ... 9,000 " |

We give now some brief notes we made on our route from Simla to the frontiers of Chinese Tartary, and trust they may encourage many to follow in the same track.

Leaving Simla by the Lukkur bazar and Elysium, we skirt along the back of Jako, the highest mountain near Simla rising 8,000 feet, and pass close to a spur which is crowned by the convent and military offices; two and a half miles beyond Simla, we reach the Mahasu tunnel 550 feet long, made through the spur of a steep mountain. It was excavated in 1852 by the labor of 10,000 convicts and 8,450 free laborers contributed by the chiefs, the cost to Government was consequently only 611 rupees; it would now exceed 15,000 rupees. We soon come to the old road which makes a gradual and very beautiful ascent, passing on the left Sir W. Mansfield's picturesque residence amid lovely scenery, notorious for the miserable Jervis quarrel, and then ascend to the remains of an old forest which may now be called the land of potatoes, as every nook of soil is planted with them by the hill men, who, though fond of eating them, find it more profitable to transport them for sale to Simla and the plains.

The new road to Phagu is five miles longer than the old one, but is exceedingly picturesque, and near Phagu the cliffs have been cut down to the depth of 120 feet. *Phagu* bungalow in the territory of the Rana of Kota, is situated on an eminence commanding, in the morning especially, a magnificent view of the snowy range stretching along the horizon like a grand panorama. From Phagu there is a road passable for mules, leading to Masuri by Synge, Kot Khai, Deora, Chapal, Chambi, nine stages in all, in some parts low in the valleys, but affording an opportunity of visiting Shali, a favorite mountain for tourists.

A winding road leads to *Theog*; part of it has been blasted out of the cliffs which we meet here for the first time. Near *Theog* is a *Killa* or hill fort belonging to the Rana of *Theog*, which commands a wide field of view. Ten miles east of *Theog* are the *Khit Khai* iron mines; like those near *Kundrela*, they have magnetic iron similar to that found in Norway and Sweden and much prized for its malleability in the Indian market; these mines have been worked for a long time by the hill men; 20 miles east of them are the *Shial* iron mines which Major Briggs worked in 1854; he states they might produce iron at the same rate as those of *Glasgow* and of a superior quality.

The road from *Theog* to *Mutteana* winds very prettily in the first part through a forest, the next portion is blasted for several miles through the cliffs. About 4 miles from *Theog* is the spot where a few years ago General Brind's wife met her death. She was sketching on horseback at the edge of a precipice; the horse started at some stones falling from the cliff and through confusion in pulling the reins in the wrong direction, the lady, horse and syce rolled down the khud and were dashed to pieces.

*Mutteana* bungalow is situated in front of a lovely dell; before coming to it, we pass along a road blasted for two miles out of a steep precipice; a 10 feet road now runs along cliffs where formerly a goat could not stand.

The next stage to *Narkanda* is equally picturesque and beautiful; about three miles S. W. of *Narkanda* is to be seen a small trap dyke in mica schist. The name *Narkanda* is a corruption of *Nagkanda* or the head of the snake—serpent worship was common formerly among the aborigines in the *Himalayas* as well as in Central India and *Assam*. *Narkanda* is 9,500 feet high. From its comfortable bungalow of six rooms, there is a splendid panorama of the snowy range and of the valleys sloping down to the *Sutlej*. *Narkanda* is so superior to *Simla*, in health and scenery that it is often resorted to by individuals as a salutary change from over-crowded malarious



Simla; it will be more so when dear bought experience shall have shown the evils of a Simla residence in the rains.

The road from Narkanda to Kotghur passes through a picturesque forest along the northern face of mount *Hatu*. A pony takes one in an hour to within a mile of the top, the ascent from that is precipitous, but the clear view of the snowy range in the morning fully compensates for the labor of climbing this mountain, which is 10,600 feet above the sea level, commanding a wide field of vision, among other things of 50 hill forts recalling the days of feudal oppression and rapine. On the top of the hill are the remains of two forts built by the Goorkhas, when they held the country. At the foot of *Hatu* the new road turns off *via* Bhagi joining the old road near Serahan. This road involved Government in a very heavy expense in blasting operations and bridges, and is now closed; after enormous sums had been spent, the Engineers discovered that the natives would not use it, for though carried over a plateau, it was 23 miles longer than the old steep road by the Sulej valley, and after all this waste the Government had to resort to the old line which they widened at a cost of only 23,000 rupees. So much for certain English theories about India. The authorities have however learned by experience, and the plan laid down for the road beyond Kotghur to Chini is not to sacrifice everything to having a level, involving enormous length, but to improve and widen the old road even though it be occasionally steep.

A gradual descent through beautiful forests leads to Kotghur. We exchange the healthy bracing atmosphere of Narkanda for the heat, damp and mist of Kotghur (we refer to it in the rainy season); and after passing a tea plantation more beautiful to the eye than profitable to the owner, we proceed by a narrow path to the Dāk Bungalow 3,000 feet below the level of that at Narkanda.

*Kotghur* is a village inhabited by hill people, but in former years it had a fort occupied by the English with two companies of the Nusseri battalion, commanded by Captain Gerard, who with his brother contributed 50 years ago much accurate information about this district. Like other old Indians of that day, they entered warmly into inquiries on the condition of the hill people. Captain Gerard was another Cleveland in this respect, and his book on Kunawar is still the best guide to the country.

The Goorkhas and Sikhs inflicted much mischief on this part of the country; in the time of the latter, a Kulu man that entered the Mandi district was liable to be cut to pieces, but now all is peaceful;

rice cultivation and trade occupy the people and Kotghur has become a station of the Church Missionary Society, a mission having been founded here more than 20 years ago at the suggestion of W. Gorton, Esq., who contributed 20,000 rupees to the object. He was one of that almost extinct class of Anglo-Indians, who made India the home of their choice and of their philanthropic enterprise, who gave not only their best days but also their savings to the welfare of its native population. There is an interesting school attached to the mission, attended by hill boys, who shew both intelligence and docility, and there are 18 schools in the neighbouring villages; a church is to be erected and a system of itinerancy is to be entered on, though the latter is difficult owing to the physical state of the country.

The Sutlej may be heard roaring at a distance of 4,000 feet below the village, from which a fine view is presented of Kulu and its mountains, which have become British territory since 1845, that fatal year when Kashmir and Ladak were made over to Golas Sing; in consequence cruelty and extortion became rampant and every species of impediment was thrown in the way of trade. An abrupt and pretty descent of 3,500 feet, very zig-zag amidst beautiful woods of pine, oak and yew, commanding a view of Kulu in front, Komarsen to the left and the Sutlej below, leads to the valley of the Sutlej; half way down we cross the Beara stream, the boundary of the British possessions. Though the Sutlej is 3,000 feet above the sea level, yet it has the closeness and damp of the Bengal climate; we in consequence marched through the low part of it by night.

The Sutlej valley, though so interesting to the naturalist and to the lover of grand scenery, seems to be the *ultima Thule* of the cockneys of Simla, who generally end their picnic excursions at Narkanda in view of it. Anglo-Indians have very little of that enterprise of travel which prompts their countrymen in England to join Alpine clubs and to explore all the nooks and corners of the Continent. How the scenery of the Sutlej valley would be appreciated by men of this class. Gerard has given us a very able description of it; he writes: "The scenery of this valley partakes more of the magnificent than of the beautiful: here every thing is on the grandest scale; fragments of fallen rocks of immense bulk hurled from the peaks above, and vast impending cliffs fringed with dark forests, and topped with mountains of indestructible snow, appear on every side; villages perched among the crags without a single patch of verdure around, and now and then a more populous place environed with fields and orchards are what is most common: a solitary house with a small piece of cultivation or a few

" vineyards attached but seldom attracts the eye of the observer. " The character of the Sutlej is more of the nature of a " torrent than of a large river, for its fall in several places " is 100 or 150 feet per mile, and it rushes over rocks with " clamorous noise and exhibits heaps of white foam. In " some places however the prospect is highly picturesque ; " for instance, in the vicinity of Reding, where the ground for " some miles is adorned with smiling fields and flourishing " vineyards and orchards and the finest apricots and apples ; in " places the bed of the Sutlej is broad, variegated with islands of " sand and pebbles and directed into various serpentine channels. " The situation of many of the houses is uncommonly romantic, " upon the side of sunny banks covered with a carpet of " the most fragrant flowers, or in sequestered dells surrounded " with high mountains towering to the skies, some presenting " bare faces of granite or craggy heights threatening destruc- " tion to the peaceful flocks, while others are crowned with " purple snow. The contrast of this with the dark forest of oak " covered with mosses and lichens streaming in the wind, inter- " spersed with the light green foliage of the pine and topped " with yellow covered belts of birch and rhododendron in full " bloom form the grandest scenery imaginable ; in summer the " calm of these delightful spots is charming and it is here " that the rose, raspberry, black currant and strawberry are found " in the highest perfection, upon the banks of limpid streams " that descend from the melted snows."

Nor is this valley to be regarded merely in point of scenery ; it is the great artery which through the Hindusthan and Tibet road is to open out Chinese Tartary to the plains below Simla ; it is now a source of supply for railway sleepers.\*

The Sutlej is the longest of the Punjab rivers ; rising in the holy lake of Mansorawar, its average fall from Kanum to Wangtu is 50 feet per mile, and from Wangtu to Bilaspur the same. Passing along the plains of Tartary it works out for itself a granite bed below the snowy range ; at Bilaspur it is only 1,510 feet above the sea level. A century ago an avalanche stopped the river for a month, and when it gave way the town of Bilaspur was swept away by the torrent. This valley is a valley of erosion, *i. e.*, it has been scooped out by the river. Gerard and Thompson prove this, and traces of it are to be seen in the ground at various heights being covered with pebbles of

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\* See Cleghorn's Forest Report, pp. 55-63, on the principal plants of the Sutlej valley.

granite and limestone and mica slate, with round stones of many kinds embedded in clay.\*

Continuing on a pretty level road by the side of the Sutlej, we come to the village of *Nirat* having 20 houses occupied by Brahman families. The traveller has here to accommodate himself in a large *devatra* or God's house, open to all comers as well as to the weather, and where the God is exhibited on certain festivals; the women may be seen engaged in what is in the hills a common amusement—the sports of the head. The road leads at various heights along rocky banks, the river foaming below with its white muddy waters against the immense boulders which are to be found in all parts of its channel. The valley is narrow and the air close, as may be seen by the simul and pipul trees, which are so common in Bengal, being found along the road side; rice fields are also frequently met with—rice seldom grows higher than 6,000 feet above the sea level.

*Rampur*, 12 miles from *Nirat*, shut in a gorge of the mountain and elevated on a terrace above the Sutlej, strikes the eye with its curious slated roofs and galleries Tartar-looking; the high and precipitous mountains which frown over it leave a passage for the river and for the sun which in November is seen only between 11 and 3. A *Jhula* or suspension bridge, 211 feet in length, connects it with *Kulu*. The town has a population of 3,000, and carries on a trade with Tibet, Ladak and *Kulu*, chiefly in shawl wool; it manufactures white soft shawl cloths. There are fairs held here in November and May. *Spiti* ponies, wool and *Rampur chuddars* form part of the trade; commodities from *Spiti*, *Yarkand*, Tibet are transported to it and are exchanged or sold to the merchants from the plains. Captain Lang in his report states, "In November there appears to be one continuous flock of millions of sheep and goats extending from *Rampur* to *Pangi*, and the traveller who in summer had thought the traffic to be nil, would now believe the trade to be of vast magnitude." The Tartar may then be seen putting the wool in one scale and receiving its weight in the other in tobacco or coarse sugar. There is a *mela* held here in December called the *Dál mela* because frequented by one representative from each *Zemindar's* house armed with a *dál* or shield. The flourishing state of things now under British rule is a contrast to what a writer in 1822 describes. "The marks of Nepal oppression

\* For further information on this valley consult Cunningham's Notes, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1844. Madden's Excursion, Do., 1845. Hill Trip, Vols. VI and X pp. 198, VIII pp. 901 and 409, 1861, pp. 481. Asiatic Researches, XV.

"constantly meet the eye, in the depopulated and decayed houses "in Lahul." The opposite side in Kulu still retains marks of former days, when every mountain peak was fortified. The Raja of Rampur, Samshed Sing, lives in a house built in the Chinese style of architecture; he was educated by a Bengali Babu who improved him in English, though his morals suffered.

A mile and a half beyond Rampur is a road bungalow, close and warm at night but situated on the banks of the roaring Sutlej. The ascent commences here. There are evident traces that the ancient river bed was 150 feet higher than it is at present. The road becomes quite steep, in some places overhanging the river which dashes along several thousand feet below; it passes over a steep part called the Goura staircase made with wooden steps to secure the earth; the view is varied and picturesque and we arrive at the Goura road bungalow nine miles distant situated on a well wooded slope, 2,500 feet above Rampur.

Leaving Goura and passing through a forest of oak and deodar, we come after five miles' journey to the steep ravine of Manglad; crumbling mica slate rocks are abundant; the ascent is very precipitous and fatiguing, and at the top we meet the new road from Narkanda, now closed—a piece of engineering folly. When Gerard crossed the rapid torrent of Manglad in 1817, he writes, "a rotten *sanga* (bridge) consisting of ten "fir trees about a foot apart with small twigs and slates laid "across the descent of the stream, was at such an angle that "we frequently slid many feet at a time."

Thirteen miles from Goura is the *Serahan* road bungalow 7,000 feet above the sea level, prettily situated in the midst of a beautiful and well cultivated country, with the snowy range towering majestically in front. There are hot and cold springs situated within a few miles of the bungalow, while the summer residence of the Raja of Rampur is only a mile distant. Close to the bungalow is a stream of most delicious water; a refreshing bath can be enjoyed here, but beware of placing your clothes on the ground which swarms with vermin. The flourishing state of this country now contrasts with what it was in 1822, when numbers of people were driven out of house and home, and had to live under the shelter of rocks near Sehwan. Close to Sehwan is the temple of Bhumi Kali styled the goddess of Busahir. Human sacrifices used to be offered to her before the British conquest of 1815, which stopped Brahminical ascendancy. An old writer remarks, "Beyond Serahan none of the Brahman caste could be seen "towards Kunawar, which may account for the superior "comfort and morality of the people."

For three miles we wind round the valley until we come to a stone cross with the initials A. H. L., marking the spot where in August, 1864, Sir A. Lawrence, son of Sir H. Lawrence, met his death, owing to the road planking which rested on iron stanchions giving way, when both horse and rider were precipitated down a gulph, and both met an instantaneous death. Sir Alexander that day rode at a rapid pace on a high whaler, and the timbers gave way under the pressure of both. Since that lamentable event these dangerous wooden galleries have been done away with along the whole road, and instead a solid road has been blasted through the rock which has saved the lives and nerves of many. A few miles from this we come on the old road widened out, full of ups and downs, now in the clouds and again in the valleys, with here and there wooden steps to retain the soil. Ascending a steep and picturesque hill we come to a forest of deodars, which stretches some 70 miles beyond on both sides of the valley, but they are doomed like other giants of the forest to fall before the wood-cutter.

*Turanda* road bungalow, 15 miles from Serahan, is enclosed in a narrow valley close to the Sutlej. Women begin from this place to carry the baggage; they look dirty and ugly. A short distance beyond this, lower Kunawar begins. A route precipitous but beautiful—in parts hanging perpendicularly over the Sutlej—leads over the Saldorga stream to the beautifully situated Poynda road bungalow; beyond it there are some fine shady pine groves and the deodar forest of Sangri. Near Poynda is Wangpo, a large mountain torrent which forms some very fine water-falls, the noise of which is heard at a great distance.

*Nachar* is noted for its fine deodar forests; we found here some trees, four feet from the ground, 24 feet in circumference and probably 250 years old. Black bears are to be met with in the forest. The Deputy Conservator of Forests has his head-quarters at Nachar: travellers can be accommodated as in Nirat in the God's house, which is dry and large. A steep zig-zag and fatiguing descent of three miles leads from Nachar to Wangtu 4,000 feet lower; on the way may be seen one of those slides by which the logs are rolled from the forest into the Sutlej, this one has a slope of 2 miles and then a sheer perpendicular descent of 70 feet into the Sutlej.

At *Wangtu* the river, 88 feet wide and 5,200 above the sea level, is crossed by a wooden bridge, the only one in Kunawar by which sheep and mules can cross, and therefore of vital importance to the trader in wool and grain; it was completed in 1848. After crossing the Wangtu bridge, the road leads by

a wooden gallery (the only one on the route) along the face of a high precipitous and smooth worn cliff, over-hanging the Sutlej. Close to it is the entrance of the Wanger valley which leads to Spiti and the frozen lake; the waterfall here is very grand. On the right we pass a place where the Kunawaris years ago defeated the Goorkhas. The road runs close to the Sutlej until it ascends steeply to Chagaon.\* Urni road bungalow, three miles beyond, is charmingly situated on the side of a hill commanding a fine view of a reach of the Sutlej. At the foot of the road the Miru torrent rolls along its waters, which take their rise in the snows. The road is winding and picturesque; a few miles beyond Urni we see in the distance on the right the Harang pass. But now the great wonder of the hills, in fact of India, arises to view,—the road blasted through the Rogi cliffs for a distance of four miles at an elevation of 10,000 feet above the sea level, a monument not only of the perseverance of the Engineers, but also of the skill of the hill men who during its formation were to be seen perched by hundreds on dizzy pinnacles, boring for blasts, suspended on narrow planks over the abyss or crawling along a place where a goat could scarcely find footing. In one part there is a perpendicular drop of 1,500 feet, with a further steep descent of 2,500 feet to the Sutlej. This may be called one of the wonders of the world in road making, yet few of the English can leave the picnics and dinner parties at Simla for such scenery as is presented here, though the Rogi cliff road rivals Napoleon's *Simplan*. Gerard describes the old road in 1817, as "shocking beyond description, ascents and descents upon rugged stones."

Passing these steep and dizzy paths where the brain reels in looking down, we see on the right the junction of the Baspu with the Sutlej, and come to the road bungalow of Rogi situated at the head of a lovely valley, which slopes down rich in cultivation to the Sutlej. The vine cultivation begins here; there are 18 species of the vine cultivated at Kunawar: formerly 60 lbs. of grapes were sold for a rupee. The apple orchards are very fine. At Kand there occurred a few years ago a landslip, which swept several villages and 160 sheep into the Sutlej.

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\* Gerard who travelled here in September, 1817 remarks, "From Wangtu to Chagaon the road is in some places so bad as to be scarcely practicable for any animal except a goat or a monkey. In a few places, the stones, which project hardly two inches from a perpendicular rock, form the only resting place for the foot, whilst on the other side is a steep precipice. Many a goat and sheep were lost on these roads, in many cases only frail staircases, precipitous ascents, narrow and dangerous ledges along the cliffs."

Beyond Rogi, the road is blasted for half a mile through very steep cliffs, and we come to a beautiful country, a forest on one side, the snowy peaks on the other and the bungalow of Chini in front. This bungalow was occupied by the Marquis of Dalhousie, when he spent the hot weather and rains of 1854 here with great advantage to his health. It contains ample accommodation for five families. We trust the day is not distant when this may be made a sanitarium in the rains; the blue sky and freedom from the fogs and damp of Simla ought to be a strong recommendation\* for it. There is a good road to it of 14 marches from Simla; the journey can be made in 10 days, while a three months' supply of provisions can be easily taken on mules.

Passing through a lovely forest chiefly of Kalmung trees with the Sutlej and snowy range close on the right, the road leads to the Kozhrug, a mountain torrent, and then by a steep ascent to the *Pangi* road bungalow, perched on an eminence which commands a most noble view; 10 miles distant lies the Kylas mountain, rising straight up from the Sutlej river to the height of 22,000 feet, with its two peaks, it presents a grand sight. According to Hindu myth it is not approachable by mortal footsteps; everlasting snow lies on its summit, while its sides are lined with glaciers distinctly visible from the bungalow. We witnessed the interesting sight of an avalanche rolling down its side. *Pangi* contains a Buddhist temple, the relic of a religion which for seven centuries was predominant in India.

The Hindustan and Tibet road has been completed two miles beyond *Pangi*, 209 miles from the plains; blasting is being carried on through the cliffs which overhang the Sutlej; the difficulty of securing labour in this remote district, but above all the want of funds are an impediment to its speedy completion; it is to be hoped that a work which has already cost so much and which can be comparatively of little use, until it taps Chinese Tartary, will be zealously prosecuted. Only 50 miles further work remains, and then *Shipki* is reached.

Beyond *Shipki* the routes are passable for beasts of burthen and are now traversed by yaks, ponies and donkies. We did not proceed beyond *Pangi*, but the aspect of the country is described as changing, the mountains looking bare and desolate with few trees. The old road leading to *Poari*, seven miles, crosses the Sutlej by a *jhula* near the *Manara*, or Tibetan monument to dead persons of note; the praying wheel is to be seen. *Kanum* is two marches beyond *Chini*. The deodar

† See on this subject the "Annals of Indian Medical Science," Vol. I 1854. Report of the Sanitary Establishment for European troops in India No. 1, pp. 73, Calcutta, 1861.



ceases to flourish here; it is the seat of several Buddhist monasteries, one containing in Gerard's time 36 lamas and a convent of 25 nuns. Ksoma de Koros spent four years here. *Poari* is a station of the Moravian Missionaries.\* Beyond *Numqi* the river has a slope of 150 feet per mile; no wonder it pulverises the solid granite.

The Chinese territory is entered by a pass 13,500 feet high leading to *Shipki* which is strictly guarded. The Chinese have regular and rapid posts; in order to secure speed they seal the despatches to the back of the rider, so that it is his interest to ride as quickly as possible to the next stage in order to be relieved.

The traveller now, owing to Chinese exclusiveness, cannot proceed beyond *Shipki*, a populous Chinese town 10,600 feet above the sea level. Guards from *Lassa* watch the post. Here broad tracks are met with, formed from the most ancient times by the constant passage of horses and other baggage animals; they communicate with Central Asia and Western China, and the only difficulty they present is that incidental to thinly populated countries at a general elevation of 15,000 feet. But the day is not far distant when this barrier will be broken down through combined Russian and English influence. Three years ago *Yarkand* and *Koten*, Mussulman states, threw off the Chinese yoke and this must lead to good.

England has scope enough in her 200 millions of Indian subjects, and with Russia must mainly rest the task of preparing the way for commercial intercourse between Central Europe, Central Asia and the countries north of the Himalayas. Nor need this be viewed with jealousy. As Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of "Jullunder, remarks:—Russia, when seen nearer, is not to be so much dreaded as a rival in commerce. There are causes at work in the abolition of serfdom and the general movement in favor of liberty, which will give ample employment to all their factories and merchants, to supply the newly stimulated wants of their own countrymen, so that little will be left to export for sometime to come. Already English merchants are spoiling their trade by entering Asia from the Black Sea." As early as 1821 the Russians were known on the confines of *Busahir* by the name of *Droos*, and an active trade was then carried on between the Russians and *Ladak*, *via* *Yarkand*. Russian felt, beads, combs, amber, clothes and leather found their way to *Busahir*; Russian toys were occasionally to be seen at the *Rampur* fair, as well as

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\* Recently established. A school has been founded and the Missionary has secured the confidence of the people by the medical aid he imparts. There is another mission at *Kyelang* in *Lahul*, where the Missionaries itinerate in the summer and work two lithographic presses in the winter.

Russian gold ornaments in the Subathu bazar. It is proposed by the Punjab Government, in order to give England her due share in this, to establish a fair at Chango on the frontier, but the carrying out this and other plans depends on the completion of the Tibetan road.

The vine trade might be made a profitable concern here; there are 18 different kinds of vines cultivated, and in Gerard's time about 1821, grapes used to sell at 70 lbs. for the rupee. Apples grow at Jagnee equal in flavour to the Peshawar ones.

We trust this route we have sketched out will be ere long a beaten track, especially by invalids. The beauty of the climate of Chini is in marked contrast with that of Simla, which, though excellent in the hot weather and after the rains, yet bears a bad character during the rains. So long ago as 1851, Dr. Grant, Lord Dalhousie's physician, thus reports of Simla:—

"The deep ravines and water-courses which intersect all the hills, are dry during the greater part of the year; the heated air ascends from their confined gorges, bringing in the rainy season dense clouds of mist, which are doubtless excellent media for the transmission of the miasmal exhalations that are generated in such places by moist warmth acting upon an abundant vegetation. The nights are cold as well as damp, and exposure to the night air causes hepatic congestion and functional derangement. Few persons escape an attack of diarrhoea called in slang phrase the "Simla trots." The cold moist atmosphere and the great and sudden vicissitudes of temperature by which perspiration is checked, leading to internal congestion, large and impeded circulation in the liver and functional derangement of that organ; there is in these hills a malarious atmospheric taint; there prevails a severe colic which attacks natives, chiefly the Dhobeas of Simla, whose occupations lead them to visit the water-course of the deep ravines in this group of hills. Dr. Watt ascribes it to intense miasmal poisoning of the blood."

The remedy recommended to invalids by Dr. Grant is to spend the rainy season at Chini; he thus writes respecting this question:—

"It is well known that the results of the various convalescent depôts has been disappointing. My own impression is that, to render the sanatory experiment completely successful, we must advance further into the interior of the Himalayas; and instead of confining the stations to the mountain ranges that border on the plains, where the climate and vegetation have much of a tropical character, we must advance beyond the influence of the periodic rains to the vicinity of the

"snowy ranges, where we possess a climate as bracing and as healthy as that of Switzerland with a soil equally productive, and scenery equally grand. At a distance from Simla of less than 100 miles in a direct line, and only 140 miles by the old route, we find in the interior of Kunawar elevated and temperate slopes on some of the vast mountain ranges, which skirt the right bank of the Sutlej, and these sheltered and comparatively fertile spots are now being made accessible by means of the new Hindusthan and Tibet road; instead of an atmosphere super-saturated with moisture and gloomy and depressing, we have here throughout the whole hot and rainy seasons of the plains, a climate, dry, elastic and invigorating; the sky is generally of a clear azure colour, and when mists arise they are attracted by the lofty snow-clad peaks, and rarely descend into the valleys; the showers of rain are few and gentle, and besides this almost complete absence of humidity, there is no evidence of miasmatic contamination.\* The climate is powerfully tonic, appetite and digestion are improved, the languid pulse increases in force, the tone of the mind is restored, and there is a buoyancy and elevation of spirits, and a lightness and freedom about the chest which we rarely feel in the plains; instead of the slow and uncertain convalescence at Simla, where we experience all the disadvantages of humidity in excess, there is immediate and manifest relief from the change; we are stimulated to bodily exercise, and so dry is the climate and so modified is the temperature by the proximity of the snowy ranges, that we may expose ourselves both by day and night with impunity; even the shade of a tree forms a cool retreat, and most travellers have no other protection than a small flimsy tent which when rolled up does not form a coolie's load.

"In fact it were difficult to find a climate more congenial to the feelings or more calculated to restore the invalid, and as yet the results of experience fully warrant the warmest eulogy of it; for cases of chronic bowel complaint, and that large class of rheumatic and syphilitic affection, which is rarely benefited and often aggravated by residence at our

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"\* In 1849 I suffered at Simla from repeated attacks of intermittent fever, and also from the expense of the place; next year at Chini in Kunawar I had, although thus pre-disposed to both diseases, no attack of either. I found that the fresh grapes had a decidedly astringent and alterative effect on the system. I may add that on the summit of the same mountain, on which these grapes are grown, there is a perpetual supply of snow in places easily accessible; a cooly will bring the day's supply every morning."

“ present hill sanatoria it is admirably suited,\* so also with  
“ cachetic subjects, and those suffering from periodic fever  
“ and its sequelæ; the only exceptional cases could be diseases  
“ of the heart, and a few of the lungs, when the stimulus of  
“ a rarified atmosphere is injurious.

“ When this magnificent region, as yet little frequented, has  
“ been made easily accessible, it is much to be desired that  
“ *a convalescent depôt should be established in it.* There are  
“ few obstacles in the way of such an experiment; the additional  
“ expense to be incurred by its remote position, would be  
“ fully counterbalanced by the favorable results that might  
“ be confidently anticipated; supplies that are now dear will  
“ be cheapened by the opening out of the new road; wood is  
“ plentiful on the spot; water is good and abundant, the rivulets  
“ being numerous and never drying up, as at Simla; the soil  
“ is rich and produces as fine vegetables as I have ever tasted.  
“ Some of the mountains have a moderate slope towards the  
“ Sutlej and are laid out in a terrace cultivation. Here every  
“ variety of temperature is within easy access, for in the lower  
“ lines of terraces near the banks of the river the climate is as  
“ warm as the plains, and thus in the ascent of one mountain  
“ side there may be observed two zones, the plantain at the  
“ lowest level, about the centre the vine, higher still the apricot,  
“ and peach, and highest of all the bramble-berry, and the rough  
“ thorn bush which last spreads its prickly arms on the verge  
“ of the snow line.

“ The vine grows luxuriously in the open field, and considering  
“ how little can be bestowed on its cultivation, it is surprising  
“ that the grapes should be so large and luscious as we find  
“ them; there are about ten varieties, and they are so plentiful  
“ that a basketful may be purchased for a few annas. For  
“ the invalid they would be a valuable article of food and  
“ it would not be difficult to prepare from them a very tolerable  
“ wine for ordinary use.

“ I will here conclude with the expression of my opinion that  
“ it would be scarcely possible to over-rate the boon both  
“ to officers and men of the establishment of a sanatorium in  
“ Kunawar, as an auxiliary agent in the cure of many cases  
“ of functional disorder and chronic disease, for which the  
“ humid climate of our present hill stations has been found  
“ after many years' experience to be wholly and decidedly  
“ unsuited.”

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\* At Chini and Kunawar in July, August and September, 1859, the mean daily temperature in an unsheltered tent was 64, 32, 69, 34, 35.

These remarks of Dr. Grant were written 16 years ago. The increasing insalubrity of Simla in the rains,—cholera and typhus being likely to be endemic in it—the over-crowding of Simla, making it a Chowringhee in the hills with all its unhealthy dissipation,—the completion of a splendid road to Chini at a heavy expense,—the new features of interest presented by a country on the borders of Tartary, one of the last refuges of Indian Buddhism,—all call for a consideration of the question of a small sanitarium at Chini. Simla answers well for the present as the seat of Government in the hot weather and rains, but it is not the place in the rains for invalids; see on this the Report of the Sanitary Establishments for European Troops in India. No. 1. p. 73, Calcutta, 1861.

We conclude this article with a glance at an interesting but obscure subject—the Simla men. When one sees the clear, almost Anglo-Saxon, complexion of these men, one must come to the conclusion that they cannot be the Aborigines of the country; there is evidence in Government reports to show that the hill men are the offspring of intermarriages that took place between Rajputs, who for the last eight centuries have been taking refuge in the hills from Moslem invasion, and the dark races of the Kaits; hence to the present day, the origin of the strong aversion cherished by the hill men towards the Musulmans, like that in Europe of Celt towards Saxon. Many of the Ranas are of Rajput origin. Thus, the Dāti Rana's ancestors near Simla came originally from Ajmir, the Kat Ranas emigrated from Gya driven up by Musulman violence and so with many others. They retain traces of the institutions of their original tribes having a kind of municipal system, with Shamelik or village lands and a lombardar or mukhea *i. e.*, *chief*.

Polyandry prevails among the Hill Men beyond Kotghur, but it is on the decline, polygamy often taking its place. One cause of polyandry was that women were too valuable—they were sold to the Zenanas in the plains and as they were worth rearing, infanticide was not very prevalent. The women must have a dull life in winter when the hill men almost hybernate, spending months in eating and sleeping. The chief sign of a cottage being inhabited then is the gur hung on the forks of the trees for the use of cattle. Mothers have a practice when they want to work of placing their children near a stream, the water of which is conveyed through a pipe on the child's head and soon lulls it to sleep.

Of the languages of the men of the Simla hills little is known by any European now residing in the district. Gerard states, there are five different dialects spoken in

Kunawar, monosyllabic or dissyllabic, with terminations like the Chinese. Every twelve miles their language varies. Colonel Lawrence, the Commissioner at Simla, mentions in a report of January, 1867,—“The language spoken in these hill states is “a mixture of Hindi and Punjabee; the language spoken above “Wangtu bridge is Sanskrit Tibetan in character.” The following information is cheering with regard to the prospect of clearing up this subject. In September, 1866, the Government of Bengal forwarded a letter from Mr. Beames, Collector of Chumparun, who takes a warm interest in the Indian languages, addressed to the Commissioner of Peshawar to the following effect. Referring to the increasing interest in the castes and language of the hill tribes, shown by the Government of India in offering rewards for proficiency in the languages of the hill tribes of Assam and Chittagong, Mr. Beames, who has devoted many years to languages, proposes to bring out a work on the hill languages of the Himalayas, Chittagong, Chota Nagpore, Assam, and Santal country, with an account of their geographical limits, a grammar and vocabulary with notes on fifty aboriginal languages, and wishes that, as the Government has aided General Cunningham in his Archæological researches, he should be allowed two tours of six months each in two successive hot seasons for linguistic investigation. If this plan be not approved of, he then asks for the aid of the Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners of Simla, Nepal, Darjeeling, Assam, Tipperah, Nagpore, and the Central Provinces to assist him in his investigations. The question is before the Supreme Government now, and we trust that assistance will be given in this work of ethnological research, to which many valuable suggestions have been supplied by Hodgson and Campbell. The Authorities have always shown a deep interest in the hills; as early as 1819 the Government directed attention to the subject of *bigar* or forced labor on the part of troops marching, as it “was contrary to justice and humanity that the “husbandmen of those hills should be compelled to serve as “coolies.” The hill men are noted for their fair complexion, *goitres* under their chins and *filly smells*. Woe to those who are to the windward of them, they are however cheerful, generally sober, honest and fond of their land; hence the difficulty often of securing coolies, who say “we are not beasts “of burthen, why should we carry people?” They sing pretty well; they are fond of flowers and like to wear them in their caps as ornaments; the women are equally fond of flowers in their hair, which is short, and they paint their faces. The men have the custom of whistling for the wind, at winnowing.

time. They were more *numerous* formerly, as is shewn by many of the deodar tracts being situated on terraces of cultivation which were deserted many centuries ago ; small pox was the chief cause of this.

Their religion is Hindu ; they burn or bury their dead near their respective villages. Their temples are rather handsome ; each god has generally three houses—one for himself, another for his furniture, and a third where he is placed on great festivals. The goddess Kali is most in repute and human sacrifices were offered to her sixty years ago. When a great man in a village is ill, they occasionally send for the god of the next village to be joined with their own god ; the priest performs certain ceremonies and the tom-tom is beaten violently for several days to drive the devil, the cause of the disease, out of the man. Their idea of eclipses is that at one time the earth was in great want of atta (flour) which only one doctor could give ; the moon entreated him to sell some, he did so, but never got the price from the moon ; however, at times in order to make the moon pay her debt, he hides her behind the earth or eclipses her.

In September they have a kind of harvest home festival, when they also commemorate their deceased relatives ; they keep a saturnalia during three days, the nights are given up to drinking dancing and revelry of all kinds. Their houses with their projecting balconies and two stories look picturesque on the steep slopes of the hills or sometimes perched on the side of a precipice.

The following document shows the dense ignorance that has existed and still exists among the hill men :—

“ No. 323.

“ To

“ A. Ross, Esq.,

“ *Officiating Assistant Political Agent, Subalhu.*

“ SIR,—The Keonthul Rana, in a conversation which I have  
 “ just had with that chief, having given me information to the  
 “ effect that a Government Chupprassees named Bujnoo had  
 “ visited his encampment near Phagoo about a fortnight since,  
 “ and stated to his followers that the report prevailing at Simla  
 “ which had caused the panic among the coolies was correct,  
 “ and that in consequence of the demand by Government of  
 “ 30 maunds of Human Oil, Colonel Tapp had resigned the  
 “ appointment of Political Agent, I have accordingly taken  
 “ the deposition of one of the Rana's followers, whose evidence,  
 “ (the chobdar's) directly implicates the said Bujnoo, as the  
 “ promulgator of this malicious rumour. I have accordingly

" to request that you will immediately proceed to follow up the  
" case, the proceedings of which are herewith forwarded to you.

|                                                                               |   |                                                                           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| " SUBATHU,<br>" <i>Pol. Agent's Office</i> ,<br>" SIMLA,<br>" 2nd July, 1841. | } | " I have, &c.<br>(Signed) " JOHN C. ERSKINE,<br><i>Political Agent.</i> " |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|

We had intended to have given a variety of extracts showing the state of imbecility the Ranas are kept in by their viziers—how infanticide and sati and human sacrifices were practised formerly. But we have reached the limit we prescribed to this article, and must therefore conclude this brief sketch, the collection of the materials for which has afforded us many a pleasant and profitable hour.

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ART. VIII.—1. *The Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Famine in Bengal and Orissa in 1865. Part, I.*

2. *Ditto. Part II.*

3. "*Corn and Cattle.*" *Edinburgh Review.* No. 251.

4. *Well-Irrigation.*

5. *Agricultural Shows.*

IN reviewing the report on the tremendous Famine that spread far and wide with greater or less severity through Bengal Proper (excepting the eastern districts) two years ago, we have no wish to criticize the acts, the shortcomings, and the tardy measures of public men, or to damage any further the reputations of those, who, until the time of trial came, were considered able and capable administrators. We believe the Reviewer should be silent in the characters of living men, who are still in the scene of action, or silent except to praise.

In this spirit then, we accept the report of the Famine Commissioners as the result of a complete patient investigation by thoroughly competent men, and glancing occasionally only at those parts of the report which contain a history of the famine period, we shall confine our observations chiefly to other portions, relating to the administration under which the calamity occurred, and to the tardy material progress of the country, which, combined with defective executive administration, rendered it at once prostrate and helpless when the hour of trial came.

One of the most prominent facts laid bare by the report is the extraordinary want of knowledge on the part of all officials, (with one or two noble exceptions) of the actual state of the people and country committed to their charge. When all was on the verge of ruin, there was still the greatest confidence amongst those to whom the welfare of millions was entrusted. The cloud in the horizon to them was a trifle no bigger than a man's hand, conveying no warning. There was no one to interpret the sign before the catastrophe was upon them.

It will be our endeavour to enumerate some of the many causes which bring a district into difficulties, to show what are reliable signs of coming embarrassment, and what signs are

apt to mislead the judgment of the district officer, to show how our system and official training is responsible for much that is now attributed to the servant formed by that system; and if in so doing we contract our field of observation, treating of so small a tract as a district, we support our view by advancing that after all a province is but a number of districts,—what occurs in one is repeated with but little modification in all others.

And, as the district is the territorial unit, so is the district officer the unit, in the subdivision of the executive administrative staff. In fact, he is to the Government the eyes to perceive, the ear to hear, the brain to appreciate. The Government must depend on him for its facts. In return he has the hands to execute the commands of Government and the tongue to communicate with the people. He has the entire charge of the welfare of at least a million of the people. The system of Government makes his presence felt even in their social life. His duty and position bind him alike to both the Government and the people. Though he must obey the one, when occasion requires, he should be the strenuous advocate of the rights and wants of the other. With knowledge, tact, and capacity, he is all-powerful for good; without these qualities he is an active instrument working evil both to the Government and to the people. The position of a district officer is a proud position, and we propose to treat him with all consideration and respect.

Lastly, and with reference to the latter portion of the Commissioner's report, we shall endeavour to demonstrate the impossibility of supporting a large and starving population except from the resources of their own country, resources which, though dormant in places, we believe to exist almost everywhere, and to be capable of most elastic extension, and we shall advocate a scheme to develop these resources which we believe will tend much to the material progress of the agricultural country, and to the advantage of the Government whose main support is a land revenue. It is our firm belief that in a backward country, possessing but a skin-deep civilization, with no knowledge of the outer world, and but little of its own, and with a firm faith in the ancient ways, material progress is the basis of all other progress, and should receive the first attention of Government, in preference to the opposing system, preferred for many years, which considers centralization the greatest benefit, uniformity for a hundred races the greatest aim of Government, and a continuous stream of laws, drawn from the codes of thoroughly civilized countries, as the greatest possible blessing to the subject people; regardless of the great fact that where the most

enlightened amongst the people fail to appreciate a system so adverse to their own ideas, every mistake in system or legislation, by removing all sympathy and accord with Government, increases the alienation of the subject races to an extent which is certain to be felt when the time of need arrives. It is no new doctrine that if legislation and system outstrip material progress, they apply to an imaginary, rather than to an existing state of affairs. That Government alone is wise which can foster the latter and restrain the former, adapting the pace of the one to the other, or rather bestowing more encouragement on the advance of material progress, leaving the rest to follow as a natural result and consequence.

There are many guides to the actual prospects of a country with which every intelligent civil officer of a few years' Indian experience should be quite familiar. There is the mechanical assistance of the rain gauge; there are recorded rain-falls of former years which are by no means to be neglected, for the seasons in a course of years work round to a general average; there are the published market rates which show not only where grain is scarce and dear and where hard times are coming, but also where aid can best be obtained; there are the ever present opportunities of intercourse with intelligent landowners, merchants and bankers, who, after their own fashion and from different sources, are fairly informed of the prospects of the agricultural community—probably every merchant or banker has some landed property in his own district, whence he can test his general information;—there are the large staff of Government officials, Deputy Collectors, Tehseeldars, native pensioners, all ready and willing to impart information to the district officer, should he but sufficiently sympathise with them to allow them free access to his presence, but certain on the other hand to retain all intelligence, should the district officer consider, as is often the case, that intercourse with the natives is no part of his duties; and superior to all these is the one unfailing source of true knowledge, formerly so often drawn on but now so often neglected, the personal inspection of his district by the district officer. It does not suffice that he should visit some favourite shooting beat, or some pleasant encampment near some beaten line of road, but there should be an accurate searching visit into all parts of his district. Then, if the officer has the interests of his people at heart, and is not above doing his duty, if he has other qualifications for his post beyond that of seniority only, we feel sure that when the hour of difficulty comes, whether it brings forth a rebellion, a mutiny, an Indigo riot, a rising of the cultivating classes

against their landlords, or a famine, under any circumstances the district officer, who has qualified amongst his people, and not only in his office, will be ready to meet the emergency. His opinion will be respected and his advice followed by his official superiors. Should the reverse of all this be the case, he must accept the alternative of a public commission on his acts and shortcomings, and the shame of a public condemnation.

The roads and streets, the very courts themselves, will all give their separate warnings. There will be a great increase of crime amongst these labouring classes, who in ordinary times are never in contact with the police. There will be stray emaciated children, picked up in the bazars and streets of the large cities abandoned by their parents, who, too poor to maintain their own offspring, rely on the certain charity of some unknown friend for their support. The labouring poor will throng to any public works in progress, or they will emigrate to other districts, seeking for work and the daily bread they cannot find at home. Traffic will sensibly decrease at all ferries and passes, and on the main lines of road. There will not be the usual yearly concourse of pilgrims. The banker will find less employment for his money, as it will be sought for by one class of needy applicants, endeavouring to prepare for the coming difficulty. The middle classes will sell their ornaments and jewellery. The trade in all small native luxuries will cease. There will be less civil litigation. In the interior of agricultural districts there will be a difficulty in obtaining seed grain. The landlord will obtain his rent only through the assistance of the Revenue officers. Plough cattle will be sold to meet the rent. Owners of herds will migrate with their cattle to remote jungles or more favoured districts. Cattle will starve in numbers in every village. There will be sales of the estates of the smaller landowners, unable to meet the expected scarcity. We believe each district is an open book, if the district officer can perceive and understand, if he reads by the light of reason and experience, if he remembers that his post requires an exercise of his executive administrative functions, and not a discharge of his judicial duties only.

On the other hand there are false alarms likely to mislead the judgment of an officer new to his position and his district. It is certain that complaints of no rain and a bad season are generally premature, often greatly exaggerated. Under our peculiar revenue system the interests of the Government and of the landed proprietor are, to a certain extent, conflicting. It is the landowner's interest to conceal his prosperity and

exaggerate his difficulties. As a class they are badly educated, ~~apathetic and improvident~~. Many are involved in debt, embarrassed for generations by some wasteful expenditure in a marriage, or their substance devoured by parasites or flatterers or religious mendicants, or squandered on dancing girls or wrestlers, or in supporting a state beyond their means. Many, and these are of the most wealthy, are absentees, wasting their lives in the dissipations of the large cities, regardless alike of their obligations to the Government and to their estates, and the many duties of their position. There is no law, though one is much needed, to enforce these responsibilities. They rely on their agents to supply funds for all their wants. The agent, to meet these demands, is driven to rack-renting and the many stratagems familiar to all acquainted with the workings of our Revenue Courts. The agent peculates on his own account, and one and all, the absentee and his agent, the small landowner and the oppressed tenant, are pressing claimants on the Government for assistance on the first symptom of a hard season. If one of these can establish a belief that there has been no rain in his property, he thereby also establishes a belief that he has a claim on Government for assistance.

• The solvency of the landed proprietors affects the interests of Government throughout the Revenue system. This is never more apparent than in a season of drought and difficulty. There is no more easy road to ruin than the path always open to the landowner. He is not slow to learn that in his land he has a most valuable security. He can always obtain advances from native bankers to meet his wants and extravagances; for the earth's increase is sufficient to pay the small demand of Government and the surplus should pay any sum the banker may advance were the land but fairly mortgaged or its capabilities fairly stated. But the landowner probably represents the outturn of some exceptionally productive season as the general average of his receipts, the banker allows a wide margin for these misrepresentations in the rate at which he makes his loan; he is certain of a fair return; he is nearly certain, for he knows his man, of complete possession of the estate at no very distant date. The landowner himself is the last person to take his own apathy and unthriftiness into the calculation, neither does he consider that, though the land is a fruitful source of wealth, it must receive a certain outlay and constant care and attention. He must provide thrifty cultivators. He must spend his capital in improvements and wells, and then only will the land, worked to its full capabilities, be grateful for all assistance and repay the

liens upon it. Failing this, the land repudiates these claims, the owner finds that, as far as he is concerned, he has over-reached himself in his calculations, and his downward course is hastened. The Government demand has to be met, the banker can be staved off no longer, and the season is not quite propitious. These difficulties are exaggerated and every stratagem is employed to obtain help from Government. Ultimately, the climax comes, and the land passes from its reckless owner's hands. He degenerates in the social scale into a tenant at will, and often a rebellious one, in what were once his own estates.

A different cause of difficulties beset the new proprietor. Perhaps his calculations originally were correct, but lands long neglected take years to recover; the old cultivators are at feud with their new lord; the old proprietor probably heads the opposition against him; all attempts at conciliation are rejected; rents are withheld; every art is practised to ruin the new landlord; and he, some money lender probably or some old servant of government investing his gains, discovers that though he has managed all his other affairs with success, still he has not the farmer's instinct to manage land, or the administrator's faculty of managing a large estate and an unruly tenantry. He absents himself from his newly acquired estate, which he abandons to the mis-management and speculations of an unscrupulous agent, and he shortly discovers that the land which he believed to be the best of all investments, is in reality a ticklish property, a constant care, dependent on many aids and conditions to which he is a stranger. In a doubtful season he is the first to anticipate embarrassment. He does not know how elastic are the resources in his power; in a state of doubt and anxiety he rushes prematurely to seek assistance from Government.

This after all is but another page in the same book, capable of being read only by the experienced district officer, but we warn him that his judgment is more called into exercise by the latter than by the former page. There must be no concession made, unless there is a good reason for it. If he yields to one unjust demand for self, deceived by fair words, or over-anxious for the future, he will be bewildered by similar applications. Should he refuse on the other hand to listen to a just demand for assistance, on the principle that all complain and the revenue settlement should see him through all difficulties, he may be surprised and overwhelmed by the tide of disaster and famine. The greatest safe-guard in the district officer's hands is an intimate knowledge of the peculiarities of every tract in his district. The habit of local inspection will

tend beyond anything else to keep him informed of all that is going on, to suggest the right remedy for each individual case. The people knowing he has an intimate knowledge of their wants and circumstances will know that false alarms have no effect upon him; they will also know that when they are in difficulties he will not be deaf to their entreaties.

But if we are right in our belief that this knowledge is a requisite thing for the efficient administration of a district, and that it can only be acquired by patient searching visits into every quarter, we consider the Government is bound to see that it is done and to pay the cost. Here the district officer has a strong case against the Government. In what are called the non-regulation provinces the Government defrays a portion of the officer's marching expenses during his district tours. In the regulation provinces the maintenance of a camp equipage, and the expenses of a marching camp, added to the rent which must be paid for house accommodation in the head-quarters station, absorb quite one-fourth of a district officer's salary during the five months he should be under canvas. This life in camp is the only tolerable period in Indian service, but is it to be wondered at that the officer is not always prepared to incur this great expense? He denies himself a costly pleasure and the Government interests suffer. The Government must open its hand to obtain efficient service. The system cannot be right which gives travelling allowances or defrays the marching expenses of all in the higher and better paid ranks, and denies it to the very class who are the eyes and hands of the Government, and who should be the very first to receive it.

The concluding portion of the first part of the Report which treats of the defective administration of Bengal Proper is deserving of the most earnest attention. It pays a graceful tribute to the works and the memories of a race of administrators long since passed away, and laments the shortcomings of the present generation. But to what is this great difference to be attributed? It is owing certainly more to the system than to the individuals, the servants of and proved by that system. The officials are more numerous than they were in former days. Probably there are as many good men as ever amongst them. We believe, though, that the Commissioners do not state the case correctly, when they assert that there is not the same dearth of administrative capacity amongst the public servants in the more northern Provinces. In them the native executive staff may be more numerous than in Bengal, but there is in both alike the same dull level, inevitable under one uniform system, centralization, and a seniority service.

The old school of successful administrators were men of many gifts and qualifications, with minds pliant and strong, associating much with the people and enjoying their confidence, keen to perceive their wants, apt to acquire knowledge, and able unobtrusively to introduce a sufficiency of English law and system, to leaven the mass of native custom and tradition without exciting their jealousy or opposition. They fully appreciated the peculiar relative positions of the rulers and the subject people. In fact those only became conspicuous who were plentifully endowed by nature with the instinct of administration. The Government of the day allowed them ample scope for their peculiar faculties. In the words of the Report, they did not reign but governed, and in proportion as their sympathies were with the people, did their influence extend, in war, in politics, in civil administration, and for all the purposes of Government.

We have heard them and their system sneered at as being of the patriarchal or the paternal school, but it was this school that furnished Malcolm, Metcalfe, Wilkinson, Low, Ouseley, George Clerk and his many able pupils, the Ricketts and Mills of the Report, Cleveland, Dixon, Cubbon, Sir H. Lawrence, and many others whose names still live in all parts of India. Their fame cannot suffer from the sneers of their detractors. For a few years after the annexation of a new province, they have had a few imitators, but these have soon had to yield all power and individuality, and become assimilated with the system obtaining in the older provinces.

But of late years another school has arisen to whom the former has had to give way. Perhaps some change was inevitable, but it was too complete. These new men have often been men of ability, ready with their speech and with their pens, able secretaries, precise lawyers, accurate and well-ordered. They have from time to time forced themselves into power, and in time have brought forward their own disciples. To them we owe the uniform codes, obtaining throughout all India, and the Revenue Acts which have sapped the rights in landed property, and caused so much dissension and discussion. To their well-ordered minds there is nothing like complete uniformity and centralization. They cannot understand that what suits the mild Bengalee is not perhaps quite the code for the Pathan of the North-Western frontier. What is it to them that there are a hundred races in Hindoostan, each differing from each other as much as a Frenchman from an Englishman; all are to be treated alike, in spite of the fact that the Creator has put them far apart. In Great Britain and Ireland we have not got the same law for English,



Scotch and Irish, for the people and their ways are different, but still there is to be but one law and system for all India, where almost every Eastern nation and even tribe is represented, and where uniformity is nearly as inappropriate as it would be for the whole of Asia.

We believe the truth to be that those of the new school, pure and simple, are essentially narrow minded men, without a spark of administrative genius. If there is no leaven amongst them, they are the persons who fail the Government in times of exceptional difficulty. Many of them have of late years been successful in obtaining high appointments in all parts of India. In all, their capacity has been tried,—by mutinies, Indigo riots, small wars, famines. Not one disciple of this school but has lost his reputation in the hour of trial, and the Government, which failed in its duty to the country in selecting such chiefs, and the whole people alike, have suffered.

We do not advocate the entire subordination of one school to the other. In an immense empire and a numerous service, there is room for both, side by side. Each is the best assistance and support to the other,—but the chief administration should be selected from the one class only. When this is the case we shall hear of less routine, mismanagement, and bewilderment; of some resource in difficulties, and a better stewardship than the pages of the Famine Report describe so justly. We shall hear no more of the maxims of the political economy of the civilised world being offered as infallible to a half-savage, starving country, or lament the blindness to the tremendous fact that God himself has visited the people, altering their whole condition, and placing them far beyond assistance from human theories.

We hear that under the representations of the Commissioners, the staff of the Bengal Government will be recast, equal at least in strength to the staff of one of the minor presidencies. This is most necessary, but it will not be sufficient alone to strengthen the Governor's hands. The system which has been found wanting must be thoroughly changed. It will be necessary to enforce the principle of selection for all administrative appointments, in lieu of the principle of seniority still obtaining throughout India. It must be insisted on that all places are not alike, that all men are not equal, that first on the list is not, from that fact only, the best man for the first vacancy. Ordinary honesty of purpose in making selections for appointments can be relied on only from that chief who is aware that one wrong selection, through nepotism, the stumbling block of many governors, or through seniority the refuge

of incompetent ones, will lessen his power, damage his reputation, and recoil on his own head in time of need. We have seen many Governors of this description, and we hope to see them no more, but we believe they have already done much harm to the service from which they have sprung. It is a service with many dishonest traditions, and we believe the day is not far distant when the highest appointments now open to the service, will be held by nominees from England.

We further hope that the deliberations of the supreme authorities will lead to a division of the services into judicial and administrative branches. It does not follow that an ambidextrous district officer, full of resource and activity and work, with years of experience as a Revenue officer, or as an active magistrate, will make a successful judge. He is far more likely to make a very bad one. The successful judge should receive promotion in his own line, and not return, an administrative chief, as a commissioner. The early years of all civil servants should be employed, as now, in all kinds of official duties.—then they should take their choice of either line and should have their prospects certain, without fear of losing in one line a reputation hardly earned in another. We believe there has been much but desultory striving at times on the part of Government, to attain to a settlement of this vexed question. An occasion like this Orissa famine should suffice to impress on the Government the absolute necessity of putting its house in order, to decide on the best system of administration, to allot to each class its duties, to select its men, to increase the natives' share in the Government in the subordinate ranks, to harass no more with discussions on land settlements and land tenures, to settle the principles and system of taxation. We believe that at no period of our rule has the alienation between the governing class and the subject people been more complete than at present, owing to want of sympathy, faulty government, headlong legislation, and the shortcomings of Government under exceptional circumstances which have overtried its capacity. To re-adapt and slightly alter a once fulfilled warning and prophecy.\* "The wheels of Government have been moving very fast. "Our presence in India depends in no small measure on "the contentedness and happiness of our native subjects." We hope for lasting benefit to the country and the administration from the sad experiences of the Orissafamine.

The purpose of our writing will be mistaken if it is inferred that we look only to an improved system of administration

as a remedy for all disaster. An increase of foresight and resource in difficulties is all that can be expected, with a proportionate mitigation of suffering and saving of human life during the actual calamity, and a shorter stage of reaction before the abandoned famine-stricken tract is again re-occupied. We hope to show conclusively how the only hope for a country is in its self-contained resources, to demonstrate how impossible it is either to feed, or to supply food to the population of a large tract should the earth fail to bring forth her increase; in short, that the mass of the population is entirely at the mercy of the seasons.

We suppose, then, that a famine-stricken tract is 500 miles square. (The actual extent of the tract which suffered from drought and dearth in 1865, was far in excess of this length, though its width might have been less). We further assume that it supports a population of 200 to the square mile, of whom four-fifths or 160 per mile are of the poorer classes who would require support for a period of six months, that is, for the interval between two crops only. These assumed quantities give us an area of 250,000 square miles, and 40 millions of the poorer classes unable to support themselves from their own resources, who must be fed or starve.

We purposely omit any allowance for the various circumstances, differing in every district, which by private supplies, or emigration or other means, may affect these figures. Our readers may insert any modifying conditions. Our data will be found to be a fair foundation, in which any special calculation may be based.

We further assume that this famine-stricken tract is accessible from all sides and at all seasons by good roads, and we suppose that grain can be laid at the verge of this tract all round at 20 seers for 1 Rupee. To transport this grain and deposit it throughout the tract, we assume that the general description of native means are available;—that is, the cart with two bullocks, capable of travelling ten miles a day with a load of fifteen maunds at a daily cost of Rs. 1-8 a day for all charges, including pay of servants, food for the animals, and the wear and tear of cart and cattle. A simple calculation in these given quantities will show that the actual average cost of grain throughout the tract would be as nearly as possible eight seers for the rupee, or a regular famine rate, assuming the food of each person to be half a seer, or one pound of grain a day, the cost being one anna. This gives a total cost of 25 lakhs of rupees a day, or 45 millions of pounds sterling for six months—a sum equal to the entire revenues of the country.

We offer these simple figures for the consideration of those who of late years have stated that the Government in time of famine should support the people. We have purposely under-rated every element in this calculation. It is needless to say that even this state of things would be indefinitely enhanced, if the tract of country was accessible only by the tracks through hills and jungles passable only by pack bullocks, approachable at certain seasons only from an iron bound coast.

We now claim indulgence for inflicting another short calculation on our readers.

We assume that the whole of our tract of 500 square miles is under cultivation, and its produce to be an average of six maunds of grain an acre or 480 lbs. At half a seer or one pound of grain a day for every soul in the population, three acres would feed four men for a year, or the whole extent in one season would produce about four and one quarter year's supply for its whole population of 50 millions.\*

Suppose the cultivated area is only  $\frac{3}{4}$  or  $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of the whole, a proportionate reduction would give in one case but three years and six week's supply, and in the other but two years and ten months' food for its population. Let there be a succession of three seasons at all below the average, and exportation of any peculiar grain, that grain being the staple produce and chief support of the country, as rice from Orissa for instance, prices must rise, seed-grain must be used for food, there must be scarcity, and much importation in the fourth season, and famine is imminent.

This then appears to be the state of things before the Government, not in Orissa only, but with certain modifications as regards the greater portion of the country; that famines have repeatedly occurred in India, sweeping off thousands of the people, that there is no enterprise amongst them, or power of foresight, or power to struggle against the evil. They become more apathetic and hopeless as the danger increases, and are stricken down in their villages, sooner than make any exertion for their own safety.

It is also established, that though the richer classes are charitable according to their own peculiar ideas, that is, they feed Brahmins, and professional begging castes, the halt and the blind, they have no notion of organized charity, no

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\* 1 Seer = 2 lbs.  
40 Seers = 1 maund = 80 lbs.  
1 Rupee = 2 shillings.  
1 Anna =  $1\frac{1}{2}$  d.

sympathy for suffering amongst the masses; their care must to a great degree devolve on the Government. And on the other hand, the Government has never undertaken any general system of outdoor relief for the protection of the indigent poor, leaving them entirely to the chance charity of their fellow countrymen, so that there are no centres whence relief can be given, no system which can be expounded to meet any great emergency. All measures for relief have to be commenced again in every fresh calamity. \*

The third part of the Report contains the commissioner's suggestions and recommendations of the means to be employed by Government to secure some immunity for the people, and to guard itself from direct loss of revenue, and indirect loss by the great destruction of property and the collapse of all agriculture, losing in one season the fruits of many years' progress. Their recommendations may be summed up in a few words,—canals and roads for communications, and works of irrigation. The country must be penetrated in all directions, every natural means of obtaining water must be taken advantage of and improved by the appliances of science, the climate must be mastered, or we shall always be at its mercy. Works of irrigation must be prosecuted, not on paper only but in reality, every stream from the hills must be dammed, and its waters utilized, the abundant supply of one season must be intercepted in its course and saved for consumption at another period.

But the Commissioners only with a loud voice repeat the old complaint, that the great imperative necessity is water. It is the one great invigorator of the soil; it surpasses, and often supersedes all measures; it is the soul of all high farming in India; it is the one essential without which the common wheat-field cannot reach maturity, and if it is within the cultivator's reach, then only is the Government land revenue an easy burden, and its collection a certainty. Everywhere there is this loud cry for assistance, and there is the certainty that generally throughout all India this one great means of aid is untouched.

In parts of India much has already been done. The Ravee, Jumna and Ganges canals are enormous works, but their cost precludes the extension of this system of canal irrigation. The expense of their construction and maintenance admits of them only in a line of country exceptionally favoured by position and natural capabilities. They only can support that greatest of blessings, a navigable canal, at once diffusing fertility along its course, and furnishing at all times means for transporting the surplus of the produce it has given to less favoured districts.

But after all it is certain, as far as our experience has taught us, that after a lavish expenditure and a delay of years our canals are fraught with disappointment. Their results fall short of their promise, no foresight or skill at our disposal seem sufficient to guard against the accidents to which they are liable; their supply fails when it is most needed, they even in some places carry or generate deleterious matter in their waters, and it is certain that no canal can irrigate more than a line of cultivation, narrow in comparison with the whole area needing water.

It will be as well here to allude, as far as they may be applicable to our purpose, to the circumstances of our principal canals. As a financial speculation, the Jumna canals pay the best; the Ravee canal pays  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. (12 annas) on an outlay of 160 lakhs of rupees (16 millions) and may be considered at present as the worst investment; but the Ganges canal is the one whose circumstances will be best known to and most interesting to our readers. This canal and its branches are about 800 miles in length. It now irrigates 980,000 acres, and it is hoped, when it is in full working order, that this quantity will be increased to 1,400,000 acres. Let us deal with the larger quantity. It is an area about equal to the whole district of Cawnpore, or a line of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles in width on either side of the canal for its entire length. The financial result may possibly be a return of 5 per cent. on the outlay.

It is evident that we can hope for no more canals on this scale. Their great length adds beyond all proportion to their expense. We may have shorter lines formed from dams across the great rivers below the point of influence of the smaller streams and throwing the water into the adjoining district, but we can expect no more than this. Even if there were scope for another canal similar to the Great Ganges Canal, we believe it would be a financial error to undertake it.

But is there no other means of irrigating the country than by securing the outflow of water from the far distant hills, and conveying it in costly canals through the country? We know as a fact, that the water underlays the whole country at a distance of from 14 to 50 feet below the surface, and that this great supply is to this day almost unheeded by the Government.

The native cultivator for many generations has been aware of this national store of water. If he has any energy, and his means permit, his great object is to dig a well, and place the supply within his reach. This well-watered land is a known source of revenue to Government in all land revenue assessments,

but still there has never been any systematic attempt on the part of Government to add to its own wealth, and the welfare of its tenantry, or in fact to enact the enlightened landlord's part and avail itself of the abundant store, placed by nature almost within reach.

The same Providence which has subjected this needy thirsty land to the fierce heat of the Tropics has everywhere supplied the antidote, but under the usual conditions, man must exercise the intelligence and faculties bestowed upon him to make the remedy attainable in time of need, or suffer the inevitable consequences.

Attempts have been made from time to time by isolated individuals, alive to the certain profits to Government and to the people, to induce the native landowner to extend well irrigation, but it is certain these attempts have been conducted on no system, there has been no departmental assistance, and individual exertions declining through want of encouragement have subsided into indifference. The fostering hand of Government was never extended to the scheme, as a scheme, its merits and cost have never been carefully investigated. The truth is, the scheme is far too simple; there is no originality in it. It is thoroughly Indian, it has no attractions for the scientific engineer, it cannot compare with the more imposing scheme of irrigation by canals; persons who have been in a position to speak authoritatively on all subjects connected with irrigation have either passed it by contemptuously, or have paused but to condemn it. We have known it stated by a well known authority that a well can generally irrigate only nine acres of land. The result has been an opinion that such insignificant assistance is as nothing in the great scheme of irrigation, and quite beneath the attention of Government.

On the other hand we confidently advance an opinion that well irrigation has been but very cursorily studied, and has never been understood. The fact advanced that a well on an average can only irrigate nine acres is entirely a wrong conclusion, formed without the requisite knowledge of the quantity of water required for one given quantity of land, or kind of crop, and with no very accurate notion of the cost of obtaining it, or of the capacity and yield of a good well, adapted to irrigation. We hope to show that expenditure on well irrigation can safely be incurred, with a certain profit to Government, that it is the most economical and most certain of all forms of assistance, the best adapted to the wants and conditions of the people, the simplest in its distribution, and withal most manageable, for it consists of an aggregate of detached units, each complete in itself: the scheme can be expanded or made to cease at pleasure, for it is

complete at every stage of its existence, its beneficial effects are almost instantaneous, both to the tenant and to the Government, and there are none of the drawbacks attending the supply of canal water, there is no sandy silt deposited in the fields, no injurious salt washed up from a lower level by infiltration, no rankness and sourness of soil from over saturation, no risk of the supply being cut off, no peculation by canal officials, and an ensuring as well as an increase of the land revenue.

It is no paltry scheme if it ensures even a portion of these great results, and, failing canals, it appears to be the only alternative in the  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions of culturable acres in the North-Western Provinces alone, which will never be reached by any portion of the Ganges canal.

As we wish to establish the fact that the cost of well irrigation has been much over-rated, we must again inflict on our readers a few simple figures and calculations, on which our views are based, and by which we submit them to be tested.

We treat of the usual native means of irrigation, the water bag, rope and pulley, worked by two bullocks. Setting aside the obvious means at our disposal to improve the power of this primitive tackle, or to substitute superior machinery, we thus place ourselves at a disadvantage at the commencement of our advocacy.

We assume, and it is a low average after repeated experiments, that the water-bag conveys each time 15 gallons of water to the surface, the pace of the cattle to be two miles an hour, and that a well of eight feet in diameter will admit of eight sets of lifting tackle to be worked at once, our working day to be 10 hours, the well to be 40 feet deep, and a double set of cattle to be employed. \*This well will yield 132,000 gallons of water a day.

We place our well in the centre of a square plot of 50 acres, which we propose to irrigate. It will be about 250 yards from the edge of the plot. We assume the land to be good, bearing a fair proportion of various crops, say 20 acres under wheat and 30 acres under lighter crops, all requiring water.

And here we wish, for the sake of the scheme we advocate, that we could subscribe to Mr. Login's estimate (accepted by the Irrigation Department) of ten inches in four waterings for a wheat crop. Our experience is far different. We believe eighteen

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\* We do not wish to burden our pages with a mass of small calculations. They shall be placed at the disposal of any person who may wish to see him, and who will apply for him through the Editor of this *Review*.



inches in three waterings will be nearer the quantity given by all good farmers, who are aware that water must be freely given, and we make no deduction for the saving consequent on the usual winter rain.

We suppose that the remaining thirty acres under light crops will require two waterings, one early and one late, of three inches depth each.

The time required for each watering of the 20 acres of wheat will be 20 days, of the 30 acres of light crops 23 days; and the periods of each watering would be, the first of the wheat from November 10th to 30th, the first of the light crops from November 30th to December 23rd, the second wheat watering from January 10th to 30th, the second for the light crops from February 1st to 23rd and the last wheat watering from that date to March 15th.

There is a mistaken notion that this watering is a costly process. We admit that it takes the time of the men and the labour of the cattle, but we admit no other cost beyond the extra wear and tear and feeding of *working* over *idle* cattle. The only men and animals used are those indispensable for the various agricultural operations of the land, and as the irrigating season clashes with no other farming operation, the men and cattle may as well work as remain idle. Our meaning will be clear when we state that 50 acres of good land do actually require one plough for every five native biggahs of land, or 2 acres 3 roods 11 poles,—say three acres. This gives 16 pairs of plough bullocks available for the watering season, and this is all we require to furnish a double set for the daily irrigating work, according to the assumed capabilities of our well. If there is a greater preponderance of wheat or corn, or any thirsty crop, then only can the argument of extra cost be maintained. This cost is six annas a day for every extra pair of cattle employed. But the farm will even furnish this supply, for the usual allowance of cattle to each plough is three head. This extra eight pairs would furnish a supply exceeding by one half the above quantities, and would meet every case of exceptional crops requiring greater irrigation.

It is requisite to bear in mind one most important point. The well is not only useful for the growing crops. Should the ground not be softened by rain to admit of ploughing at the appointed season, the well water is available for the purpose. In fact, where there is water at command every precarious element in Indian cultivation is removed.

And here an important comparative calculation suggests itself. It will be granted that a well once well-made requires no

appreciable outlay in repairs, it practically lasts for ever. The case of the canal is different. The comparative figures are—

|                           |       |                          |       |
|---------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|
| Value of canal water, ... | 2 8 0 | Value of well water, ... | 2 8 0 |
| Cost of maintenance, ...  | 1 0 0 | Cost of maintenance ...  | 0 0 0 |
| Profit, ...               | 1 8 0 | Profit, ...              | 2 8 0 |

We will admit of one modification in this. The conditions of the supply are different. The canal brings down the supply and delivers it at the level of the field. The cultivator has to lift it from the well. It would be fair in exceptional cases where more labour is employed in irrigation than the farm requires to be maintained for general purposes, that some compensating reduction should be made in the assessment. In one case the cultivator pays the Government for bringing him the water, in the other the Government makes some allowance to the cultivator for his labour in obtaining it.

No well of a less diameter than eight feet should be constructed. The comparative capacity and working power of large over small wells increases at a greater ratio than the cost. Then a four feet diameter well will admit of but one set of lifting tackle being used; such a well, sunk to fifty feet, with eighteen inches steining, at 20 Rs. per 100 cubic feet for the masonry, would cost 260 Rs. for masonry alone; and perhaps half as much, again for sinking and contingencies. An eight feet well with two feet steining, sunk to the same depth, would admit of 8 sets of tackle and cost 620 Rs. for masonry, and 930 Rs. for the entire structure. In addition there would be a charge for drain tile water courses. Supposing the well was erected entirely at the expense of Government, it would represent an expenditure of capital of 20 Rs. an acre, or eight years' water rate,—a profit of more than 12 per cent. This profit would decrease in wells of greater depth, but there would be a fair return up to a far greater depth than 40 feet.

But it is not a portion of our scheme that even this cost should be borne by Government. The landowner can construct a well for little more than half the sum it would cost the Government to make it. The fuel to burn his bricks and lime cost him nothing, and he pays mostly in kind for his labour. There is no scheme of irrigation so much in accordance with native ideas. The owner of a well is thoroughly independent, it is a recognised substantial property conveying a claim to respectability above his neighbours. We can cite a native proverb in our support, curiously showing the line of thought engendered by a tropical sun and a parched up country. It is to the effect "that a man's duty to posterity, and to make his name remembered, is to

"beget a son, to dig a well, and to plant a tree." This very ambition on the part of a native cultivator is a great element in favour of the extension of the scheme. If he has not the capital at his disposal, it is precisely a case when the fostering hand of Government should be extended, and capital advanced to aid him: It should be freely given, for it is advanced on the best of all security, so the terms of re-payment should be easy, by small instalments, and at long intervals; no interest should be charged, for the ultimate profit to Government is sufficient, and this profit is of two kinds—an increase of revenue, and perfect security where before doubt existed. The profit to the Government and the tenant alike commence as soon as the water is reached.

Indirectly also the benefit is immense. Emulation is excited. Wealthy landowners are induced by the example similarly to expend their capital. We know as a fact from documents placed at our disposal, that in one district where 140 wells were made by poorer tenants, on loans advanced by Government, one wealthy landowner has made 40 wells on his own estates, and he is satisfied that he has made an excellent investment of his capital.

It is certain that this great source of wealth to Government has been almost entirely neglected. We believe that during the past ten years, not £50,000 has been thus advanced on loans. Government has made no effort to extend the system. What has been done has been done by the desultory efforts of individuals. It has not even been generally known to the people that this assistance could be obtained. The experience of the past convinces us that if anything results from our advocacy, success will not be attained unless the practical working of the scheme is entrusted to some separate responsible authority.

Let us contrast the conduct of the Indian Government in all matters connected with this question with the course pursued by the Government at home, when the introduction of free trade caused a temporary pressure on the landed interests. The contrast will be more apparent to those conversant with the Indian land revenue system, who will understand the fact that here the Government is not only the supreme power but the supreme landlord, with a direct interest in every acre of land within its territories.

We recommend for the perusal of our readers the article in the *Edinburgh Review*, which we have cited at the head of this article, and to which we have often referred. The author evinces a thorough knowledge of his subject in all its branches, with a politician's insight into the principles in which only progress can be made. His arguments are forcible, clear and

convincing, his style that of an accomplished writer. His words apply to the early difficulties of the small farmers under free trade, and especially refer to the universal want (at that time) of drainage. We want no drainage here, but his words so exactly suit our case, that we quote them unaltered, merely changing one word, "drainage" to "irrigation." He says:—

"The obstacle to the adoption of this practice was, as a general rule, the weakness of the landlords. The irrigation (drainage of stiff clays) was a stiff matter." It wanted a landlord with a strong back, and unfortunately the great bulk of such soils were held by poor men, or men who took little interest in them. To a large extent they were mortgaged. The minister then at the head of affairs, however, understood the difficulties of the case and prepared to meet it. A remedy was devised in the shape of a loan of four millions sterling, repayable by instalments extending over twenty-two years, which was rapidly taken up, and has now, to a great extent, been repaid to the state, after conferring "an immense benefit on the community." Can there be any doubt that it is at least equally incumbent on our Government, similarly to devote a certain portion of its capital towards equally effective improvements in its own estates?

And what is the actual condition of the soil in this country, to which we recommend the application of our scheme. It has been worked as it is now worked, for generations. We again refer to the article in the *Edinburgh Review* for a description of a similar state of things in one small plot of land in England, which was purposely neglected for years, and was then in the state which now obtains over at least seventy-five per cent. of the cultivated land in India. What was experiment in our country is in truth the general state of things here.

"Mr. Lawer was prosecuting another series of experiments that resulted in what will prove one of the most important discoveries of modern times. These experiments, extending over a period of twenty-four years, with wheat grown on the same land year after year without manure or the intervention of fallow, proved that soil, under fair husbandry, possessed a national standard of fertility. This standard at Rothamsted appears to be sixteen bushels per acre. Thus is afforded the 'key' as Mr. Thompson terms it, to the mystery involved in the variable term 'condition'—for henceforth we know that land that is thoroughly run out, means land that is reduced to its original standard of productivity. Any condition it possesses in addition to this, be it more or be it less, consists simply of the remains of previous

"crops and previous manurings. It follows that, after any "ordinary amount of bad farming, sufficient manure of the right "kind will quickly return to the soil, not its natural productive- "ness, which it is scarcely possible to destroy, but that acquired "fertility which we may now describe as good condition, with- "out fear of being misunderstood."

It is to this exhausted land, reduced to this condition of a natural standard of fertility, that the advocates at all hazards of a permanent settlement would assign a Government rent fixed for ever. Fortunately their views have lately been modified by orders from England, that that land is not to have the Government rent fixed in perpetuity, to which there is a prospect of canal water being conveyed at any future date. We maintain, though, that it does not affect the question whence the water is to be obtained. We are no opponents to a permanent settlement where the land has really attained to a condition deserving it, where improvements have been made and the cultivation of a fair proportion ensured. We argue that the extent of cultivation to a certain percentage of the whole area,—the present standard—is not as important a condition, as the certainty of a limited portion.

There can be no doubt that permanent interference in the price of any commodity that can be obtained for money, is mischievous and wrong in principle. We submit that a permanent rent is a distinct "protection" as opposed to free trade, that land rent is not exempt from the general law simply by being land rent. We believe there is no such certain incentive to exertion (and exertion in farming means progress,) as a constantly recurring rent, requiring some effort to meet it.

If Government chooses to abrogate its landlord's rights, it should remember that it should not abrogate its duties, and in this instance the rights and duties are inseparable. There is nothing that keeps landlord and tenant more in accord with each other than mutual exertions for their joint benefit, nothing tends more to separate them, or to leave the tenant shiftless and hopeless, than the landlord's indifference. Gain to the landlord is his great incentive to work and aid his tenant. This is human nature, and it is in no way different where Government is the landlord, working through its servants.

In England, the certain effect of a rent below the capabilities of the land are apathy and neglect on the part of the tenant. The tenant knows that without the expenditure of his labour and capital the land will still meet his rent and support him; his wants are few and simple; he has no wish to increase his substance; there is no pressure to induce him to make the most

of his tenure, and he sinks in the scale, and his land deteriorates. The genuine Irish are undoubted instances of this. This was noticed years ago by a *Review*—the *Westminster*, we believe—in describing first the deterioration and then the progress of the estates of a Peer in the north of England, and the same must be the effect in this country, when apathy and indifference are proverbial, all knowledge backward, energy and enterprise the exception. We wish our Edinburgh Reviewer had the authoritative handling of this and other collateral questions.

Before we dismiss this portion of our subject, we will briefly enumerate the portions of the country in which we would first wish to see our theory reduced to practice. A desultory sinking of wells here and there would bring no practical result for years, each oasis would be neutralised by the long intervals of desert. We have shown how the canals irrigate a line through the country, but in fact, the water courses lead for miles from the main channel, either seeking the heat tracts of land, or skirting undulations in the land, above the canal level. It is in these undulations we would first introduce our wells, for the general water level throughout these lands, and near the utmost reach of the ducts from the canal, must be raised, by the influx of the water which has escaped by percolation through the canal bed. These wells would at once reclaim this lost water, and thus they would become a means for the completion of the object of the canal itself. Similarly, we would ascertain how far the canal water had affected the water level beyond the extreme limit of any channel, and we would skirt the canal country with a fringe of wells; beyond this, we would leave their construction to a separate department.

Then certain rich parts should be selected in which the cultivation should be ensured in spite of adverse seasons. Thus, in the Punjab we would select the thickly populated and well-cultivated Manja districts, as Jullundur, and leave no suitable patch without its supporting well. The effect of a drought in these districts would be tremendous, and were they protected, there would be a store of grain in the heart of the Punjab, to supply less favoured districts. Any one of the arid and sparsely peopled jungle tracts of the Bar country, between Lahore and Mooltan, might be selected as suitable for the extreme experiment of making wells at Government expense. These wells might be parted with to the people as opportunity offered, inducement to purchase being given. The hilly tracts beyond the Jhelum, and the districts underneath the hills would have to rely on dams in the hill streams, or advantage might be taken of any natural features to form lakes or reservoirs. This

might be done in Hoslympore and Umballa, a canal from above Roossen on the Sutlej might feed Loodianah and Umballa. In Kumal and Delhi there is the canal, and the water is exceptionally near the surface. Rohtuk and Hissar are as hopeless as the Bar, but even they have the canal, where all else is sandy desert.

In the North-Western Provinces a similar course suggests itself. Saharunpore, favourably situated near the hills and with the water near the surface, might be left to take care of itself, even the canal water, with which it is now supplied might be withheld, and sent to some southern district. It could scarcely ever suffer. It could probably always support the neighbouring district of Muzaffernugger. Meerut might be thoroughly protected by wells, and similarly Allyghur, and each alternate district might be protected, or left untouched, the produce of one being sufficient to support the population in its neighbour, in any season of drought.

Behar is similar to the North-Western provinces in every respect, though slightly less arid. Rohilcund and Oudh have a moister climate; water is generally nearer the surface than in the countries west of the Ganges; they might wait, but in all alike, native enterprise, if there is such a thing, should be encouraged. If possible, there should be channels from the canals to pour superfluous water into natural jheels or reservoirs, as a matter of policy those should be first taken in hand, where the work can be most speedily done, or the richest, where most would be lost in famine. The depth of the water below the surface might be ascertained throughout the country, by the agency of the existing executive establishments. It is almost needless to say that our scheme can never apply to a rice-growing country; well water may be the soul of high farming for all other crops but it can never suffice to form the swamp which rice requires.

The influence of the agricultural exhibitions in England has been incalculable, in all matters connected with agriculture. The first impulse was given when enlightened legislation freed the corn trade from all shackles, and placed the English farmer on his mettle to compete with foreign grown corn. What was by many considered as the death-blow of the agricultural interests, has in fact penetrated the whole system and forced it to perfection. It brought to light the latent powers of the soil, it applied capital and science to its culture, it introduced new crops and new breeds of cattle, it even transformed the labourer, the farmer and perhaps the country gentleman, from the clods that they were into intelligent members of the community.

But all this has come by slow degrees; small farms were found unprofitable, they could not keep pace with the times, their buildings were levelled, and their land absorbed by neighbouring estates. The land was undrained, the farmer had no capital to undertake its drainage, then Government and Loan Companies came forward to supply this want; surveys were made, the geology of each tract was studied, and capital was advanced on suitable terms to help every operation of the farm. Chemistry was resorted to, pointing out the suitable manure for each crop; the whole earth was ransacked to supply these new demands; mechanical science penetrated everywhere with its improved machinery; schools imparting a purely agricultural education sprang into existence. Improved and varied fodder have tended, combined with intelligent crossing, to produce new breeds of cattle and sheep, and then when there was such keen competition on all sides, and the whole agricultural question in all its bearings and its great success was a common topic amongst intelligent men, the rivalry culminated in these great shows which attract observing people from all parts.

At these shows every agriculturalist is sure to see what will be of immediate advantage to himself, whatever may be his position. He will acquire fresh hints and ideas, and he will advance many steps in the science, for by a course of teaching for years he has been prepared to benefit by what he sees, and is himself some way advanced towards the perfection he sees attained by others.

In this country we have not, as we have already shown, the pressure which is the great incentive to exertion, the shows have not grown of themselves from circumstances combining to produce them, they have required the fostering hand of Government. But too much has been done too quickly. We have tried to spring at once to the perfection attained by degrees in England. There has been no previous preparation of the native mind, or explanation of the objects and aims of these shows. It has been assumed that all these objects and aims will be at once appreciated by the sight of a complete exhibition. As spectacles they have been successful, but the groundwork in the native mind is a void as great as ever. The native is so far behind that he cannot establish a connected chain of ideas between his own actual state, and the appliances in English high farming which he sees in the show yard.

And if he is intelligent and observing, what does he see? English machinery of the most costly kinds, ploughs, cultivators, thrashing machines, and irrigators driven by steam.



Perhaps he believes that the greater portion of our cultivation at home is effected by these machines, and making a mental calculation of their cost, he finds they amount to a lakh of rupees, and the value of his own implements for the same operations is about 50 rupees! What he wants, and what he would buy if he could get it, is something a few degrees better than what he has at home. These cheap implements may be in the yard, but the visitor is distracted, amused, or amazed according to his temperament, by the noise and power of the larger engines, and he leaves the place with the impression that, though we may wish to do the right thing, we do not understand his wants, and we waste money in heaping prizes on machines that can be of no practical utility.

To the generality of the English public visiting these shows the machinery department is the great attraction. A scientific turn, a liking for mechanics and invention which is possessed in a greater or less degree by all, is apt to mislead the judgment from the real objects of the exhibition, but those to whom the arrangement of these shows is entrusted, and the Judges also, should imagine themselves in the native's position, they should master his wants and appreciate the means at his disposal, and starting from that point, should frame their scheme accordingly. Having decided that steam driven machinery, and the numerous costly and complicated contrivances for mowing, drilling and reaping, are not required, they should be strictly excluded from the exhibition yard.

As regards cattle, each race should be kept distinct in the prize list. Valuable prizes should be given for quite young cattle, to induce the preparation of numbers; a few only would receive prizes, but the remainder would not be far off, and thus a foundation of superior nurtured cattle would arise, to the ultimate great benefit of the breeder. A well organized system of shows, under some responsible person, and a well arranged and liberal prize list, would be a great assistance to the agricultural interest.

The education department should be called in to assist. A short explanatory treatise, a few simple translations of rudimentary English works on agriculture and agricultural machinery, a few simple lessons in mechanics as applied to irrigation, would go far to impart that elementary knowledge which is so much wanted, and without which a showyard is a meaningless range of cattle sheds, and the machinery department a confusing puzzle.

When all these aids to the land are in satisfactory working order, we believe we shall hear less of famines, and when they do

come, we shall be more prepared to meet them. The people will have risen above their present low estate, they will have more self-reliance and power to help themselves. We are reminded of Hugh Miller's lament over the state of the Irish people in the great famine, when the potatoe crop, the food of the country, perished. In his opinion, (and there was no more acute observer,) the mere fact of a whole people living on one article of food, was sufficient to lower them in the social scale. It evinced so much simplicity and apathy, which were sure to affect them to their injury in the hour of need. We saw the whole of Orissa living on one grain, and when it failed, they died. The benefit would be immense if the people could be induced by any means to cultivate some other grain crop, which would reach perfection under circumstances when rice must fail. We have heard that Carolina rice requires far less water than Indian rice. It should be grown, in every district, as an experiment at the expense of Government. The seed of the Karuba tree feeds the rustic population and the cattle also in Central and Southern Italy. The tree grows under many different circumstances of climate and soil. It thrives in rocky countries. It would probably thrive in hundreds of places in India. The bread fruit tree of the Pacific islands might succeed along the coast. Botanists and travellers could suggest many other varieties. Everything should be tried, and some would succeed. Model farms should be established, where all experiments in machinery and crops should be conducted.

The above is a sketch of a few of the facts which to our mind caused some of the disasters attending the Orissa Famine, and a few suggestions for protection in future, to save the Government from being caught napping again, and to furnish food for the people.

There is much which must remain unsaid, there is little novelty in what we have said already. In places, details encumber our pages, but in advocating a new scheme, arguments cannot stand without them. We hope the scheme we advocate may receive a patient consideration, that there may be no opposing prejudice or professional bias. We trust it to the support of the public, hoping for success in whatever merit it may contain rather than from the manner of its advocacy at the hands of an unknown Reviewer.

## SHORT NOTICES.

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1. *The Elements of Plane Geometry in the Synthetic (Euclid's) Method, but greatly simplified and systematically arranged.* By J. D. Lyons. Nisi Dominas Frastra. Madras : Caleb Foster, 1867.
2. *An Elementary Grammar of the Coorg Language.* By Captain R. A. Cole, Superintendent of Coorg. Bangalore : 1867.

THESE two books have, of course, been sent us for advertisement merely, for the writers could not seriously suppose that we should take the trouble, even if we had the leisure, to read them. We laid aside Euclid some years ago, and do not purpose to take it up again, until our hopeful first-born arrives within sight of the *pons asinorum*. As for the Coorg Grammar, a Calcutta Reviewer can not be expected to know every language under the sun. We must simply acknowledge the receipt of such books with thanks, and trust that the mention of them among the newest publications will satisfy the donors in future.

In the case of these books, however, we did something more ; we read the author's preface. A preface at all to a treatise on mathematics was to us almost as great a novelty as the sight of a pious motto on the title-page, and we were therefore tempted to read it out of pure curiosity. But Mr. Lyons' preface did not induce us to penetrate much farther, and we shall be very much mistaken, if those of our readers who meet with the work are not similarly disgusted with the fulsomeness of the egotism which pervades it. We can quite believe the writer of these "Elements" when he says that "what he hopes for it is its introduction by the Departments of Public Instructions in India. This is his high object and aim" in preparing the treatise. And of course we are not going to find fault with such a very laudable object, and only hope that the treatise is worthy of the high destiny which is intended for it. Of course Mr. Lyons says it is, and he has pointed out its merits so modestly himself that we have the less compunction in

foregoing the complete criticism which he perhaps expected at our hands. Modesty is said to be always a characteristic of high merit, and if this be true, the reader has only to glance as we did at Mr. Lyons' notice of his own book to be able to form a just appreciation of its value. We wonder though if the converse of this proposition is equally true according to Mr. Lyons' new and improved method.

"It is unnecessary to dilate on the superiority of my definitions," writes the author, "for that will be apparent in the body of the work. It would be true to say of my definitions that ἀρχὴ ἡμῶν παντός. The common definitions of right angle and perpendicular are theoremic compared with those given in this work." "I may be cutting the Gordian Knot, but necessity has no law." Such is the modest refrain in which Mr. Lyons sings his own praise. Compared with him, Euclid and the rest of the Mathematicians who have preceded him are but as minnows and shrimps to a whale, or rather as jackals to the king of beasts. "It is everywhere taught that parallel lines are lines that do (*sic*) never meet even if produced ever so far, while it is well known that there are lines which can never meet and yet are not parallels." True, but surely Mr. Lyons has overlooked two very important conditions which Euclid annexed to his definition; (1) that the lines must be straight, and (2) that they must be on the same plane. After this rather considerable omission, the reader will perhaps like to hear the author's definition, which is said to be so "superior." Parallel right lines then are defined to be "such as are in the same plane and such as made with the right line joining any two points in them, the two interior angles on the same side equal to a *bisect* angle." That is, he adopts one of Euclid's demonstrations, as his definition. But what, the reader may ask, is a *bisect* angle? This is another original conception of Mr. Lyons' fertile imagination, and we wish him joy of it. It will probably be sufficient to observe that its non-existence is the reason adduced for its conception. But let us hear the definition. "When two sides of an angle are in one right line, the angle is called a *bisect* or neutral angle." Again "an angle greater than a *bisect* angle is called a re-entering angle, and "an angle less than a *bisect* angle a salient angle." Surely Euclid is more intelligible than this. But probably our readers have had quite enough of Mr. Lyons' geometry, and we may therefore hand it over to the Director of Public Instruction, as requested, for further analysis. Mr. Atkinson, we are quite sure, will appreciate the modest piety if not the superior demonstration of this new and "greatly simplified method."

Meanwhile we turn to the Coorg Grammar, the preface to which we have also read. And the first thing that strikes us is that, however competent Captain Cole may be to teach Coorg, he is not yet infallible in the Grammar of his own native tongue, and if "the blind lead the blind," the result is generally a very questionable progress. However Captain Cole has not trusted himself far, for the greater part of his preface is really composed of a long extract, borrowed for the occasion from Dr. Moegling's "Memories of Coorg," and treating mainly of fireflies. We can therefore conscientiously recommend this Grammar to the Asiatic Society as likely to prove useful in a naturalistic as well as in a philological sense.

But there is really very much in this little volume which is of value to the student in linguistic science, and which betokens care and industry in its compilation. The vocabularies alone must be of immense service to those, like Messrs. Campbell and Beames, who care to trace the relations of cognate languages. Further on, we have specimens of conversation in four of the Dravidian languages side by side. It is unfortunate that Captain Cole has not adopted any uniform method of Romanizing, but rather trusted to the Canarese character to give the correct pronunciation. This circumstance will detract from its usefulness to those who are unacquainted with Canarese. The language appears, as far as *we* can judge, to be merely a hill-dialect, and it has no written character of its own.

Captain Cole does not advance any theory regarding the people of the little State of Coorg; this is a question which he leaves to "those philologists, better able to draw such conclusions," and we must therefore do the same. But it is not philology alone that will determine the relations of this tribe, and we should have wished to see some account of their physical characteristics. Captain Cole has shown that he takes a deep interest in the people who have been placed under his charge, and that he can employ his leisure with advantage to others as well as to himself. We trust therefore that this is not the last compilation regarding the Coorgs that we shall have to welcome as issuing from the Superintendent's study.

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*How to Develop Productive Industry in India and the East.*

*Mills and Factories for Ginning, Spinning and Weaving cotton ; Jute and Silk Manufactures ; Bleaching, Dyeing and Calico Printing Works ; Sugar, Paper, Oil, and Oil-gas Manufactures ; Iron and Timber Work-shops ; Corn-mills, &c., &c., with estimates and plans of factories.* Edited by P. R. Cola, late 'sole Proprietor of the Arkwright Cotton Mills, Bombay. London : Virtue and Co., 1867.

MR. Cola is evidently a Parsee gentleman who has visited England and been struck with the remarkable prosperity of her manufactures ; he has become possessed with the idea that it is due to the superior excellence of her machinery, and he consequently in the present work publishes the secret to his countrymen and declares the introduction of English machinery to be the true solution of the difficult problem :—how to develop productive Industry in India and the East. The book evinces considerable observation and research, and we doubt not it will prove a useful hand-book in this country. If every native gentleman who could afford it would go to England and see with his own eyes as much as Mr. Cola has seen, there might be some hope for improvement in the industrial arts of India. If however they are content to see with Mr. Cola's eyes, we recommend them to go and purchase his book.

• The development of the industrial arts of India is a subject of such vast importance to the prosperity of the country, that every one who has anything to say about it ought to receive a patient hearing. We cannot altogether agree with Mr. Cola in regarding English machinery as the panacea for all the evils that this country is heir to ; that we do agree with him so far as to believe that much may be effected by the introduction of English capital and a judicious application of such machinery as is suited to the country. We are not of those who would startle native ideas by the sight of a steam-plough, and thereby set the bucolic mind against all improvement in agricultural implements. We cannot advocate the sudden introduction of the highest appliances of mechanical science which are totally opposed to the capacities and requirements of a backward stage of civilisation. We would rather work upward, improving the existing means and adapting by slow degrees such inventions as are readily understood and appreciated.

That the industrial arts of India are still in the most primitive stage will not be denied. A large number of them certainly exist, and many possess an excellence peculiar to themselves. Englishmen in Calcutta would be astonished, if they were aware of the number and variety of the different

trades that are practised in the bazars around them. But they would be no less surprised to see the means and appliances with which the native workmanship is executed. They would see the rudest and scantiest of tools, the most narrow and inconvenient of work-shops, an absence of all system, invention, and organization. It is for this reason that we think an exhibition of purely native manufactures would be a great step towards indicating their present shortcomings and requirements, and suggesting adequate and suitable improvements. We are glad to see that such a movement is in contemplation, and if it is only remembered that, to be really useful, it must seek to improve existing appliances, rather than attempt to introduce means which are unsuited to the capacities, the habits, or the raw materials of the country, we believe that great good may be effected by it.

The scope of Mr. Cola's book is sufficiently described on the title-page and it is unnecessary for us to add anything further. Its object is, as we have said, to induce capitalists in this country to establish factories on an English scale, and to afford them the requisite information on various trades. If the work should, as we trust it will, reach a second edition, we would recommend Mr. Cola to insert a brief account of the manner in which, and the implements with which, the different trades are at present practised among the natives. There are also some grammatical errors which at present disfigure an otherwise elegant little work, and which a careful revision might serve to remove.

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*The Englishman in India.* By Charles Raikes, Esq., c. s. i., formerly Commissioner of Lahore, Judge of the Sudder Court, North-Western Provinces, and Civil Commissioner with Sir Colin Campbell. Author of "Notes on the North-Western Provinces," "Notes on the Revolt," etc. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1867.

To be damned by the *Saturday Review* is perhaps the hardest fate which can befall an author in the present day. It is not only that the *Saturday Review* has a very large circulation, and can therefore make its utterings widely felt; but there is something in the manner in which its condemnation is meted out that invariably makes the sufferer wince and writhe under its lash. The *Saturday's* adverse criticism is rarely conveyed in dubious or uncertain sound; it may be clothed in metaphor: it may be veiled in sarcasm, but its meaning is not to be mistaken. To suit the tone of the *Saturday*, criticism must always be pointed, telling; and if the criticism be unfavorable, the pointedness

naturally degenerates into ill-natured venom. Such criticism is of course not always honest; but that is a matter of small importance. A mediocre review of a mediocre work would certainly not suit the pages of the *Saturday* nor satisfy its readers. The arts of the rhetorician and the special pleader must be called in to give effect. The colouring must be deep and vivid,—Turneresque. It must be remembered that the review will probably have more readers than the book of which it is treating, and these readers must be entertained and amused, even though it may be at the expense of a little truth, and the unhappy author's feelings. And so the result is that he is so handled as to come out of the process—we will not say a little lower than the angels,—but even less than a very ordinary mortal indeed; he suddenly finds himself a byword and an object of ridicule to others; he begins to doubt whether he possesses even a modicum of common sense, and probably curses the day when the miserable *Cacöthes* impelled him first to set his pen in motion.

"*The Englishman in India*" was thus damned by the *Saturday Review* a few weeks ago. Its author was held up to public execration as the most narrow-minded sectarian, the most ignorant and inaccurate historian, and the vilest plagiarist that ever breathed. We have not heard whether he has survived the severe flagellation he then received. The poignant satire was certainly sufficient to crush the most magnanimous, to dash the brightest and most sanguine hopes to the ground; but Mr. Raikes may, and for his own comfort we wish that he may, have a soul impervious to the exaggerated hyperboles of the *Saturday's* ridicule. In either case, our task is easy; we should be unwilling to add to the remorse which may have been engendered; while, if the shafts that have been hurled have struck the author harmless, we are quite sure he would be proof against ours; they might be more keenly pointed, they might be driven by a stronger hand, but the poison would still be wanting that would make them rankle in the festered wound.

As we are not however of those who have sacrificed whatever little of individual and intelligent opinion they ever possessed to the dictum of the *Saturday Review*, we have ourselves glanced at Mr. Raikes' little work. And ~~but~~ we must say we were disappointed in the title. Expecting to find a literally interesting account of the English in India at the present day, we repeat that we were disappointed to meet instead with stray chapters from the history of British India. These chapters comprise the lives of Clive, of Warren Hastings, of Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, the Wellesleys, Sir Charles Metcalfe,



Henry Martyn, and Havelock—men, whose stories have been well told before, many of them in a manner upon which it is impossible to improve. No doubt there are people in England who are unacquainted with “Lord Macaulay” and who perhaps never heard of “Mr. John Kaye,” but if these are the readers for whom Mr. Raikes wrote, we fear that their number must be very limited. Certainly any one who has perused the lives of these great men, as portrayed by Macaulay, Kaye, or Marshman, will not care to read Mr. Raikes’ edition of the same stories. The best chapters in the book are the first six and the three last, and they are the most original. Mr. Raikes might, we think, have written a readable and tolerably interesting book, had he confined himself to a description of Anglo-Indian life and his own experiences. As Commissioner of Lahore, as Civil Commissioner with Sir Colin Campbell in the mutiny, Mr. Raikes must have passed through many scenes the account of which would well be worth the telling. But in attempting to write history he has altogether mistaken his vocation. When weighed, he is found lighter than the balances; he is wanting in the first qualifications of the historian, patience, research and accuracy. His book may serve for a while to amuse the residents of Netheravon and some few elsewhere, but in a twelvemonth we shall be surprised if it has not altogether been forgotten.

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